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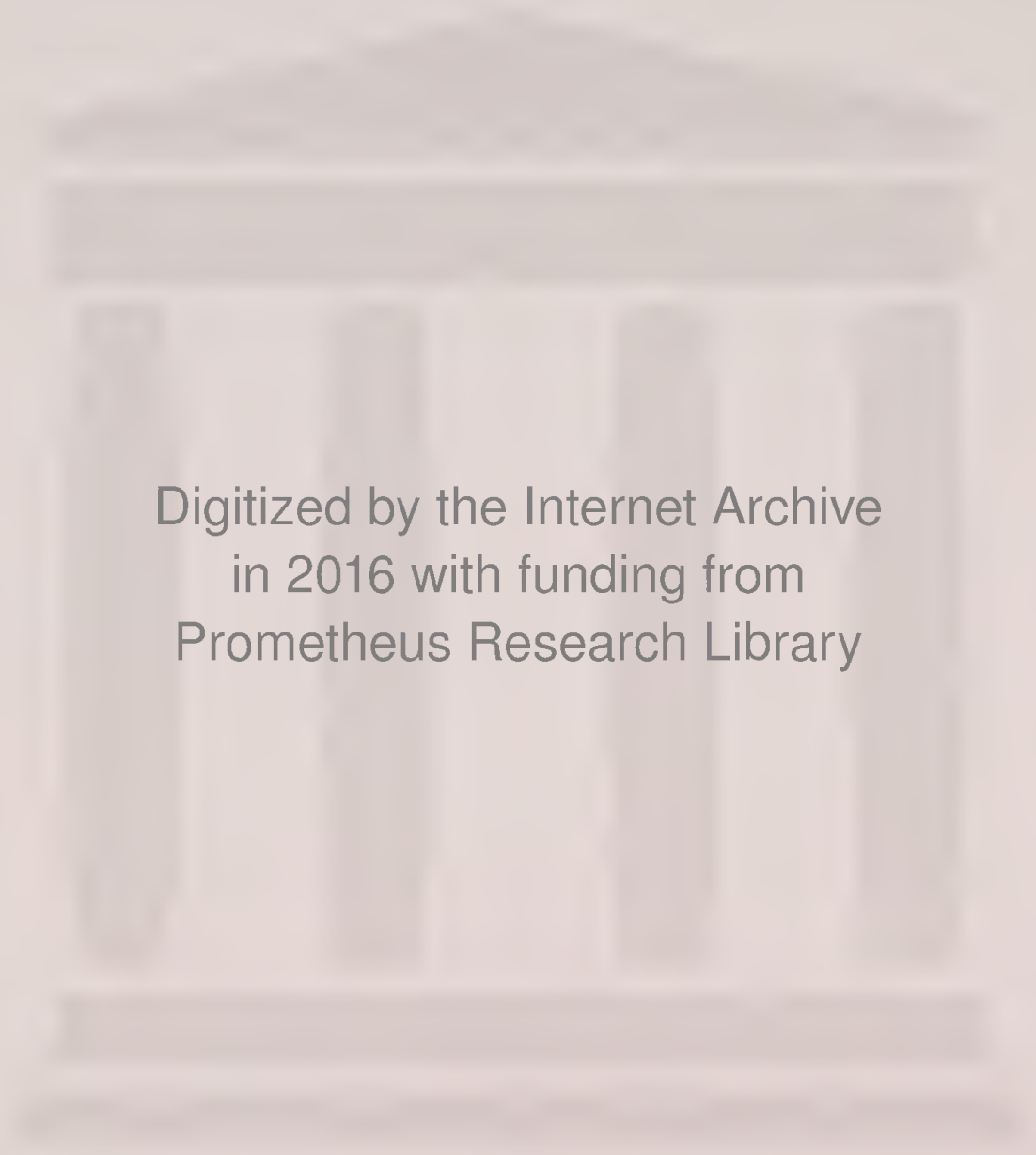
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WORKERS VANGUARD

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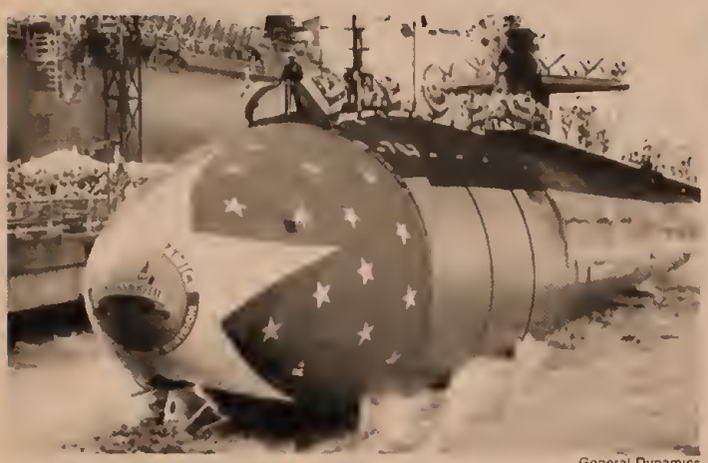
No. 394 | 3 January 1986

Reagan's America:

Billions for the Pentagon, Hell for the Homeless



General Dynamics

Wilson/Newsweek

Reagan to poor: "Let them eat missiles." U.S. attack sub launched in Connecticut, homeless at shelter in Seattle.

"Dividends are rising—proletarians falling." These words are Rosa Luxemburg's searing indictment of the horrors of World War I and the system which fathered it. In Reagan's America, profits are rising and people are freezing to death. While the U.S. is driving toward war with the Soviet workers state, they are waging a mean-spirited domestic war on workers and the poor. While Ron and Nancy are in Palm Springs preparing to dance the night away at a glittering New Year's ball, the starving stand in cheese lines and the homeless shiver over subway gratings. "Let them freeze, let them beg, let them taste police billy clubs": this is the "Reagan miracle" at work.

As the stock market soared over 1,500 and luxury building speculation booms, hundreds of thousands are being forced to find "shelter" on the frigid sidewalks, in vermin-infested "welfare hotels" or the filthy and dangerous dumping grounds set up to intern them (until they're thrown back out on the streets again). America's cities are swollen with a growing army of the homeless. In a cruel twist on "humanitarianism," New York, Boston and Philadelphia have enacted "emergency" measures wherein those found vagrant on the street are subjected to the tender mercies of the police, under orders to round them up when the temperature falls too low. On Christmas Day, an elderly lady known as "Mama" was found dead on the bench in Grand Central Station that she called home. The night before the cops had refused to call an ambulance and kicked her out in the cold.

The Dickensian rationale is that if you have no place to live, you must obviously be mentally ill, possibly criminal, and have no rights whatsoever. In 1932 George Orwell described the poking, prying, religious "slumming parties" who invaded London shelters, noting, "This kind of petty tyranny can, in fact, only be defended on the theory that a man poor enough to live in a common lodging house thereby forfeits some of his rights as a citizen." Such round-ups are in part designed to remove the embarrassing eyesore of beggars and exhausted, freezing poor from those city centers frequented by the petty-bourgeois professionals. But this "eyesore" won't go away.

There is an unprecedented crisis in housing. It is most acute in New York City where the condo kings rule and there is a *2 percent* housing vacancy rate; where during the first December cold snap a record 22,000 homeless men, women and children were in the shelters, the most since the 1930s depression. Government apologists claim the homeless are unemployable derelicts, but the disorientation, drug addiction, etc. are largely derivative, the product of increasing immiseration and the failure of society to care for the elderly, the disabled. And while New York State mental hospitals "deinstitutionalized"

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Winnie Mandela Defies Apartheid Police State

Bloody Christmas in South Africa

DECEMBER 30—For more than a quarter century, Winnie Mandela has been a victim of the grotesque repression and harassment by the South African police state. She was jailed. She was "banned" so her statements could not be publicized. She was banished for years to the isolated town of Brandfort in the empty *platteland* of the Orange Free State. Why? Because she is an anti-apartheid fighter and married to African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, who has been jailed for the past two decades, most of it in the notorious prison colony of Robben Island. The slave masters of South Africa have made her life hell, but today Winnie Mandela has become a symbol of black defiance against bloody white supremacy.

As mass protests in South Africa have become increasingly radicalized, as ANC flags have begun to appear at the endless black funerals, Winnie has spoken out. Last summer, they torched her house in Brandfort. Fearing for her life, she refused to go back and instead stayed at her home in Soweto, the huge black "township" of two million outside Johannesburg. Last month she courageously broke the banning orders and cried out for vengeance at a burial service for 13 blacks massacred by police at Mamelodi. The regime responded by "lifting" the banning, but *not* from Soweto. As Winnie said, after meeting with her husband Nelson on Christmas Day, "I am charged with a crime that does not exist in most of the democratic, civilized world—being at home."

On December 21 the cops came for her, and when she resisted, they brutally dragged her from her home. But the next morning Winnie Mandela went straight back. Again the cops came, and again she physically resisted. This time they arrested her and threw her in jail overnight. When Winnie left the courtroom the next day, 400-500 people gathered and marched with her through the streets of Johannesburg. As we go to press, South African president P. W. Botha's

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Exchange on South African Revolution

August 24, 1985

Editorial Board
Workers Vanguard

Dear Comrades,

This is to reiterate my longstanding opposition to your change in line several years ago from the original slogan of yours which was in my view correct, "Smash Apartheid Through Proletarian Revolution," to your subsequent slogan, "Proletarian Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid."

I formerly criticized the change in line by saying that the slogan of "Proletarian Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid" could easily be interpreted in a Menshevik or two-stagist fashion along the approximate lines of, "Oh, sure, we'll have proletarian revolution LATER, but as for the MOST IMPORTANT TASK, it's SMASHING APARTHEID, and we must do that NOW." This was, as anyone with a knowledge of labor and socialist history knows, exactly the same rationale given by the German Social Democrats for giving their speeches advocating socialism once a year while doing nothing except the "practical" tasks the rest of the time.

I not only stand by my original criticism, but in line with the very attack on the nationalist policies made in your press add that these policies may lead to a military adventure and a subsequent black bloodbath. The nationalist leaders in South Africa must be defended against the apartheid state; the possible even defeated insurrection of blacks must, if it happens, be defended militarily in the same way as Karl Marx, ALTHOUGH ADVISING AGAINST IT, defended the Commune. However, the Major Owens type nationalists who are NOT the Mandela type nationalists (Mandela has the guts to stand for his principles while in jail; the Major Owens types shout for OTHERS' blood to flow FROM AFAR) coalesce nicely in their policies with liberal trade unionist bureaucrats seeking to keep the national principle prevailing over the class principle.

The slogan "Proletarian Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid" IN PRACTICE means "Get voting rights now and socialism later." But as you yourself note in many correct analyses, THAT IS IMPOSSIBLE, and the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution is thereby vindicated once again. (I also reiterate once again my longstanding opposition to your formal position that the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution applies only in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and not in the advanced countries. I believe your correct slogan in the New York City mayoralty election, "Time to Finish the Civil War—Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution," to be a PRACTICAL confirmation of my view as over and against your view in these questions.)

I notice you have been forced by the empirical facts of REAL EVENTS in South Africa to come down hard on the nationalist principle, and, in your New York mayoralty election brochure (hundreds upon hundreds of which I have been joyfully disseminating amongst New York City's working people, getting the message of revolutionary socialism across...) say "Smash Apartheid Slavery" and "Hot Cargo Military Goods, No Divestment Illusions in Bloodsucking Imperialists." All perfectly correct slogans from a Marxist standpoint—but, do tell, you have left out "Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid."

Fraternally,
Al Greene

WV replies: Al Greene's letter independently intersected and contributed to a discussion in the Spartacist League/U.S. regarding the slogans for proletarian revolution in South Africa. The problem with *both* slogans he refers to is that each expresses one side of the perspective of permanent revolution in South Africa, and each is schematically one-sided—though not wrong. After considering these questions, a recent meeting of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S. adopted the following motion: "That our most central slogan is "Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!" We have, in fact, used this slogan far more frequently for many years now. It better conveys the *algebraic* interrelation between the struggle for democratic rights and national emancipation and for proletarian state power—a black-centered workers republic—in South Africa.

In the aftermath of the June 1976 Soweto revolt, we undertook an extensive internal discussion on South Africa, the history and development of the brutal apartheid system, as well as the program for its revolutionary overthrow. An important aspect of this discussion was how Leon Trotsky's

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Trotsky on Permanent Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

In countries with belated bourgeois development, Trotsky counterposed to the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma of the "two-stage revolution" the theory of permanent revolution which summed up the experience of three Russian Revolutions:

...the permanent revolution is described as a revolution which welds together the oppressed masses of town and country around the proletariat organised in soviets; as a national revolution that raises the proletariat to power and thereby opens up the possibility of a democratic revolution growing over into the socialist revolution.

The permanent revolution is no isolated leap of the proletariat; rather it is the rebuilding of the whole nation under the leadership of the proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution* (1930)

Bulletin Doth Protest Too Much

We reprint here an excerpt concerning the Spartacist League from the article "Political Lessons of Anti-Concessions Conference" contained in the 13 December 1985 *Bulletin*, organ of the recently Healyite U.S. Workers League. Those familiar with the activity of the SL in the real world may not be able to match this with the assertions in this account of the "National Rank-and-File Against Concessions" conference held in Chicago on December 7.

Attending the rotten "fight back" conference were all the usual out-bureaucrat suspects, and some not-so-outs, which the *Bulletin* doesn't tell you about—Victor Reuther was the honored guest. Also present were six Workers Leaguers, among them former National Secretary Freddy Mazelis who took over from former, former National Secretary Tim Wohlforth and was in turn replaced by current National Secretary David North.

The *Bulletin* is compelled to mention the SL, castigating us as "revisionist" (along with the "revisionist Socialist Workers Party," "revisionist Trotskyist Organization," and "revisionist Revolutionary Workers League"). We note that for the WL this represents a downgrading from our previous classification as "fingerman for the world capitalists," the FBI and other dark forces. They also label us "sectarian" and take us to task for only sending a reporter to the event.

A discerning reader might conclude that we were the only principled Trotskyists there, refusing to play "honest trade-union center folk" or to suck up to some of the more entrenched union bureaucrats. Naturally any number of phony socialists undoubtedly consider that "sectarian." In the WL's case, Mazelis/North may be just a little defensive about their own deep immersion in this "rank-and-file" event which, by their own account, excluded rank-and-file groups from the leadership.

In any case, you'd think North & Co. would show a little modesty. Their international founder-leader—Gerry Healy of the British Workers Revolutionary Party—has, after all, only recently been expelled for alleged revolting sex crimes against young women as well as having called David North a CIA agent. Fairly squalid stuff. For our analysis, see "Healyism Implodes" in the latest issue of *Spartacist* (English edition), No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86.

To paraphrase Shakespeare, all the world's a revisionist except thee and me, and sometimes I wonder about thee.

Bulletin
13 December 1985

rank-and-file groups from r

The revisionist Spartacist League sent a correspondent to the conference, but did not participate, in keeping with its stance that it is impossible to fight for revolutionary leadership in the actual struggles of the working class, and that trade union work is only "exemplary," i.e., for the edification of aging middle class radicals outside the labor movement.

Sectarians

The Spartacist League demonstrated its attitude to the struggle against concessions shortly after the first major battle at Chrysler in 1979. Their response was to reduce the weekly *Workers Vanguard* to a fortnightly because the objective conditions for a weekly paper did not exist. Nothing that has happened in the working class movement in the last six years has convinced these middle class sectarians otherwise.

The revisionist Trotskyist Organization, which publishes

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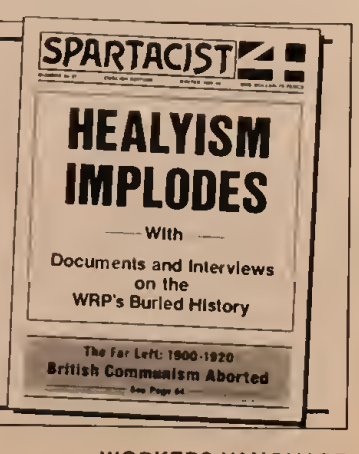

U.S. Railroads Alabama Civil Rights Workers

ATLANTA—An Alabama black civil rights activist, Spiver Gordon, was convicted November 14 by an all-white Tuscaloosa jury on charges of "voter fraud," and sentenced by a federal judge to three years in prison and fined $1,000. Gordon, a national board member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and head of the Greene County Civic League, is free pending appeal. Although his sentence was partially suspended, Gordon was ordered to spend six months behind bars and to do 500 hours of community service work. Gordon's "crime"? Assisting elderly blacks to file absentee ballots during the Democratic Party primary last year.

This obscene prosecution is part of the Reagan administration's all-sided assault on democratic rights and liberties. Under the doctrine of "original intent," Reagan's top cop Edwin Meese wants to turn the clock back to the days of the "founding fathers," when slavery was sanctioned in the Constitution and black people were sold as chattel. He is assisted by his "Civil Rights" commissioner (a post which has become akin to South Africa's minister of black "Bantu Affairs"), one Bradford Reynolds. This racist bigot is so notorious that even a Reaganite Senate rejected his nomination for the No. 2 post at the "Justice" Department. Meese/Reynolds want to nullify the 13th through 15th Amendments, the Reconstruction amendments, which emancipated the slaves and gave blacks the vote.

It is no accident that Meese and Reynolds began their campaign to disenfranchise black people in the desperately poor, Deep South "Black Belt" region of western Alahama. Targeting the black Democratic Party leadership of this rural area, 210 felony charges were originally filed against eight people. But five straight frame-up trials of Alabama civil rights activists have ended in acquittals or hung juries. In Selma on November 5, Albert Turner, Evelyn Turner and Spencer Hogue were acquitted of absentee-ballot tampering, after a 15-day trial by a jury of seven blacks and five whites. Albert Turner, a former chief aide to Martin Luther King, Jr., is the most prominent black leader in the ten-county area.

Black people are a majority in the "Black Belt," hut for more than one hundred years after the defeat of Reconstruction, blacks were excluded from the polls and elected office by the poll tax, the literacy test and the lynch rope. During the 1960s and even into the '70s, whites were winning elections with lopsided margins, even where they were a distinct minority. As one black county commissioner put it, "Do you know why the roads to white folks' cemeteries are paved in the black belt? It's so people won't get their feet wet on election day."

Kilpatrick/Tuscaloosa News

Spiver Gordon (right) with wife Barbara and co-defendant Frederick Daniels, who was acquitted. Meese wants to disenfranchise blacks.

It took ten more years after the civil rights movement and passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 for blacks to hegin to win elections in this region. The absentee hallot was crucial to these victories, for this area has a high proportion of poor, infirm and elderly hlacks who cannot travel. When Spiver Gordon ran for city council, armed white cops were posted at black polling hooths. The absentee ballot allowed hlack people to vote without fear or intimidation in the privacy of their homes. When the absentee hallot began to pay off for blacks, the Reagan administration stepped in. In 1981 two elderly black women, Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilde, were convicted for "voter fraud." They served time in the notorious hellhole of Alabama's prison system even though prosecution witnesses later recanted and a federal court overturned the conviction.

In the summer of 1984, Meese issued a position paper which called for targeting "political participants" who "seek out the elderly, socially disadvantaged or the illiterate, for the purpose of subjugating their electoral will." One of the key players in this move to disenfranchise Alabama blacks is right-wing fanatical anti-communist U.S. Senator Jeremiah Denton. Running as a Republican, Denton just narrowly won his Senate seat in 1980. His re-election in 1986 is dependent on keeping hlacks off the registry rolls and away from the polls. The three U.S. attorneys who brought the prosecutions against Alabama's black political and civil rights activists are all Denton appointees, and he now wants to reward the attorney who won the Gordon conviction, Jefferson Beauregard Sessions III, with a federal judgeship.

With the Reaganites targeting Alabama black voters, hordes of federal authorities descended on the "Black Belt" counties. The FBI, whose informant KKK-member Gary Rowe killed Viola Liuzzo 20 years earlier, now brought their own brand of fear and intimidation. The feds interrogated over 1,000 black absentee voters in their homes about ballots cast in the 1984 elections. They had secretly and illegally marked and tampered with ballots before the election so they could "spot" them afterwards. They carried out a raid on one voting rights activist's office.

Prospective indictees were offered a deal if they cooperated with the government in court. Even facing the threat of jail sentences and fines, many refused. Elderly and infirm blacks were herded into huses, brought under armed state trooper escorts to Mohile, over 200 miles from their homes. These grand jury "witnesses" were photographed, fingerprinted and forced to give handwriting samples. In one case, the Government Accounting Office launched a year-long investigation into a hlack farmers' cooperative, headed hy Turner, which left it virtually crippled.

Cops arrest civil rights activists in '60s voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama.

At an "Alahama Black Belt Defense Committee" fundraiser in Atlanta December 4, Albert Turner detailed to WV the government's scheme to entrap the civil rights activists:

> "It's not accidental that I was indicted, that Spiver Gordon was indicted. The guys who have been involved in this struggle for the last 20 years... every one of us was under investigation.
>
> "They went through some extreme measures trying to get me in jail. They changed 50 people's ballots to entrap me. I was a poll watcher, at the absentee ballot box that night. They numbered all the ballots. I got the number of every person's ballot that had any kind of configuration on it. And in the whole county, there wasn't hut 35 ballots. When I went to trial they had 80 ballots. I accuse the government. They paid people to lie. They intimidated people to lie. They openly made it known that they intended to get me."

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

During the Civil War, runaway and freed slaves flocked to the Union Army and played a decisive role in the destruction of the old slave system. Under the protection of the Reconstruction Acts enforced by a Union Army military dictatorship, the freed black man took the lead in carrying through a social revolution and smashing the old slavocracy in the South. The franchise was often defended by armed black soldiers stationed at polling places. But the Compromise of 1877, representing a powerful bloc of Northern industrial capital and subordinate Southern Bourbon planters allowed the ex-slaves to be disenfranchised and forced back on the land as tenant farmers and sharecroppers.

While the civil rights movement drew on the deep hatred of the black masses for Jim Crow, its main beneficiaries were the relatively narrow black middle class. They were represented by M.L. King and the SCLC whose political strategy, based on turn-the-other-cheek pacifism, was to seek the support of and above all avoid antagonizing the Northern white liberal establishment. They looked to federal troops, federal courts, federal laws, and of course the Federal Bureau of Investigation to aid them against Southern "states' righters." And now the federal government is using the same courts and laws to "roll back" not only the civil rights movement but even gains won by the Civil War.

Southern blacks won back the franchise only to have their misleaders sell it to the party of the Dixiecrats. The hankruptcy of the SCLC strategy is epitomized by the fact that 20 years after the passage of the Voting Rights Act, Alabama's black Democratic Party establishment had nothing better to offer hlack voters than state governor George "Segregation Forever" Wallace. Jesse Jackson's voter registration drive signed up four million blacks, but only as voting cattle for loser Democrat Mondale who endorsed Reagan's racist rape of black Grenada, and his running mate Ferraro, who with her anti-busing stand tried to mohilize the racist white ethnic vote. Now the federal authorities with their federal laws are swarming

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Long Island Bishop, D.A. Call Out Anti-Abortion Bigots

The Long Island Catholic bishop and Nassau County district attorney staged a sinister action outside a well-known abortion clinic in Hempstead, New York on December 28, calling out some 3,000 chanting, praying bigots to target the Bill Baird Institute. D.A. Dennis Dillon and county comptroller Peter King marched with Bishop John McGann as he led thousands through the streets chanting, "Bill Baird kills babies!", ending up at the clinic. There, a counterprotest of 300 to 500 abortion rights defenders demonstrated along with clinic director Baird in front of the facility.

McGann boasted his "silent scream for life" was an important milestone in the church's reactionary anti-abortion crusade, the first time any New York bishop has taken his own diocese into the streets against abortion. Spearheaded by 200 priests and nuns, the action began with a church service. As the crowd shouted "Baby killers!", a habited nun told the press, "I sort of look at Bill Baird as a modern-day King Herod." Baird pointed to the ominous threat posed by Bishop McGann's forces together with the representatives of the state: "We're counter-picketing him to let the American people know that you stand up to a bully."

On the day of the "right-to-life" march the clinic got two telephoned bomb threats causing police to first search, then shut down the clinic for the afternoon. Asked about the bomb threats, D.A. Dillon said, "This is the fourth demonstration we've had here, and generally it's some kind of a threat, allegedly called in. Nothing ever happens." *Nothing ever happens?!* The pioneering Baird clinic in Hempstead, the first such facility in the country, has been a repeated target of right-wing terrorists, including a firebombing *with 50 women inside* six years ago, and a menacing "demonstration" of uniformed Nazis in jackboots and swastikas!

In Manhattan on December 10, a bomb exploded in the bathroom of a busy abortion clinic at 3:30 p.m. on a Tuesday afternoon, starting a fire. Because the caller had warned the police bomb squad, the building was evacuated in time. There was no warning in Portland, Oregon, however, when a big bomb arrived in the mail of a women's health center. This murderous package was intended to kill people. Portland postal officials then found other mail bombs, addressed to two abortion clinics and to Planned Parenthood. According to the *New York Times* (18 December 1985), during the last two years there have been 50 bombing and arson incidents at abortion and family-planning clinics.

Abortion is still legal in this country. Yet the presence of Nassau County "chief law enforcer" Dillon in the march and picket gives the state's green light to the anti-abortion terrorists. In bloc with New York's Cardinal O'Connor, these bigots have been in the forefront of attacks on women and gays, from the campaign to block two Albany abortion clinics from opening, to the ban on hiring homosexuals at city-financed church social service facilities. With the blessing of the White House, the crusade against abortion rights is the spearhead of reaction against every decent and progressive social measure won in the past 200 years. Don't let them turn back the clock to the Middle Ages! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand! For the separation of church and state! Women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

police have arrested Winnie once again for attempting to go home to Soweto.

Class War, Not Race War

Winnie Mandela and the millions of South African blacks she inspires are pushing their defiance to the limit, but the heavily armed apartheid state still has the whip hand. The liberal nationalism she and the ANC espouse has challenged, but cannot destroy the apartheid regime. More urgently than ever, events in South Africa show the deadly results of this impasse.

On December 23, five whites, including three young children, were killed in a terror bombing at the "whites only" beach resort of Amanzimtoti near Durban, provoking calls for retaliation from the white population. On Christmas Day, 56 blacks died on the outskirts of Durban when 2,000 Zulus brandishing spears, clubs, knives, machetes and some shotguns clashed with 3,000 Pondos, a Xhosa-speaking people. The confrontation was sparked by job competition in South Africa's recession-ravaged economy, as the Pondos migrate from the impoverished bantustan of Transkei and settle in the shanty-towns around Durban, which lie in the Zulu bantustan of Kwazulu. It was the worst tribal clash in a decade.

Also on Christmas Day, five blacks died in Soweto as youths calling for a "black Christmas" fought with migrant workers who refused to cancel their holiday celebrations. And three blacks were left dead, and others wounded, as a result of fighting over the holidays in a black township northeast of Cape Town between the United Democratic Front (UDF), a multiclass and multiracial coalition of anti-apartheid groups, and the narrowly black nationalist Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). As the danger of degeneration into a disastrous race, tribal and factional war looms, South Africa's anti-apartheid revolt cries out for the leadership of a racially integrated Leninist party, armed with the program of revolutionary proletarian class struggle.

In the past year over a thousand blacks, many of them young children, have been killed by the racist police state. But while blacks bury their dead in the impoverished townships, white suburbanites a few miles away play cricket and host dinner parties. One can understand that desperate black rage may have motivated whoever set off that bomb in the exclusive Durban beach resort. However, indiscriminate terrorism against the white population is not only criminal and morally indefensible, it will rebound against the black masses.

The Amanzimtoti bombing plays into the hands of hardline white supremacists who are prepared to kill, in truly Hitlerite fashion, hundreds of thousands of blacks to restore apartheid law and order. Reporter Alan Cowell contrasted whites' reaction to the Durban beach resort bombing with their attitude to the daily police terror in the black townships:

> "Black death, to many whites, is but a consequence of the enforcement of what is called law and order. The slaying of the five whites, touching the raw nerves of those who control the power of the Government, by contrast, seems to those same people a hurt and a challenge that must be met with the punishment that history's overlords reserve for their underlings....
>
> "If there was a mood among the whites who saw the bloodshed in Amanzimtoti, other than shock, it was a desire for vengeance."
>
> —*New York Times*, 25 December 1985

Mendel/AFP

Winnie Mandela at the Mamelodi funeral protest.

And the whites have all the guns.

While no group has publicly claimed responsibility for the Durban bombing, the ANC has definitely not repudiated it. In the past, the ANC carefully restricted its guerrilla raids to military and economic installations. But last year it announced a policy shift to include "soft" targets, acknowledging that this would mean an increase in white civilian casualties. At the same time, the ANC leadership is still working for a deal with the more "liberal" wing of the white ruling class, represented by the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing empire.

Against the ANC and its nationalist rivals in the Black Consciousness Movement, proletarian communists seek to lead the South African struggle along class not national (racial) lines. *He who labors should rule!* We strive for a black-centered workers government, in which there had better be a place for whites. With their technological and cultural skills, South African whites can be a valuable economic resource for the socialist reconstruction of all Africa.

Free Nelson Mandela! Defend Winnie Mandela!

For over a generation Nelson and Winnie Mandela have symbolized the resistance of the black masses to white supremacist rule. When early last year, the No. 1 apartheid terrorist, P.W. Botha, announced he would consider releasing the ANC leader if he renounced "violence," Mandela replied:

> "Let him [Botha] renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid.... Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.... I cannot sell my birthright nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free."

Winnie Mandela has shown the same steadfastness and the same defiance of the apartheid regime. When the government banished her to the godforsaken *dorp* (Afrikaner country town) of Brandfort, they got more than they bargained for. As she walked through the "whites only" entrances of Brandfort's stores, the rednecks made way or took refuge outside. The local Afrikaners, for whom blacks are objects worth far less than the farm equipment they operate, were astounded to see a stream of international visitors making their way to Mandela's tiny house. When other blacks began to emulate Winnie's tenacious insistence on her dignity, and the local Afrikaners begged their government to remove her from Brandfort, she jocularly stated that if the banning orders were not lifted she would insist on remaining where she was!

Winnie Mandela has paid a heavy price for her defiance of the apartheid state. Government agents attacked her house in Brandfort, assaulting her sister, her infant grandson and dozens of children. Winnie commented, "The following week they bombed the house. The previous week they had killed in cold blood a very close friend of mine in Durban. I took that to be a direct message to me" (*Newsweek*, 30 December 1985). And now they are trying to drive her out of Soweto. Through militant demonstrations and labor solidarity actions internationally, all those who hate apartheid must act to beat back the deadly threats against Winnie Mandela. Drop the charges! Free Nelson Mandela and all anti-apartheid fighters!

The great personal courage of Nelson and Winnie Mandela is based on the justice of the demand of South Africa's 24 million blacks to be citizens and rule in the land of their birth. The Mandelas belong to a generation of ANC leaders who were won away from a narrow black African nationalism to the goal of a multiracial South Africa, in large part through the influence of the South African Communist Party. But the CP, in Stalinist fashion, sees a multiracial democratic South Africa arising from the classless unity of all "progressive" forces (a people's front). The ANC does *not* seek to smash apartheid superexploitation and the capitalist state which enforces it, but rather to *pressure* the South African bourgeoisie into dismantling formal apartheid.

It is because of this reformist program that Winnie Mandela takes a "liberal" imperialist like Teddy Kennedy to be a friend. Because it cannot transcend the framework of nationalism, the ANC (based upon Xhosa-speaking peoples) cannot lead the way to overcoming tribalist conflicts such as that between the Zulus and Pondos. And without a program which can smash the apartheid state, black resistance turns in on itself, substituting gestures of self-sacrifice for real blows against the white ruling class. As for the moralistic "black Christmas" campaign, like the divestment campaign, a key aspect of the ANC's politics, it says to the workers not "organize your power as a class," but "suffering will set you free."

The question in South Africa is not whether blood will flow—it is whose blood, when, where and how. To avert a senseless racial-communal bloodbath, in which the overwhelming majority of the victims will be the oppressed black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian majority, it is vital to forge a Trotskyist party in South Africa, a workers party which can wage the struggle on class lines, neutralizing a section of the white population and winning the best elements to the fight for a socialist Africa. Only such a party, standing at the head of the oppressed black African, coloured and Indian masses, can smash apartheid and avenge all the martyrs of the struggle for black freedom. ■

"Free Enterprise" at Work

1985: Year of the Air Disaster

The children were waiting to see Santa Claus at a crowded shopping mall in suburban Concord, California the day before Christmas, when suddenly a twin-engine Beechcraft Baron airplane crashed through the roof of Macy's. Aircraft fuel poured through the 50-foot hole and ignited, creating a rain of flaming roofing tar on the panicked crowd below. "The effect was like napalm," said a doctor later. The plane's three passengers were killed, along with a 22-year-old woman who was in the mall to pick up her wedding ring and a young child who died later from burns. Eighty people were injured, including four children who were seriously burned. Police later found one of the plane's missing propellers "wedged between an information booth and a stroller rental concession" (*Newsday*, 26 December 1985).

"The accident was waiting to happen," commented a local resident who had watched in recent years as buildings sprang up on the flight path to the airport. Another resident noted that planes flew so close to the parking lot "you could see the pilot's eyeballs" (*New York Times*, 26 December 1985). And even the less-than-minimal rules of the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) were ignored in the scramble for the high-profit commercial space: the recently completed office tower of the Bank of America near the Concord airport is taller than FAA limits. The obstacle course of tall buildings combined with inland fog led to the disaster.

1985 in fact was the worst year in civil aviation history as the mounting number of air disasters racked up nearly *2,000* deaths in one year. Meanwhile the FAA under Donald Engen has fought every attempt to impose tighter safety standards on the airline industry—in Reaganite jargon that would be considered "government interference." The FAA never seriously imposed truly safe standards, but lately they seem to have completely folded shop. While government was pulled off the backs of the airline owners, its grip on the labor force was tightened through an assault on the unions. As we wrote last summer:

> "In the Reagan years government air safety controls have been thrown to the wind in the name of 'deregulation.' The frontal attack on air safety was signaled by Reagan's 1981 firing of 11,400 striking PATCO air traffic controllers, whose main concern was staff shortages and job pressures creating safety hazards. Today the system is stretched thinner than ever with 14,300 controllers, 2,000 *less* than there were before the strike, and only half the workforce is rated fully 'qualified'....
>
> "The dramatic nose dive of air safety under Reagan underlines a key point: union rights and passenger safety go hand in hand."
>
> —"Reagan's Deadly Skies," *WV* No. 383, 12 July 1985

Right after we published that, there was a cluster of major air disasters confirming every word we wrote. On August 2 a Delta Air Lines L-1011 jumbo jet got caught in a deadly "wind shear" and crashed at Dallas-Ft. Worth airport, killing 134 people. The recovered cockpit tape recordings later revealed that 17 minutes before the crash the plane's crew were complaining about the air traffic controller's directions. The crew had spotted "a pretty good-sized cell" of bad weather and the captain commented, "It's getting kind of hot in the oven with this controller.... See, that's what the lack of experience does" (*New York Times*, 1 October 1985).

The incident also triggered renewed calls for installation of Doppler radars at airports to provide warning of dangerous wind shear patterns. "It has been known for two years that Doppler radar was probably an answer to wind shear," commented the *New York Times* (29 August 1985) in an editorial. But an internal FAA document obtained by the *Washington Post* (18 August 1985) revealed that the FAA preferred patching up the existing non-radar detection system because it was considered "the most cost-effective method"—i.e., it's cheaper to pay in human lives.

On August 12, a Japan Air Lines 747 crashed outside Tokyo, killing 520 crew and passengers, one of the worst civilian aviation disasters on record. The plane had lost a section of its tail fin when the aft cabin pressure bulkhead collapsed, apparently because a botched repair job by the U.S.-based Boeing company involved faulty riveting. (Boeing later agreed to split compensation costs with JAL to quash the outcries from the victims' relatives.) The depressurization explosion caused the pilot to lose control of the aircraft, possibly because of a design flaw noted by FAA certification engineers 20 years ago: the four hydraulic control lines are not adequately separated in the tail section.

As a British Air Tours 737 was taking off in London on August 22 one of its jet engines blew up when a red-hot combustion chamber broke loose, ripping into the wing and severing a fuel line. The resulting fire killed 54 people: toxic fumes from flammable seat cushions probably added to the death toll, and many passengers reported it was hard to escape because more seats had been jammed in. Subsequent press reports revealed long-standing troubles with Pratt & Whitney's JT-8D engine, apparently due to lax maintenance procedures and FAA standards.

In September, another 31 died in the crash of a DC-9 in Milwaukee, also apparently because of the Pratt & Whitney engine. And a near-miss between a helicopter and an Eastern Airlines shuttle jet at Washington's National Airport caused Congressmen to raise questions about the FAA. Then came the spectacular December 12 Arrow Air crash at Gander, Newfoundland in which 248 American soldiers died. A grim summary of Reagan's deregulation of the airlines in the name of unfettered "free enterprise."

The Defense Department and Air Force cynically tried to palm off blame for the Gander crash by noting that the DC-9 was "under charter to the Rome office of the international peacekeeping force in the Sinai Desert, and not to the United States Government" (*New York Times*, 17 December 1985). In actuality, Arrow Air is one of a slew of fly-by-night outfits that are kept alive by U.S. government contracts. The owner of Arrow Air, George Batchelor, who piloted U.S. generals in World War II, restarted the company in 1981 after years of inoperation because "Federal deregulation opened the way to greater airline competition" (*New York Times*, 24 December 1985).

Reagan's deadly skies: wreckage of Delta Flight 191 at Dallas-Ft. Worth airport, August 2.

In Reagan's America it seems that any little puddle-hopping airline which can pluck stranded U.S. diplomats from embassy rooftops in Southeast Asia or make heroin runs for the CIA gets FAA approval. They deal with passengers like that notorious labor-hater president of World Airways, pistol-packing Ed Daly, who pushed out the U.S.' hapless Vietnamese collaborators as they tried to clamber aboard the "last flight out of Da Nang."

Arrow Air has a history of safety violations noted by the FAA, particularly excessive "deferred maintenance," for which they received a fine of $34,000—a mere slap on the wrist. The widow of a captain who died in the Arrow Air crash commented that both she and her husband worried when he left on an Arrow plane last summer because "it just looked so sleazy." Her husband was "extremely depressed" on the phone at the prospect of returning with the same company, and she pointedly refused to attend Reagan's cynical ceremony for the dead.

Reagan's yahoo capitalism has unleashed the sleaziest profiteers. "Since deregulation, one of the tendencies we've all seen has been a tendency to degrade maintenance," noted Charles O Miller, a former high official of the National Transportation Safety Board, on ABC's *Nightline* recently. In keeping with the pursuit of maximum profit, the FAA has granted Boeing permission to eliminate two of the ten exit doors on its 747 jumbos in order to squeeze in more seats. One cynical Reaganite budget official commented in response to questions about recent crashes: "More people were killed on motorcycles last week. How safe is safe?"

Terrorist murder of civil air passengers is a rotten business. In the last year some 84 people were killed during terrorist actions in airplanes and airports. But compare this to the 1,950-plus killed as a result of plane crashes. Does cynical murder-for-profit leave the dead any better off?

Well, that's "free enterprise" for you. We are reminded of astronaut Gus Grissom's comment about his horrifying thoughts during launchings, that the whole thing was put together by "a crowd of lowest bidders." (Grissom died in 1967 when a flash fire broke out inside an Apollo space capsule atop a Saturn rocket at Cape Kennedy.) We socialists are fighting for a system where safety of human lives, not private profit, is the bottom line. A planned economy is needed to do away with capitalist anarchy in the skies. And that will take a socialist revolution to accomplish. As a start, we demand the immediate rehiring, with full back pay, of the fired PATCO air controllers. ■

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KAL 007: U.S. Cold War Provocation

Skeletons in the White House Basement

Having finished his "peace" charade at the Geneva summit, Reagan is back to his usual anti-Soviet ranting. Last week he submitted a report to Congress about a so-called "pattern of Soviet non-compliance" with arms control agreements. It's all a giant smokescreen, of course, behind which the administration intends to violate every weapons pact on the books, by expanding the nuclear fleet of Trident subs (limited by SALT II) to Reagan's first-strike "Star Wars" schemes, a frontal assault on the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

For the umpteenth time, the White House report dredges up the two-and-a-half-year-old U.S. complaint about the new Soviet phased array radar system at Abalakova (near Krasnoyarsk) in Siberia. This issue has become a peculiar paranoid obsession in the Oval Office. Conservative pundit William Safire devoted a whole column to this old news recently (*New York Times*, 31 October 1985), jabbering about "Krasnoyarsk Chutzpah." Our interest was caught by Safire's claim that a July 1983 Evans and Novak column about the Russian radar was the "scoop of the year."

The Reaganites protest too much... and they may have inadvertently pointed to the origins of the Korean Air Lines Flight 007 spy mission. By sending a civilian jetliner over the most sensitive Soviet military installations in the Far East, Washington Cold Warriors caused the deaths of more than 200 innocent passengers. As Reagan and the "responsible" American media vituperated against Russian "barbarism"—for defending their airspace against an unidentified intruder—we proclaimed, "Reagan's Story Stinks!" Our 1983 pamphlet, "KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation," told the truth about this deadly Cold War plot a year before the first liberal journalists publicly questioned Reagan's Big Lie.

Now even the snotty reactionaries of the London *Economist* (12 October 1985) have begun to raise more questions about this fishy affair. In an article titled "Stir, and the Plot Thickens," they list a number of revelations showing that the course of the KAL jetliner was no "accident": radar data released by the Japanese government last May "suggesting that the pilot of 007 purposely misled Japanese air controllers" regarding the plane's true position; evidence filed in a lawsuit against the U.S. government indicating that "American radar operators knew hours beforehand that 007 was off course and that one taped radio conversation contains the words of an American operator saying 'We should warn him'"; cancellation of an investigation by the National Transportation Safety Board only hours after the Russians shot down the intruding plane.

Even though the U.S. State Department confiscated all the NTSB records and put them under classified wraps, where they remain to this day, damning leaks continue. The *Economist* reports:

> "An American lawyer involved in the lawsuits has claimed that the widow of the pilot of 007 told him in front of witnesses that her husband and the co-pilot were routinely paid to fly over the Soviet Union, and that they had said they wanted to stop doing it because it was getting too dangerous."

The probable purpose of such a mission, these British Tories note, would be "to trigger the Russian air-defence system" so the U.S. could record the reactions. But why at this time and place? The answer may well lie in the Reaganite obsession with Abalakova.

To the fevered brains in the White House basement, the newly discovered Siberian radar threatened to upset U.S. plans for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. The new "Red threat" was not a Russian plot to attack the United States, but rather a supposed Russian plan to detect American attack! As Evans and Novak explained:

> "The new radar... would close a gap in Soviet coverage to the Northeast against incoming U.S. ICBMs targeted on Eastern Soviet territory and possible submarine-launched missiles from the Pacific."
>
> —*New York Post*, 27 July 1983

Searching for a legal pretext, the Reaganites decided that Abalakova represented a "breakout" from the ABM treaty because they assumed the radar was designed for "battle management" of Soviet defensive missiles, and the installation is not on the "periphery" of Soviet borders as mandated by the '72 treaty.

The Soviets have repeatedly responded that the radar is for tracking objects in space, allowable under the treaty, not for directing ABM defenses. And the magazine of the American Association for the Advancement of Science noted that "the bulk of the U.S. intelligence community" believes the radar's physical characteristics will give it "only slight ballistic missile defense capability" (*Science*, 22 March 1985). But to ultraright Reaganites, even the "intelligence community"—not to mention academia—is riddled with "pinkos" and "Soviet moles."

The Radar, the Ferret and KAL 007

A little over two weeks after the shooting down of KAL 007 on 31 August/1 September 1983, Soviet air marshal Pyotr Kirsanov revealed that the orbit of a U.S. "ferret" spy satellite was "strictly synchronized" with the flight of KAL 007. The electronic surveillance satellite, which would remain operational for only a few months, had been launched as a piggyback payload atop a "Big Bird" photo reconnaissance satellite, and the purpose of the latter was openly admitted: *Aviation Week & Space Technology* (22 August 1983) bragged that CIA photo interpreters "spotted the new radar" at Abalakova on the returned film from Big Bird. The photos revealed that the radar was oriented "to the northeast," which would "enable it to detect Trident missiles launched from submarines in the Bering Sea or Gulf of Alaska." What they still needed was electronic data on the new radar—its operating frequency, coverage fan, etc. That would be the job of the electronic ferret.

After reading Safire's column, we went back to look at the public record during the summer of '83. What we found goes a long way toward explaining the genesis of a full-blown U.S. war provocation:

- Sometime probably in *early 1983:* a CIA spy named A.G. Tolkachev working "at a top-secret military aviation compound in Moscow" gives the U.S. "its first tipoff about Soviet plans for the large phased-array radar system" (*New York Post*, 18 October 1985).
- *15 April 1983:* the U.S. launches a "close-look" film-drop spy satellite over the Soviet Union. It was one of the last such expensive photo satellites in the U.S. inventory.
- *20 June 1983:* the U.S. launches the Big Bird photo reconnaissance satellite to get a more complete picture. Secretly, the Big Bird releases into separate orbit an electronic "ferret" satellite designed to pick up electromagnetic radiation, particularly the emissions from Soviet radar.
- *15 July 1983:* a top-secret "warning" about the new radar is sent by the "intelligence community" directly to the White House, according to the Evans and Novak "scoop." A flurry of paranoid panic ensues in Washington. Senator James McClure writes a letter to Reagan asking for a special closed-door briefing on the "flagrant" Soviet "violation"; Secretary of State Shultz reads a statement to the Soviet chargé d'affaires demanding a special meeting of the arms agreements monitoring group; and the White House creates a special arms control "verification panel" headed by the president's national security adviser, William P. Clark.
- *19 July 1983:* the first meeting of the powerful new interagency group takes place. Reagan created the new body "to take responsibility for arms control away from the State and Defense Departments and place them in the hands of William P. Clark," according to the *New York Times* (20 July 1983). At this first meeting Reagan shows up in person to urge the group to "explore every possible angle."

Clark, a former Army counterintelligence officer, had by the summer of 1983 become "the President's chief instrument for guaranteeing that his Administration takes a hard-line approach to Communism and Soviet influence in the world," worried White House correspondent Steven Weisman ("The Influence of William Clark," *New York Times Magazine*, 14 August 1983). "Echoing the President, [Clark] has characterized the Soviet state as 'a bizarre and evil episode of history whose last pages are even now being written'." Clark, who was also a prime mover behind "covert" aid to Nicaraguan contras and the threatening U.S. military maneuvers in Central America, was now in charge of a top-level nuclear arms policy group made up of leading Cold Warriors, including Robert McFarlane, Richard Burt, Lawrence Eagleburger, Richard Perle, Fred Iklé and representatives of the CIA and Joint Chiefs of Staff.

What were Clark's plans for the U.S. "ferret" satellite orbiting the Soviet Union that summer? The electronic spy-in-the-sky would pick up the emissions of the standard Soviet border radars, but strategic radars like the one at Abalakova would only be turned on by an unusual border penetration. Enter KAL 007 from Alaska.

WV Graphic

KAL 007's provocative intrusion into Soviet airspace: U.S. probe of new Russian radar?

Evans/The White House

Clark and Reagan aboard Air Force One. Reagan told Clark: take Soviets to the mat.

Reagan: Putting Confrontation Back in Vogue

In the *Washington Post* of 17 August 1983 Evans and Novak published another column, obviously a "leak" from White House sources. They wrote that "President Reagan has quietly signaled national security adviser William Clark to damn the torpedoes and go full speed ahead in challenging the Soviet Union to explain apparent

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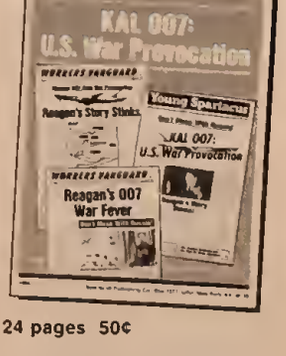

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Salvadoran Workers Strike Against Duarte

For more than a year now, the United States government and the American press have been crowing that El Salvador is a "success story" for Ronald Reagan's foreign policy. The country supposedly has an elected government, indiscriminate terror by security forces is down and the army is winning the war in the countryside, they claim. This picture is in good measure the result of a CIA "perception management" program, whose purpose (according to the *Los Angeles Times*) is "to change El Salvador's image from that of a cauldron of war and death to that of a country where conditions are improving as a result of U.S. policies, and to persuade the U.S. Congress to keep pumping economic and military aid into the Central American nation."

But the killing goes relentlessly on—more than 60,000 dead and "disappeared" since 1979. In the countryside, random massacres by the army have been replaced by indiscriminate bombings against the civilian population in areas controlled by the leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). As a result, more than half a million Salvadoran peasants have fled the war zone, cramming into refugee centers in the cities. Altogether in 1984, the Catholic Legal Aid office reported 3,552 civilians killed by government forces and paramilitary groups. And according to a recent report by the Americas Watch human rights group, death squad killings have more than doubled in the last six months.

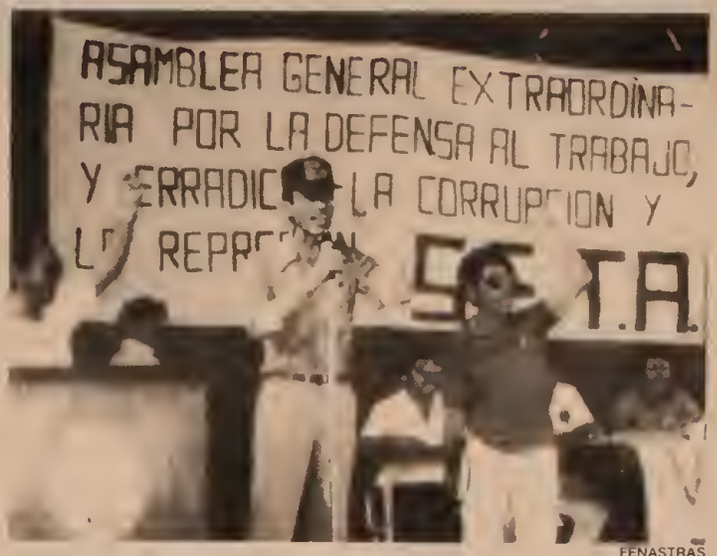
This hasn't prevented the guerrillas from landing dramatic blows, however, such as the attack on U.S. Marines in the Zona Rosa last May and the seizure of Christian Democratic official Inés Duarte, the daughter of the Salvadoran president, in September. In October, on the FMLN's fifth anniversary, rebel commandos attacked the military training center in La Unión, producing more than 200 casualties and capturing scores of soldiers. But as the army's forces quadrupled and U.S.-supplied air power made it difficult to concentrate large forces, the insurgents have gone over to a war of attrition. The *New York Times* (14 October 1985) reported: "American diplomats privately concede that a deadlock is developing. The Government, they say, can contain the rebels but not defeat them."

What the media have completely blacked out is the escalating *class war in the cities*. The Salvadoran labor movement, the most combative in Central America, is on the move again. During the first eight months of 1985, there were 80 strikes reported involving 400,000 workers. This means that in the last year probably the majority of all urban workers have struck against the regime of José Napoleón Duarte—in the midst of a civil war! Every single public worker who strikes does so illegally, and every demonstrator risks his life, marching "under the eye of death" with only long-billed visors for protection from prying government cameras. The Salvadoran workers are demonstrating tremendous courage, and after going through five years of terror they are back in the vanguard.

Following a defiant demonstration of upwards of 25,000 workers on May Day, up to the end of June there was a march or labor action every three days on the average. In a speech marking his first year in office, Duarte vituperated against the unions as being "infiltrated" by the guerrillas. The next day a special U.S.-trained SWAT squad hit the sit-down strike at San Salvador's general hospital, managing to kill four undercover cops and causing the death of a woman patient (see "Class War in San Salvador," *WV* No. 383, 12 July 1985). But this did not intimidate the strikers. While some unions had to retreat without winning their main demands, most managed to prevent reprisals. After a summer pause, protests and labor actions succeeded each other every other day all fall.

In the spring, the initiative was taken by left-led federations, but now even conservative, formerly pro-government unions were entering the struggle. By mid-November almost 50,000 government employees were on strike. One of the main demands was repeal of Decree 162, passed by the legislature in September, allowing the government to weed out union militants through summary transfers. Other demands included repeal of Decree 296, prohibiting unionization and strikes by public employees; of the state of emergency (Decree 44), providing for the militarization of public employees; of the wage freeze (Decree 544) and the state of siege. Trade unions are so hog-tied by these restrictions that virtually every labor action is illegal, and treated as such.

In demanding across-the-board pay increases, Salvadoran workers are fighting literally for survival. Today industrial wages average $4.40 a day in San Salvador; with wages frozen (there has been only one pay raise in the last six years), double-digit inflation has led to a drastic decline in real income. But the most frequent cause of the walkouts has been the arrests or kidnappings of union leaders, which have increased dramatically in recent months. Last September, the left-wing National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) published a list of 41 trade unionists who had been arrested, kidnapped, tortured or killed since January. Another list, compiled by the independent news agency SALPRESS in its *Boletin Semanal Centroamericano* (4-17 November 1985) lists another 28. This is the "democracy" which Reagan and Duarte brag of.



FENASTRAS

Meeting of SETA water utility workers demands "defense of jobs and eradication of corruption and repression."

Where union supporters were not simply murdered, their comrades have quickly mobilized to save their lives. In late July, Facundo Mauricio Ramirez (a leader of the bank workers union) was arrested but soon freed due to strike action; when Salvador Rodriguez Duarte (general secretary of the transport workers) was detained three days later, the threat of a work stoppage won his release. The most important strikes this fall were the repeated walkouts by the telecommunications workers of ASTTEL, which effectively cut off phone service to the outside for weeks. When ASTTEL official Humberto Centeno and his two sons were seized on November 8, the 7,000 unionists immediately walked out; after Centeno was let go, they stayed out until his sons (accused of being FMLN supporters) were transferred from the barracks to Mariona prison.

Salvadoran Labor: "Back From the Dead"

"El Salvador's radical labor movement seems to live nine lives," wrote the *Wall Street Journal* (24 September 1985). During 1979-83, more than 5,000 union activists were killed by government forces in and out of uniform. Five different current or former secretary generals of the FUSS labor federation were murdered. Unions were destroyed, union halls bombed, union leaders forced into clandestinity or into exile. Only CIA-funded "unions" linked to the AIFLD (American Institute for Free Labor Development) could function openly. As recently as 1984, virtually the entire executive committee of the transport workers union was assassinated. But with more than half a century of experience of bloody rightist repression, the left-led labor movement successfully went underground and then, when conditions were favorable, began to stick their heads up.

A few tentative economic strikes in 1983 won modest pay gains, the first break in the brutal wage freeze. The following year militant unionists took to the streets on May Day. And increasingly during 1984-85 labor actions have radicalized: plant occupations, lengthy walkouts and openly political marches are now common, something inconceivable only three years ago. Colonel Rinaldo Golcher, director of the murderous Treasury Police, says bluntly: "It's the first stage of the new urban war." Compared to the last labor upsurge, during 1978-80, the *Journal* notes two differences. The "popular organizations" linking leftist unions with peasant groups disappeared in the terror, many of their militants joining the guerrillas. And a number of "center" unions have broken with the government and are now collaborating with the left.

These "labor" outfits were originally a product of Yankee dollars operating under the political cover of Christian Democracy to foster yellow unions as a bulwark against Communism. The main vehicle was the Popular Democratic Unity (UPD), formed by the AIFLD in 1980 on the basis of peasant cooperatives which benefited from the land reform enacted by the Christian Democratic/military junta, and government workers who held their jobs at the pleasure of the current government. Set

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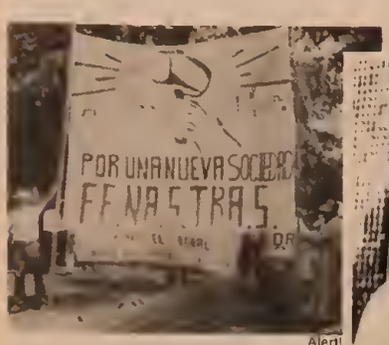


Alert!

Martin/Guardian

Hector Recinos, general secretary of left-wing FENASTRAS labor federation.

Salvadoran Workers...

(continued from page 7)

up to provide an organized social base for the Duarte regime, the UPD unions first struck in 1983 when death squad leader Roberto D'Aubuisson's ultra-rightist ARENA party was in the ascendency, gutting land reform and firing Christian Democrats from government positions.

Now Duarte is back as president. But even though he signed a "social pact" with the UPD prior to the '84 elections, in order to get union activists to bring out the vote, which they did; and although the Christian Democrats won a majority in the legislative assembly last March, Duarte has not carried out his "reform" promises. Under pressure from Washington and the big landowners, he has let agrarian reform go to hell; at the behest of Washington and factory owners he denounces strikers as "subversives"; following orders from Washington and the military, he abandoned even his phony La Palma "dialogue" with the guerrillas. UPD leaders were forced into a corner, and facing competition from the resurgent labor left, some began acting like unionists.

The first break came in August 1984 when the UPD condemned Duarte for dragging his feet on "dialogue," and obliquely criticized U.S. military aid (see Chris Norton, "Build and Destroy," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, November/December 1985). For Washington, the whole purpose of Duarte's election and the setting up of "free trade unions" was in order to entice more military aid for the Salvadoran regime out of Congress, so naturally the AIFLD controllers hit the roof. With a heavy hand on the purse strings (90 percent of the AIFLD budget comes from U.S. government funds), they cut off the UPD and moved to set up a rival Confederation of Democratic Workers (CTD). But the move backfired.

While the AIFLD was repossessing jeeps and office equipment, the government's social base was breaking with their patrons. As Julia Preston reported in the *Boston Globe* (19 August 1985):

> "Instead of unifying a conservative labor bloc, the Institute angered many of its former friends, leading some to adopt Marxist-sounding rhetoric and others to move further to the right. The story of the Institute's involvement in Salvador's labor movement shows how much Americans still pull the strings of politics here."

Early last year, both the peasant federation and the construction workers replaced pro-AIFLD leaders with independents, and in August the CST (government workers) split from the UPD. As the phantom CTD sought to turn agricultural co-ops into private businesses run jointly with the growers, farm worker leaders complained, "They're asking us to embrace the men who murdered our brothers in the past." The CTD now exists as a hollow shell, with plenty of dollars and few members.

Salvadoran Workers: "Thirst for Justice"

Meanwhile, on September 15 left unions staged a 10,000-strong march, including a couple hundred women in black from the Committee of Mothers and Relatives of the Political Prisoners and Disappeared chanting, "Dialogue yes, repression no!" "Duarte's henchmen are the real terrorists!" and "From strike to strike, we will win!" And in early November another audacious event took place in a San Salvador hotel: a public convention of the leftist FENASTRAS unions, attended by more than 300 delegates and 50 international guests. Federation president Hector Bernabé Recinos, arrested in 1980 and sent from prison into exile four years later, flew in from Mexico accompanied by American unionists. The wave of strikes and street protests,

UPI

Salvadoran guerrilla fighters on patrol in Usulután province.

said Recinos, represents the masses' "thirst for justice."

At the FENASTRAS congress, Recinos declared that "the present Christian Democratic government does not represent the people's will," but rather the interests of Reagan and the rich. To resolve the national crisis, he said, requires a "popular and democratic government" of "national consensus." Recinos calls on "all political forces active in national life" to join in "broad national unity" (*Intercontinental Press*, 16 December 1985). Yet, even leaving aside D'Aubuisson's fascistic ARENA and its recent offshoot Patria Libre (Free Fatherland) as well as the traditional "oligarchic" parties, which are plenty active, who can believe that the ruling Christian Democrats would "take firm steps in implementing the transformations that would satisfy our people's needs"? Duarte won't even carry out his own land reform!

What "national unity" or "consensus" can there be in the midst of a raging civil war? Higher interests are involved here, *class* interests of the capitalist latifundistas and military officers against the workers and peasants who have suffered under their boot for decades. What must the response of the workers movement be to the war which has been the overwhelming reality of Salvadoran life for the past half decade? We Trotskyists say that labor must take a side, calling for *military victory to the leftist insurgents* in the struggle for a *workers and peasants government* that could truly transform El Salvador and all of Central America in the interests of the oppressed.

At its congress in November, FENASTRAS called for a "union forum," to pave the way for a "national forum" including all those interested in peace. In an interview with *Workers Vanguard* on 18 December 1985, Recinos elaborated on this call: "A national forum... will invite bosses, unions, rural workers, university students, small and medium-sized businesses, political parties, the church—in short, those who wish to look for a political solution to the civil war." But instead of looking to "patriotic" businessmen, who will never accept a revolution that "satisfies the people's needs," class-struggle unionists must look to the strength of labor. At present a key objective must be to mobilize that power to free all imprisoned unionists and other victims of the Duarte dictatorship.

This is not the first time the call for a "national forum" has been launched by Salvadoran leftists. In September 1979, FENASTRAS joined with other unions and professional associations *and Duarte's Christian Democratic Party* to form the Foro Popular on a platform calling for free elections, political pluralism, respect for human rights and economic reforms. The Foro appeared at the height of an explosive strike wave, led off by Recinos' own STECEL electrical workers, with plant occupations and labor marches taking place daily. What was needed at this crucial juncture was a revolutionary struggle for working-class power, not a list of liberal reforms.

In less than a month, the Foro was in power together with officers who led the coup that toppled the Romero dictatorship; yet the new "revolutionary junta" began attacking the occupied factories and repressing the residents of working-class barrios. As James Dunkerley wrote in *The Long War: Dictatorship and Revolution in El Salvador* (1982), "there was a unity of purpose between the military and the *Foro Popular*; they both sought to divert mobilisation. However, the civilians baulked at the degree of the repression this required." It was this junta that set the stage for the present civil war; it was the Foro Popular which provided the "reform" cover (designing the agrarian reform, for instance) behind which the bloody repression escalated.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Following a leadership meeting last July, the FMLN guerrilla coalition has announced its intention to form a single revolutionary party. According to a report in the *New York Times* (22 December 1985), a rebel document calls for the war to be "led by a vanguard that is trying to construct one Marxist-Leninist party," whose "direction is toward socialism" and the "liquidation of the capitalist system." In the past, the leftist insurgents have carefully avoided references to socialism, in order not to alarm the U.S. Congress and public opinion, and to maintain their alliance with the marginal petty-bourgeois liberal "Volkswagen parties" (so-called because their membership could all fit in a VW) of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR).

Lately, FDR leaders have criticized the FMLN on both the Zona Rosa attack and the kidnapping of Inés Duarte, and have talked of participating in the regime's periodic electoral hoaxes. But while a split (apparent or real) may be developing in the rebel alliance, the leftist guerrilla groups have not moved any closer to genuine Marxism and Leninism. A recent FMLN statement calls for a "transition government" including both the insurgents and the present regime, and for merging the government and guerrilla armies (*New York Times*, 18 November 1985). We can confidently predict that such a two-headed beast will never exist, and any leftist fighter who wants to be in the same army as the Salvadoran death squads must be prone to suicide.

The FMLN statement adds, "The blood has not been spilled in vain, the people must satisfy their aspirations and gain the objectives for which they have been fighting for decades." From the heroic 1932 uprising, where 30,000 Indians were murdered in the infamous *Matanza* (massacre), generations of Salvadoran workers and peasants have laid down their lives fighting for workers revolution to overthrow the military/landlord capitalist dictatorship, the rule of the bloody oligarchs and their kill-crazed guard dogs, both the uniformed military and the death squads. *This* was the program of Communist Farabundo Martí in 1932, not the treacherous "negotiated solution" advocated by those who falsely claim his heritage today.

What's needed in El Salvador is not "unity" of the petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrillas, who have repeatedly settled their internal political disputes by shooting their rivals, and all of whom support the treacherous policy of 'popular front" with the "progressive" exploiters. As Trotskyists we understand, as the experience of October 1979 and two Christian Democratic governments amply proves, that there is no "progressive" or "patriotic" sector of the bourgeoisie that can somehow break free of imperialist and oligarchic domination. Not the "unity" of murder and lies, but a rip-roaring programmatic fight for the political/organizational independence of the working class is urgently needed, for a return to the program of Lenin, Trotsky... and Farabundo Marti.

In this country, proletarian internationalists must fight Yankee imperialism from within, opposing not only the Reaganites, but also the liberal Democrats who vote for economic and military aid to the Duarte dictatorship as long as it has "human rights" strings attached. Class-struggle militants demand that U.S. labor break all ties to the CIA's AIFLD "labor" front. And American unions can play an important role in fighting to free their Salvadoran brothers and sisters from the jails of the Duarte dictatorship. Above all, the power of the workers movement must be brought into action against the U.S. war drive in Central America: "Hot cargo" arms to Central American rightist regimes—Labor strikes against direct U.S. intervention!

The courageous and combative workers of tiny El Salvador, oppressed by a "death squad democracy" made in U.S.A., must not fight alone. A real struggle against imperialism abroad can only mean revolutionary class struggle against capitalism here at home. ■

Cindy Karp

From left, FMLN guerrilla leaders Guardado and Cientuegos join FDR spokesmen Ungo and Zamora at La Palma 1984 "peace" talks with Duarte. No negotiated sellout! Military victory to leftist insurgents!

Hell for the Homeless...

(continued from page 1)

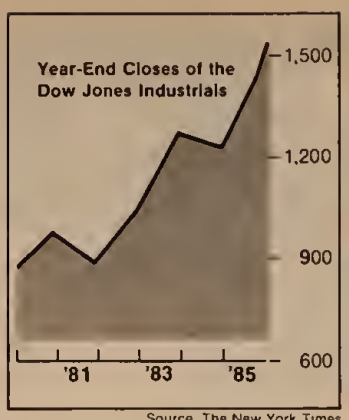
126,000 patients between 1965 and 1977—a policy which first produced the social phenomenon of "bag ladies"—many of the homeless are actually working poor. A large proportion are unemployed families with children. And in racist America, at least a third are black.

Remember the 1960s quip, "Urban renewal equals Negro removal"? The stock of affordable housing for lower-income and working people has been consciously destroyed in the big cities in the interest of "gentrification," the retaking of the cities by the bourgeoisie. In Boston, 85 percent of the "SRO" (single room occupancy) hotels have been eliminated as "yuppies" move into the downtown area; in New York, as Manhattan is refurbished as a playground for the rich, the number of SRO units has fallen from 127,000 a decade ago to 14,000 today. And as far as City Hall cares, anything goes. Last January, in order to circumvent a moratorium on razing such buildings, developer Harry Macklowe ordered the SRO Hotel Lenox demolished in the dead of night, without a permit and with gas and electricity still on. It's lucky the whole block wasn't blown up. But in a shameless deal with district attorney Morgenthau, Macklowe admitted all to a grand jury—and got off!

Los Angeles, which now has an estimated 35,000 to 50,000 homeless, is also embroiled in a fight between the real estate barons (the "developers"), and the homeless. An L.A. grand jury complained about "Greyhound therapy—the rest of the nation giving the homeless a one-way bus ticket to Los Angeles," and urged the downtown be declared a disaster area, eligible for federal aid. In frozen Chicago "warming centers" are now opened when the temperature drops below 11 degrees (!), but even these don't even have beds, you just get to sit up in a room with a radiator. On Christmas Eve some 10,000 people lined up on the South Side to receive free food baskets from the Paul Hall boys club. Most major cities report overflowing of armories, Salvation Army depots, bus and train stations.

In the "rust bowl" of the Middle West, the economic "recovery" has supposedly taken hold. Auto makers are crowing about a "record year"—for the profits of the Big Three. But hundreds of thousands of laid-off auto workers and steel workers have long since exhausted their unemployment benefits, and stand to lose everything they've got because they can't make the payments. Many went south looking for jobs, but ended up living out of their cars on the outskirts of Sun Belt cities, the '80s equivalent of the "Hoovervilles" of the last "Great Depression." On the farm lands of America's heartland, bank repossessions are producing men such as Iowan Dale Burr who, facing ruin, shot his neighbor, his wife, then himself, but not before he plugged the bank president too.

And there were a lot of homeless people in Philadelphia this Christmas, not least the former residents of Osage Avenue where Mayor Wilson Goode and the cops bombed the black MOVE commune last May, murdering eleven people in their home, including five babies. The entire neighborhood was burned to the ground in the Philly inferno, and the city reneged on its "promise" that the 62 black families would have their houses rebuilt by Christmas as the contractor was indicted for fraud. The MOVE bombing bore the signature of the Reagan years, its message to black people who "get out of line." And with this official green light, arsonists and KKK lynch mobs have been forcing black and interracial couples from their homes, as racist terror in Philadelphia rides high.



Source: The New York Times

AP

Life's a bowl of jelly beans for Ron and Nancy, as Wall Street hits record highs and millions live in misery.

"American Dream" and Dickens' Reality

Because the tidal wave of homeless is so visible, their plight has received a rash of media attention. As *Newsweek* (16 December 1985) put it, "For all the 'safety nets' and saintly acts, the reality is out of Dickens." Reagan has even proposed selling the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) to private investors. This is one federal agency that actually makes a modest profit, but its sale was proposed to show an estimated $3 billion deficit reduction from the proceeds. Established in the Depression to insure mortgages for lower- and middle-income housing, the FHA was the archetypal example of the "American dream" at work: in the "land of opportunity" every worker can own his own home in the suburbs, maybe even a little hunting shack or a boat, send the kids to college. Sounds like a pretty sick joke today.

The administration has apparently backed off from selling the FHA, for now, although selling off federal assets and programs to private industry is a cornerstone of the "Reagan revolution." Next on the Heritage Foundation's hit list are water supply, sewers, public transport. Meanwhile, the proposed new budget calls for even more harsh cuts in already slashed housing programs. These include canceling two-thirds of the $9.9 billion Congress appropriated for housing assistance to low income people, cutting federal housing subsidies and ending *all* rental housing development grants, which subsidize construction of rental housing in poor neighborhoods. Not only do they object to spending money on the poor, Reagan's construction company cronies particularly want to get rid of the FHA's minimum construction and safety standards.

"Let 'em Drink Bubbly"

The disparity between fantastically wealthy New Yorkers in their stretch limos and the thousands marginally surviving in tent cities and subway tunnels is so grotesque that even Democratic Senator Daniel Moynihan (of "benign neglect" fame) warns of "A Tale of Two Cities" in which the emergence of a desperate "underclass" threatens a social explosion. The man most likely to touch it off is Mayor Edward I. Koch, who flaunts his contempt of "the poor" like a modern-day Marie Antoinette. At a photo opportunity in December, Koch received a gift of New York wines for Gracie Mansion. Spotting some "Great Western" champagne, well-known to be undrinkable, he haughtily ordered, "I think this should be taken to the shelters." Or, as the *Village Voice* put it, "Let 'em drink bubbly."

Last month, King Koch declared that homeless families were taking advantage of the welfare hotels, in hopes of getting a city-owned apartment. (What a "crime"!) From now on they would be sent to dormitory-like shelters—"not something people might rush into"—where they sleep on iron cots. On a Christmas Day walking tour with reporters, Koch, asked why there were so many homeless, brazenly claimed that one-third of single individuals in shelters are mentally ill, one-third are alcoholics and a quarter are drug addicts! Fred Griesbach, director of the Coalition for the Homeless, angrily replied, "The mayor thinks the homeless are all crazy, lazy, or families looking for a free ride. He doesn't seem to come to grips with the fact that they have no place to live" (*Village Voice*, 7 January).

The truth is that the welfare hotels are so horrible, teaming with rats, roaches and menacing junkies that many people choose to sit up all night on welfare center floors. And the big shelters are something out of the days of "debtors' prison." The *Times* described one Manhattan shelter as a "cavernous drill hall...always dim. And even at midnight there is a constant din—talking, moaning, drunken babbling." No wonder homeless people resist the cops' handcuffs, preferring doorways and subway benches. Responding to official mythology that the homeless are by definition misfits, two New York Civil Liberties Union attorneys noted that given conditions in some city-run facilities a person's preference for the streets may be a sign of mental health rather than illness.

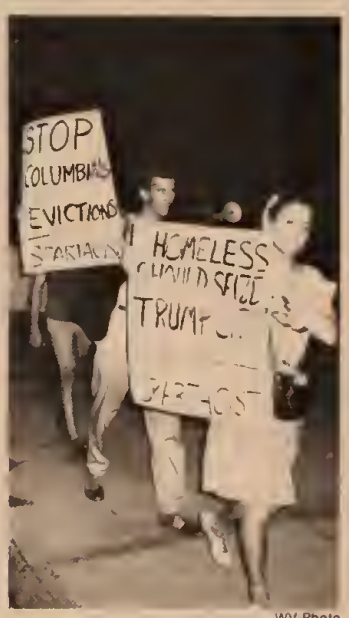
The latest scheme for housing the New York City homeless is a building scam in which Leonard Stern, millionaire manufacturer of Hartz Mountain pet foods and publisher of the *Village Voice*, will raise $100 million in private funds to construct "temporary" small homes in residential neighborhoods. They're "garden apartments," but deliberately "spartan"—designed to be inadequate and uncomfortable, with communal bathrooms and kitchens "to discourage families from looking upon the shelters as permanent," crowed a *Times* editorial Christmas Day! You can put canaries in cages and feed them Hartz Mountain birdseed, but the homeless need homes. We say: seize Trump City, and Macklowe's Metropolitan Tower while you're at it. Expropriate the condo kings!

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Traditionally the response of reformists and "rad-libs" to such a social crisis has been to demand "butter not guns," "jobs not war," as if it were a question of spending priorities. Social programs *are* being chopped to pay for the war buildup, but it's no budget trade-off. Following the United States' humiliating defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers, there has been a fundamental bourgeois consensus for the anti-Soviet war drive. They hope to "recuperate" the one-third of the world which has been ripped from capitalist exploitation. And they are waging war on working people at home. Destruction of the PATCO air controllers union and the gutting of housing programs are just as much a part of this war drive as building Trident submarines.

With the imperialist world in a prolonged economic crisis since the early/mid-1970s, capitalist rulers throughout the West have sought to drive up profits by slashing "unproductive" "welfare state" programs. Thatcher in Britain, Reagan in the U.S., even social democrat Mitterrand in France have all pursued anti-working-class austerity policies. And it's notable today that the liberal Democrats aren't pushing *any* brand of social reform schemes. On the contrary, they have joined Reagan in slashing everything from Medicaid to the last holdovers from the "war on poverty." This is not capitulation to "Reaganomics": the attacks on social services *began* under the Democrats, with the New York City fiscal crisis of 1975-77, and today they are carried out by Democratic big city mayors such as Philadelphia's "mayor of murder," Wilson Goode.

So what is to be done? Every major social reform won from the capitalists has been a by-product of class struggle. And if schools, public transit, lunch programs, medical services are all under attack, it's because of the absence of militant workers struggles in recent years. That the venal AFL-CIO bureaucrats have no intention of waging such a struggle on behalf of the embattled trade unions—let alone the rest of the working people—has been obvious for decades. It is urgently necessary to break with the Democrats and oust the labor lieutenants of capital in order to wield the enormous strength of the workers movement. For the big battalions of labor in America's cities have every interest in using this power to fight for a society where there are no homeless, no unemployed, no ghettoized minorities subjected to hideous racial oppression.



WV Photo

Spartacists in protest against Columbia University slumlords, August 1985.

The Reagan *counter*revolution is the cutting edge of a capitalist onslaught that targets all of us. With every gain won by the working people under attack, we must fight to defend blacks against racist attacks, to defend women's rights against Moral Majority terror, to defend the unions and defend the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution. To defeat the all-sided attacks will take international workers revolution, to lay the basis for the creation of a planned socialist economy where production will be determined by the working people's need for housing, not a Donald Trump's thirst for profits. The forging of a workers party to lead that struggle is the task to which the Spartacist League is dedicated. ■

Philippines...

(continued from page 12)

impact on the essentially fragile ASEAN neocolonies. Already the Suharto regime in Jakarta, hacked up by Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore, has expressed grave anxiety to Washington. The Indonesian military junta fears that, were it not for their massive oil and gas reserves and a precarious "stability" built on the horrendous anti-Communist massacre of 1965, their island archipelago would undergo a similar crisis. The recent firings of thousands of oil workers, supposedly for having been members of a CP-led union 20 years ago, reflect their fear that the Philippine crisis could ignite the whole region. A Philippine revolution would also shatter the unholy U.S./Chinese blockade of Soviet-allied Vietnam.

Its reverberations would spread into the imperialist heartlands of the U.S. and Japan. And without the military complex at Subic and Clark, American pledges to protect Australia, a privileged white outpost in Asia, would be in tatters. The ANZUS treaty specifically mentions U.S. bases in the Philippines, and last May Australian foreign minister Bill Hayden floated the "hypothetical scenario" that Australia would be "obliged" to send troops to help defend the bases if asked. Canberra is already propping up Marcos with various forms of military and "civilian" aid, but the Australian ruling class knows from their experience in the Vietnam War that sending troops to fight counterrevolutionary wars for U.S. imperialism in the jungles of Asia could produce a social explosion at home, especially if they are losing.

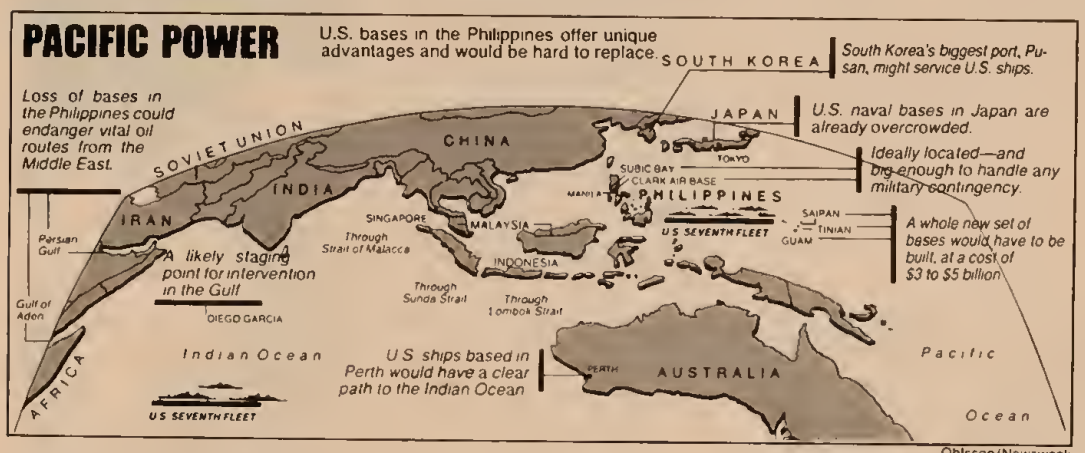
Reuters

Laurel and Aquino: bourgeois opposition "Made in U.S.A."

For the Americans, the strategic importance of the Philippines was laid out by General Douglas MacArthur following World War II, when he remarked: "Now the Pacific has become an Anglo-Saxon lake and our line of defense runs through a chain of islands fringing the coast of Asia" (quoted in Nautilus Research, *Pacific Command: The Structure and Strategy of the US Military in the Pacific* [July 1983]). As MacArthur told Congress in April 1951, "From this island chain we can dominate with sea and air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore and prevent any hostile movement into the Pacific." If the Philippines should be "lost to Communism," as liberal Democrat Stephen Solarz warns, the Pacific would cease to be "an Anglo-Saxon lake"—a strategic shift with enormous consequences.

Today, the Philippine bases are the hub of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, with 90 ships, 550 aircraft and 70,000 military personnel; the headquarters of the 13th Air Force, whose operative range stretches from Taiwan to East Africa; and a vital communications link for U.S. spy satellites. Navy ships based in Subic Bay are equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles, and the U.S. has plans to move anti-submarine nuclear depth bombs there in an "emergency." But not only are they key to U.S. anti-Soviet war plans in the Pacific, the bases have become the focus of American counterinsurgency plans for the Philippines themselves. Already units of the Rapid Deployment Force have been stationed at Subic and Clark, specifically the elite Special Warfare Unit 1 and a Special Operations Squadron trained in anti-guerrilla warfare.

With Marcos' rule on the wane Washington is looking for a replacement. The Pentagon's eye is on West Point graduate General Fidel Ramos, who was acting head of the Philippine army during Ver's absence. No doubt they would like him to be a new Ramon Magsaysay, the defense minister (later president) who together with the CIA's Colonel Lansdale defeated the postwar Hukbalahap rebellion led by the old Philippine Communist Party (PCP). In the meantime, a Georgetown University think tank played out a war game last October called "The Fall of the Philippines." The $100,000 "game," observed by several administration officials, featured the death of Marcos, a military coup involving Ramos and the dispatch of U.S. troops to stave off Communist victory (*San Francisco Examiner*, 26 November 1985).



Ohlsson/Newsweek

Philippine Bourgeois Opposition "Made in U.S.A."

Confronted with the growing military strength of the NPA, the military arm of the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), and mass demonstrations calling for an end to the U.S./Marcos dictatorship, Washington cannot simply stand by its butchers. Instead, Reagan & Co. perceive in the ever-louder rumblings of discontent from disenfranchised Filipino bourgeois sectors the opportunity to put together a "clean," Washington-loyal opposition that will provide a parliamentary channel for popular outrage, and lend a veneer (however thin) of democracy to the discredited Marcos regime.

Reagan has certainly found the right people for the job. The opposition candidates have impeccable anti-Communist credentials and have shown themselves more than willing to cooperate in orchestrating this charade. Presidential candidate Corazon ("Cory") Aquino's murdered husband Ninoy was a millionaire and graduate of the CIA's special school in Quantico, Virginia. He was also special assistant to Magsaysay and played a prominent role in crushing the Huk rebellion (see *Australasian Spartacist* No. 107, July/August 1984). The Aquinos spent 1980 to 1983 in exile in the United States, cultivating contacts among both major capitalist parties, and no doubt renewing Benigno's cordial relationship with "The Company."

Salvador Laurel is an old-line wheeler-dealer machine politician of the Marcos stripe. As a senator in 1972 he supported the declaration of martial law, and won a seat in the rubber-stamp national assembly as a candidate of the president's KBL party. He did not actively go into opposition until 1982, and this Yale-educated lawyer is a firm supporter of American interests. Marcos' recent election announcement found him on a conveniently timed trip to the U.S. Upon his return to the Philippines, Laurel immediately met with Cory Aquino and reportedly informed her that "Washington politicians were enthusiastic for a ticket that would include both their names."

Both Aquino and Laurel have been anxious to get on with this phony election (which even they don't think they can win) although it flagrantly violates the Philippine constitution's requirement that the president step down when he calls an early vote. This is, in fact, a joint U.S./Marcos/opposition exercise in democratic showmanship, aimed fundamentally at taking the wind out of the sails of leftist opposition and insurgency. The immediate object of the exercise is not to dislodge Marcos. He has been Washington's man in Manila for too long, and has demonstrated with the murder of Ninoy Aquino the lengths he is prepared to go to prevent anyone from replacing him. Marcos is still too formidable and encrusted in privilege to allow himself to be voted out of office.

There is, of course, the "Diem option." After proclaiming for years the policy of "sink or swim with Ngo Dinh Diem," when the U.S.-installed South Vietnamese Catholic dictator lost his grip in 1963, John Kennedy finally decided to dispatch him to that night of used-up henchmen with less than diplomatic means. But for now, Washington hopes to use its imported electoral machinery (including a CIA-linked team of "impartial election monitors") to stop the rot of the Marcos regime, while introducing into the political arena a set of untarnished faces that will be useful in a future contingency. Should the crisis reach the point of no return, or should Marcos succumb to the degenerative disease which periodically incapacitates him, Washington will have an alternative set of lackeys waiting in the wings.

For a Philippines Trotskyist Party!

Since the massive outpouring of popular anger over the Aquino assassination, the situation in the Philippines has been explosive. The Marcos dictatorship is declining. The military is divided, demoralized and unable to deal with the NPA. The IMF/World Bank financiers only reluctantly bailed out the massively indebted regime. And the masses are being ground down by an unprecedented economic collapse. The economic crisis and rampant repression have opened up a certain leeway for the growth of legal and semi-legal mass opposition organizations. Of particular significance is the growing combativity of the working class.

All the elements for a revolutionary situation are beginning to materialize, save one: revolutionary leadership. The main opposition to the U.S./Marcos dictatorship is the Communist Party of the Philippines. Despite its considerable political weight, the Stalinist CPP is wedded to the dogma of "two-stage" revolution, in which the first stage is an alliance with bourgeois forces and "later for socialism." Its illusions in the "progressive" character of sections of the bourgeoisie threaten to ensnare it—along with the workers and peasants it leads—in the electoral machinations by which Washington hopes to strangle the Philippine revolution. The CPP is thus the major obstacle to forging a genuinely communist leadership of the Filipino working people.

The CPP was founded in 1968 as a pro-Peking split-off from the old Moscow-loyal PCP, but soon had to confront the fact that its ideological mentor, Mao Tse-tung, was casting amorous glances in the direction of the archenemy, U.S. imperialism. When Mao embraced Nixon in Peking in 1972, and particularly after the Chinese bureaucracy began saying that U.S. bases in the Philippines were a bulwark against Soviet "hegemonism," the CPP was forced to take its distance from its patron saint of Third World guerrillas. The Kremlin bureaucracy, for its part, last October underscored its cordial relations with the Marcos clan by offering a pledge of non-interference to Imelda on her seventh trip to Moscow. Thus the CPP presently fights alone, Stalinists without a country, though not by choice.

The CPP-led New People's Army now reportedly operates in 67 of the 73 provinces, with an armed strength estimated by the Pentagon at 16,500. While Marxists side with the NPA militarily against Marcos' army and police, we insist that peasant guerrillaism is not the road to workers revolution. Parallel to NPA growth has been the expansion of a large political umbrella organization in the cities, the National Democratic Front (NDF). The NDF appears to command the loyalty of sizable sections of Manila's poor slum dwellers. During the mass demonstrations over the Aquino assassination, its red banners and anti-U.S. slogans were beginning to displace the yellow banners of Laurel's UNIDO party. But fundamentally the NDF is the CPP's vehicle for the formation of a "popular front" with the anti-Marcos bourgeoisie.

Despite its undisputed leadership of the most militant sectors of the workers and peasants, the CPP is firmly wedded to a program of class collaboration. The party's imprisoned leader Jose Maria Sison outlined his program for a "national democratic revolution":

> "We have to break up the feudalism so that the local forces of capitalism can be liberated, that is, the national entrepreneurs and smaller businessmen. The property owned by the multinationals and traitor elements will be taken over by the state. Our economy would be a

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

perspective of permanent revolution applied to South Africa. This theory holds that in countries whose bourgeois development has been belated, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, genuine democracy and national emancipation can only be achieved by the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation.

Some younger comrades maintained that permanent revolution did not apply, since South Africa is relatively developed industrially and a regional imperialist power in its own right. In reality, South Africa is an extreme and unique case of combined and uneven belated capitalist development. An advanced industrial infrastructure is entirely dependent on a rigidly totalitarian, internal colonial subjugation of its toiling masses, who are deprived of every elementary democratic and human right, as well as their national birthright. The apartheid state as it exists today is the product of European imperialist subjugation and superexploitation of the non-white peoples of southern Africa.

It was precisely to underline the unique character of the social revolution in South Africa that we adopted the slogan "Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!" It reflected the reality that resentment and revolt against barbaric apartheid will be a driving force for proletarian revolution in South Africa. As Al Greene knows perfectly well, the international Spartacist tendency has consistently opposed every variant of the Stalinist/Menshevik "two-stage revolution" scheme in South Africa or elsewhere.

It is not a question of smashing apartheid so that some sort of semi-colonial black bourgeois regime (e.g., Zimbabwe) can come to power, and the socialist revolution is postponed indefinitely. Rather, the struggle for a black-centered workers government *is* the struggle to place the proletariat in the leadership of the anti-apartheid revolt. Not accidentally, comrade Greene, who wants to apply the theory of permanent revolution to advanced capitalist countries, *liquidates* the *special* character of the national and democratic questions within a colonial structure. This is a symmetrical error to those who deny its application to South Africa.

A key task for a Leninist party in South Africa is to politically combat and displace the petty-bourgeois nationalists in *the course of* the struggle for democratic rights and for national and social emancipation. It is precisely the failure of the workers movement, in the absence of a communist vanguard party, to lead the struggle against apartheid which accounts for the dominance of nationalism.

In the aftermath of the Soweto revolt we projected the emergence of black trade unions breaking through the apartheid system at its weakest link, that is, its dependence upon superexploited black labor. However, the rapid growth of a potentially powerful black and "coloured" (mixed-race) labor movement in the past decade has *not* shattered the hegemony of petty-bourgeois nationalism in the anti-apartheid struggle. As we noted in our article "South Africa: Razor's Edge" (*WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985):

> "By its very bulk, this five-million-strong working class has forced the petty-bourgeois black leadership to take it into account, but not programmatically. The black proletariat is still being used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism."

The validity of this analysis is underscored by the formation last month of the new black "super union," the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Its half million workers—from the docks of Durban and Cape Town to the auto plants of the Eastern Cape, to the gold mines of the Witwatersrand—make COSATU the strongest industrial organization of the black proletariat in South Africa's history. At the same time, the new union federation's top leadership is demonstrably close to the liberal nationalist African National Congress.

This situation points to a weakness of the slogan "Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!" It might imply that mass struggle against apartheid will *in itself* open the road to workers revolution regardless of leadership and the way in which this struggle is conducted. Yet under nationalist hegemony the present revolt against white police-state rule threatens a historic catastrophe for the black masses, a pointless bloodbath on a massive scale. The answer is not workers struggle in the narrow (economistic) sense. Rather, as Trotsky wrote in "On the South African Theses": "...the proletarian party should in words and in deeds openly and boldly take the solution of the national (racial) problem in its hands" (*Writings [1934-1935]*).

The slogan "Smash Apartheid Through Workers Revolution!" might imply workers revolution coming before and independently of the living struggle for democratic rights and emancipation. On the other hand, the formula "Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!" could suggest that the struggle against apartheid leads organically to workers revolution irrespective of the leadership. The more algebraic slogan "Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!" better expresses the program of permanent revolution—that national emancipation and democracy in South Africa can only be achieved through proletarian class rule. ■

Alabama...

(continued from page 3)

down on the South in defense of "states' rights," and restoration of Jim Crow.

In the mid-'60s, the aspirations of the black masses to go beyond tokenistic legal reforms and pacifism clashed with the liberal SCLC preachers and generated a left wing, located mainly in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC was profoundly radicalized when it tried to take the civil rights movement to the desperately impoverished rural black masses of the "Black Belt," where its organizing brought it into conflict not just with the Dixiecrats but with the entire capitalist state. Twenty years ago in the western Alabama county of Lowndes, SNCC helped launch the Black Panther Party.

Based on sharecroppers and tenant farmers in a single rural county the program of this party was limited to reforms like improved roads and schools. But it advocated the right of armed self-defense for blacks, an urgent need in the South. And it was organized in conscious opposition to the racist Democratic Party. Its symbol, the snarling black panther, and its name would a year later be adopted nationwide by the best of a generation of black militants.

Many civil rights militants realized that the struggle for black equality must break with the racist Democratic Party in the direction of independent political action. From its very inception, the Spartacist tendency intervened in the civil rights movement to link that struggle to the power of organized labor and the integrated working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation. That perspective was embodied in our call for a "Freedom-Labor Party" (see "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967).

The Reagan administration's campaign to disenfranchise Alabama voters must be opposed by militant protest uniting black community and civil rights organizations with the integrated labor movement. The powerful Mobile longshore and ship-building unions, for instance, could play a key role in this struggle. Drop the charges against Spiver Gordon! Stop the racist witchhunt of Alabama's black political officials and activists! Reagan and Meese: Hands off the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments!

The civil rights movement tried to confront the unfinished business of the Civil War. Black chattel slaves had been emancipated only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. Today blacks, while integrated into the industrial proletariat, remain forcibly segregated at the very bottom of this racist capitalist society. It will take a third American revolution—a socialist revolution—to emancipate black people. The forging of a multiracial revolutionary party to lead united struggle of black and white workers is the key. Break with the Democrats! Black liberation through socialist revolution!

Funds urgently needed for the Alabama Black Belt Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5, Gainesville, Alabama 35464. Telephone: (205) 652-6298 or 652-9676. ■

KAL 007...

(continued from page 6)

violations of nuclear treaties." After "more than three months of high-level vacillation," they added, it was decided that "Reagan should risk going to the mat with the Russians." Of particular concern was the "new Siberian radar station," and Reagan was not worried about "putting confrontation back in vogue": "Clark will accept neither a 'nyet' nor an undue delay from Moscow."

Barely two weeks later, KAL 007 penetrated Soviet airspace proceeding from Alaska. But not everything went according to plan, as the airliner refused to identify itself and, after repeated warnings, the Soviets shot down the intruder over Sakhalin Island. It was Clark who interrupted Reagan's California vacation to tell him the news. Barely six weeks later, William P. Clark was suddenly and inexplicably transferred to the dreary post of the Secretary of the Interior. A little over a year later he dropped out of the government altogether.

Clark's protégé ex-Marine Robert McFarlane took over the post of national security adviser in October 1983. Soon came 200-plus dead Marines in Beirut, and to recoup after that foreign policy disaster the gung-ho Reaganites followed up with the rape of black Grenada. This last fall, in another exploit of imperialist "daring," McFarlane and his aide Admiral Poindexter responded to the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* by skyjacking an Egyptian civilian airliner with U.S. Navy jets. But when they tried to follow up this macho feat with a Reaganite "rescue" (by Egyptian commandos) of a hijacked plane at Malta, the toll was 60 innocent passengers dead. Now McFarlane has been replaced by Poindexter. The personnel changes but the anti-Soviet beat goes on.

Where did the KAL 007 spy plane incident, the Grenada invasion, the skyjacking over the Mediterranean, the massacre at Malta come from? You have only to open the cipher locks of the windowless, air-conditioned 20 by 25 foot wooden box called the Situation Room, deep in the White House basement, to find out. ■

> combined one—of state and Filipino private ownership."
>
> —*International Viewpoint*, 28 January 1984

The 1985 NDF program, in turn, calls for "the proper representation of the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in the government." The NDF's program for "land reform" is limited to lowering rents and eliminating usury, and offers "due consideration" to sympathetic landlords. This is no abstract question: Cory Aquino comes from one of the largest landowning families on the island of Luzon.

The popular front is a vehicle for a section of the bourgeoisie to ride to power on the backs of the oppressed. Philippine revolutionaries should consider the fate of the Indonesian Communists 20 years ago, half a million of whom were slaughtered due to the PKI's suicidal subordination to the bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno. The potentially fatal consequences of CPP class collaboration are coming to the fore during the current election campaign. NDF ranks are reportedly divided over whether to participate in Marcos' snap election, and the NDF-led Bayan ("Nation") coalition has tried to paper over these differences by offering to support the Aquino/Laurel slate on certain conditions: release of political prisoners, removal of U.S. bases, land reform, renunciation of IMF debt (*Washington Post*, 22 December 1985).

Tom Fawthrop

Sugar workers union celebrates May Day 1984.

Yet everyone, including Marcos, knows that the bourgeois opposition is "Made in U.S.A." Laurel brags about taking orders from Washington, and Cory Aquino recently vowed to keep American bases until the treaty expires in 1991, to the cheers of base workers. The irony is that Reagan and Marcos could succeed in getting the masses off the streets and into the polling booths because the CPP, with its popular-front program, cannot resist the lure of lining up behind the "popular" bourgeois opposition. The Stalinist program could serve to stabilize a post-Marcos, pro-U.S. capitalist regime, binding the Philippine masses to a new set of exploiters, derailing the revolutionary upsurge and paving the way to a bloody defeat on the order of Indonesia 1965.

The leadership of a revolutionary working-class vanguard is ever more urgently needed in this pivotal Southeast Asian country. As we wrote:

> "The strategic Philippine proletariat is the natural leader of the peasants and the urban and rural poor against the landlords and capitalists. Armed with the program of permanent revolution, i.e., Trotskyism, it has the power to bring down the hated Marcos regime and establish a workers and peasants government."
>
> —*Australasian Spartacist* No. 107, July/August 1984 (reprinted in *Young Spartacus* No. 120, September 1984)

A Philippine revolution must be profoundly internationalist *or it will not be*. Driving out the U.S. war bases, from which B-52s were launched throughout the Indochinese war, will be a powerful blow in defense of the Vietnamese and Soviet workers states. Key to victory is a program for the extension of socialist revolution to Indonesia, the rest of Southeast Asia and, above all, to the imperialist centers of Japan, Australia and the United States. This is the perspective of the Trotskyists, who fight for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

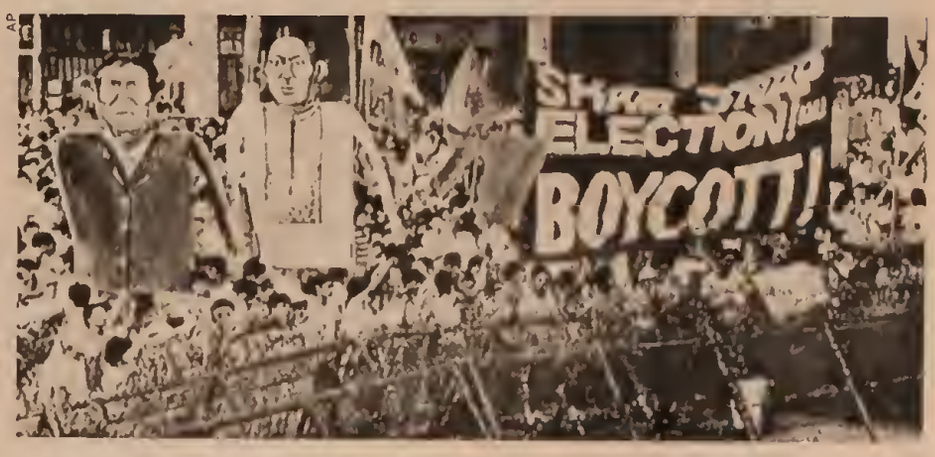
U.S. Out! For a Workers and Peasants Government!

Philippines Election Hoax

The Philippines have set off a red alert in Washington. National Security Council, CIA and Pentagon "crisis planners" are anxiously working out scenarios for "restabilization." Not only is the Philippines the prototype American neocolony, its strategic position is pivotal for exercising U.S. military power from the Western Pacific through to the Indian Ocean and the Near East. The explosion brewing in this social volcano is a direct threat to the imperialist war buildup against the Soviet Union and its allies.

A deepening economic crisis and a leftist guerrilla insurgency which has grown dramatically in the last two years have made the Reagan administration skeptical about the ability of its ailing strongman in Manila, Ferdinand Marcos, to keep the lid on. Two months ago, Reagan dispatched his "personal envoy," Senator Paul Laxalt, to the islands with an urgent message to Marcos: beef up your democratic credentials or get out of the way. At first the Philippine dictator balked, but as Democrats and Republicans began talking openly of his removal, Marcos came forth with the announcement of a snap presidential election, now scheduled to take place February 7.

The bourgeois press is billing this plebiscite as evidence that Reagan has "learned the lessons" of Nicaragua and Iran. For the Reaganites that lesson is: don't give your running dogs too long a leash. Somoza and the Shah amassed such great monopolies of wealth and power that other native bourgeois sectors were cut out of the action. This caused divisions within the ruling classes that left the tyrants isolated in the face of popular upheavals that swept them from power. The outcomes were very different—a radical nationalist regime in Sandinista Nicaragua, a clerical-feudalist dictatorship in Khomeini's Iran—but in both cases the U.S. had lost a client state.



Effigies of Reagan and Marcos at demonstration in Manila.

As far as greed, corruption, brutality and insularity are concerned, the 20-year reign of Marcos and his "Queen of Theft" Imelda rival the Pahlavi and Somoza dynasties. Through a system of "crony capitalism," Marcos and his clique have accumulated vast fortunes through kickbacks from bank loans and construction projects, and siphoning off the profits from the export trade through state coconut and sugar marketing agencies. Meanwhile, between brutal union-busting, runaway inflation and collapse of the main export industries, Filipino workers have been driven to the wall. With "official" unemployment over 15 percent nationwide (double that in Manila) and real wages falling drastically, insurgency has been escalating in both city and countryside.

Marcos erects monument to himself on highway named for himself.

Marcos ruled by decree under martial law for a decade, from 1972 until 1981, during which time the military and the Marcos clique made life hell for the Philippine working people. But with the arrival of the Reagan administration in Washington, the despot in the Malacañang Palace (seat of the Spanish and American colonial rulers) felt his hour had come. Vice President George Bush attended Marcos' 1981 inaugural, where he proclaimed, "We stand with you, sir. We love your adherence to democratic principles." A chorus of 1,000 voices boomed out the words from Handel's *Messiah*, "And He shall reign for ever and ever." The nepotism and capricious brutality increased as Marcos continued to rule by decree under Amendment Six to the constitution.

The trigger which set off the current cycle of protests was the August 1983 assassination of opposition politician Benigno ("Ninoy") Aquino by a military escort as he stepped off a plane at Manila airport. Now not only impoverished peasants and workers but middle-class professionals and even capitalists felt they could be the next victims of "salvaging," the Filipino expression for death squad "disappearances." Tens of thousands marched, from the Manila slums to the Makati financial district, in a "parliament of the streets" that was met by police batons. But on December 1, the Marcos courts, as expected, whitewashed Marcos crony General Fabian Ver and his soldiers of any responsibility for this murder. Ver was immediately reinstated as army chief of staff.

Particularly following the acquittal of Aquino's assassins, Washington desperately needs "free and credible elections" which, as Assistant Secretary of State Paul Wolfowitz told a U.S. Congressional committee November 12, "can serve as the cornerstone of an effective counterinsurgency program" (*Guardian* [New York], 18 December 1985). But while administration officials are sounding cries of alarm over advances by the Communist-led New People's Army (NPA), saying the guerrillas could reach "strategic parity" with the army in "three to five years," general strikes and mass demonstrations continue throughout the Philippines. On December 9, several thousand workers and students marched through Manila with red flags, calling for revolution and a boycott of the snap elections.

If things are hot in the capital, they're at the flash point in many of the provinces. On September 20 in the town of Escalante on the central Philippine island of Negros, 10,000 unemployed sugar workers demonstrated against military terrorism and for relief. When they refused to disperse on the order of a local landowner, the constabulary unleashed a barrage of machine gun fire that left 21 dead, 30 wounded and 159 "missing" (*Philippine Report*, October 1985). That same day, in a *welgang bayan* ("people's strike") in Cebu City 167 strikers were arrested. And on December 10, a reported 25,000 workers and peasants participated in a *welga* in Bacalod City, Negros.

Linchpin for U.S. "Pacific Strategy"

For American imperialism, the Pacific Rim, like the Caribbean Basin, is a "strategic frontier." The huge naval and air bases at Subic Bay and Clark Field—the Pentagon's largest overseas outposts—are simply irreplaceable as a base for striking at the Asian mainland and dominating the "choke points" between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Their importance has increased since the 1975 imperialist defeat in Vietnam, which not only liberated the Indochinese masses but also gave the Soviet navy access to former American bases at Da Nang and Cam Ranh Bay. This enabled the Soviets for the first time to challenge U.S. military supremacy throughout the region. But while the Philippines is the linchpin for the U.S.' post-Vietnam "Pacific strategy," this key link in the chain of American military strongpoints off the coast of Asia suffers from a strategic weakness: it rests on the subjugation of the Filipino people.

The Reaganites are fond of bragging of the Western Pacific Rim (Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the ASEAN states) as the cutting edge of "dynamic capitalism," replacing what they deride as an exhausted and soft West Europe as central U.S. trading partners. The Australian junior imperialist ruling class is also gearing up to grab a piece of the action. But increasingly the Philippines (which this year had 25 percent inflation and a 5 percent decline in the GNP) has become the "sick man of Southeast Asia." And behind the imperialist fantasy of the Pacific as the "highway into the 21st century" lurks the reality of intensifying interimperialist rivalries between resurgent Japan and Reagan's de-industrializing America.

A victorious popular revolution in the Philippines would have a massive

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 395

17 January 1986

Look Who's Calling Qaddafi a "Flake"!

Reagan's Libyan Frenzy

"This crisis is in Ronald Reagan's brain," said an American in Libya working for Mobil Oil. Indeed it is. Reagan's brain is so warped by anti-Soviet prejudice he believes the megalomaniac leader of tiny Libya, Muammar el-Qaddafi, is a key agent in a plot to destroy the "free world." Qaddafi is "not only a barbarian but he's flaky," Reagan ranted at his January 7 press conference. Well, as they say, it takes one to know one.

Reagan's Libyan frenzy has backfired totally. The "flaky" despot Qaddafi, who is currently threatening to "go Communist," has momentarily become a hero in the Arab and Islamic world as a "Third World" David facing the American Goliath. The West European allies conspicuously refused to break their profitable economic ties with Libya for the sake of Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet fantasy life. The arch-apostle of capitalist greed in the White House denounced his European allies for putting "material gain and self-interest" above his vendetta against Qaddafi. In perhaps the unkindest cut of all, even Israel publicly refused to "retaliate" against Libya. As one West German official put it, "The Soviets win a cheap propaganda victory." If Reagan looks stupid and weak over this one, he is still commander in chief of U.S. imperialism with his finger on the nuclear button. A frustrated Reagan is dangerous, so watch out world!

Biscotti

Time

Der Spiegel

Rambo Reagan obsessed by tinpot despot Qaddafi. Now it's brinkmanship with the Russians as U.S. carrier Coral Sea provokes Soviet-backed Libya.

The pretext for Reagan's latest Libyan crisis was the attack by Palestinian nationalists in late December on airports in Rome and Vienna, killing 19 people and wounding over a hundred. This was one of the most bloody and senseless acts of nationalist terrorism in recent years. Even the Irish Republican Army has learned to blow up police stations, killing only those innocent civilians unfortunate enough to be in them at the time. But these Palestinians have been driven into blind murderous rage and suicidal despair by the great crimes committed against their people by U.S. imperialism and its ally Zionist Israel.

Reagan used the Palestinian actions in Rome and Vienna to play Rambo in the southern Mediterranean in the name of "fighting terrorism." The Pentagon leaked word that the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* was heading toward Libya, while the carrier *America* and the battleship *Iowa*, stationed at Norfolk, were put on notice to be ready for deployment. The real target of Reagan's warmongering, however, was the Soviet Union, which arms and trains the Libyan military. The Soviet Union warned Washington about "the military hysteria that has grown around Libya." And Qaddafi was not just indulging in his usual delusions of grandeur when he claimed that a U.S. attack on his country could trigger World War III.

The recently delivered SAM-5 anti-aircraft missiles protecting Libyan airspace are not only supplied by the Russians but in all probability Soviet advisers and technicians are involved in deploying them. Arch-right-winger and hardline Zionist William Safire explained:

> "If U.S. aircraft striking at terrorist camps are shot down, the world would know they had been destroyed by Soviet missiles fired by Russian soldiers; those missile sites would then have to be wiped out."
>
> —*New York Times*, 9 January

No wonder Washington's West European allies took fright when it looked like the anti-Soviet nut in the White House might actually be about to do this. So Reagan pulled back *this time*, and limited himself to economic sanctions which hurt *only* the several hundred Americans whom he dictatorially ordered to give up the good life in Libya. But the Reaganites are saying that the next time around, they're going in with guns blazing.

The "International Pariah" in the White House

In the meantime, Reagan comes off looking like a blowhard, a wimp and an "international pariah." To begin with, what's the evidence Qaddafi had anything to do with the Palestinian attacks? A *New York Times* (9 January) editorial comments: "Claiming 'irrefutable evidence' of Colonel Qaddafi's role in the airport killings, Mr. Reagan was unwilling to produce it.... Such diffidence leaves Mr. Reagan looking like a chronic blusterer."

Reagan calls Libya an "international outlaw." But it is Zionist Israel which revels in being an international outlaw, from bombing a nuclear reactor in Iraq to bombing the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization in

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Down with "Baby Doc" Duvalier—Workers to Power!

Upsurge Rocks Black Haiti

For the last six weeks, the black Caribbean nation of Haiti has been rocked by a continuous wave of unrest. During a demonstration of 700-800 against the U.S.-backed Duvalier dictatorship in Gonaïves November 27, four high school students were ruthlessly shot down by the army. The protests soon spread to towns in the south, and twice in December to the capital of Port-au-Prince. The regime has tried to stamp out the spark of revolt by ferrying elite military units around the country by helicopter. But last week demonstrations erupted again, and a student boycott closed the schools after the Christmas recess. Eyewitnesses report that all roads to the north were cut off by the masses in the streets, and now a general strike has been called. Even Washington is taking its distance from the government. The days of the brutal regime of President-for-Life Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier appear to be numbered.

On Saturday, January 11, over 3,000 demonstrators marched through Brooklyn to protest the repression in Haiti. The enthusiastic crowd responded to every militant flourish from the podium. In addition to chants like "U.S.A., stop supporting Duvalier!" one militant railed against the hated butcher chanting over and over, "Off with his head, burn down his house!" And while former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark was speaking, one woman kept shouting, "We need Russian guns!" Demonstrators enthusiastically picked up and chanted the slogan carried on the banner of the Spartacist League contingent, "*A bas Duvalier*,

continued on page 9

For a Bolshevik Party in South Africa!

Smash Apartheid!

For Workers Revolution!

SEE PAGE SIX

Let Them Read Playboy!

Reaganite Bigots vs. the Blind

Is there any low to which the gratuitous viciousness of the anti-sex bigots will not sink? They've tried to scare teenagers away from birth control clinics with the "Squeal Rule." They got rid of black Miss America Vanessa Williams for posing for pictures in the nude with a white woman. And now the petty ayatollahs want to take away *Playboy* from blind people!

It started last July, when the House of Representatives passed an amendment intended to halt the publication of a Braille edition of *Playboy* by the Library of Congress. The sponsor of this incredible measure ranted on the floor of Congress against *Playboy*'s purported "talk about wanton idleness, of wanton and illicit sex" (*New York Times*, 5 December 1985). Can this be for real? All over the country political comedians pricked up their ears: "Bland for the Blind," headlined Russell Baker, while TV satirist Mark Russell commented, "They actually want to take away *Playboy* from the only people who read the articles." Indeed, as *Playboy* itself pointed out, "the pictures don't translate well into small bumps" (*Playboy*, January 1986).

Blind people evidently do not appreciate these guardians of their morality. Complaining of "blatant, paternalistic censorship" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 December 1985), several organizations of the blind joined with the American Library Association and Playboy Enterprises, Inc. in a lawsuit seeking to overturn the Congressional ban.

As anyone knows whose mind has not been hopelessly deranged by fundamentalist rubbish, as "pornography" goes, *Playboy* is pretty tame stuff. The magazine has nonetheless become a special target of the New Right, who seem to view it as the granddaddy of them all. Undoubtedly the contents of the magazine, which champion First Amendment rights and the right to privacy in one's sex life, please them no more than do the erotic photographs and dirty jokes. In San Antonio there's a nut group called the Coalition to Stop *Playboy*, which advertises in local newspapers. A TV program about pornography showed a demonstrator with a placard that read "Playboy Promotes Incest"!

These born-again basket cases have powerful friends not only in Congress, but right at the top in the White House. Edwin Meese, the nation's No. 1 sex cop, has granted some $734,000 to one Dr. Judith A. Reisman to conduct an official Justice Department "content analysis" of *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler*. This mad doctor, a former songwriter for *Captain Kangaroo*, has declared that Hugh M. Hefner is "every bit as dangerous as Hitler" (*Film Comment*, October 1985).

The "content analysis" is part of Meese's special Commission on Pornography, which was mandated by the 1984 Child Protection Act. A commission with a mission? You bet. Its stated purpose is to invalidate the findings of the 1970 President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, which Meese finds very inconvenient: namely, that there is no connection between pornography and "anti-social" or violent behavior. The Meese Commission is headed by Henry Hudson, chief prosecutor of Arlington County, Virginia and Reagan's honored guest a couple of years ago when he closed every adult bookstore and massage parlor in Arlington. The witnesses are pre-screened and primed. One, a born-again former Playboy Bunny, in her testimony prayed that the commission would see "the connection between sexual promiscuity, venereal disease, abortion, divorce, homosexuality, sexual abuse of children, suicide, drug abuse, rape and prostitution to pornography.... Come back to God, America, before it's too late" (*Playboy*, January 1986).

What about warts, baldness and hemorrhoids? These New Right Mrs. Grundys sure do get themselves into some ridiculous positions in their campaign to stamp out sex. That's the future these censors have in mind: no *Playboy* or anything else for anybody, blind or sighted.

Now they're even going after "X-rated" video cassettes: FBI agents have raided "mom and pop" video stores across the country, handcuffing the proprietors and seizing customer lists. According to *Video* magazine (January 1986), the only conviction so far from all these busts was a poor clerk at the World News Stand in Abilene, Texas, given a 30-day suspended sentence for renting an X-rated tape. The feds may find they've got no mandate for this one: as *Video* noted, in 1984 an estimated 55 million "adult" videotape transactions took place—3 million more than the number of votes that re-elected Reagan. Government snoops out of the bedroom—and the living room! ■

AP

Spokesman for the blind announces lawsuit against state bigotry.

Labor Lieutenants of the Capitalist Class

TROTSKY

LENIN

James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, insisted that the struggle for revolutionary leadership of the working class was above all a struggle against the reactionary labor bureaucracy. In the Reagan years of giveback unionism and war mobilization against the Soviet Union, the battle lines have been sharply drawn.

The fight for a class movement of the American workers is in the first place a fight against the capitalist ideology which dominates them. The labor bureaucrats of the AFL and the unaffiliated unions of the same type are the direct bearers of this ideology in the working class and must be fought as such. The labor bureaucracy is a part of the capitalist rationalization and war machine—its "labor" wing. De Leon's classic definition of the reactionary labor leaders as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" holds doubly good today. The distinctive features of these labor leaders in comparison to the social-reformist leaders of Europe consists in the fact that they are outspoken defenders of the whole capitalist regime and all of its institutions, without "socialistic" pretense or class-struggle phraseology. Their program is a program of stark reaction. They repudiate the class struggle in words as well as deeds. They oppose any kind of independent political action. They support the whole military program of American imperialism and will indubitably be a powerful ally of the capitalists in lining up the workers for the coming war and demoralizing the struggle against it.

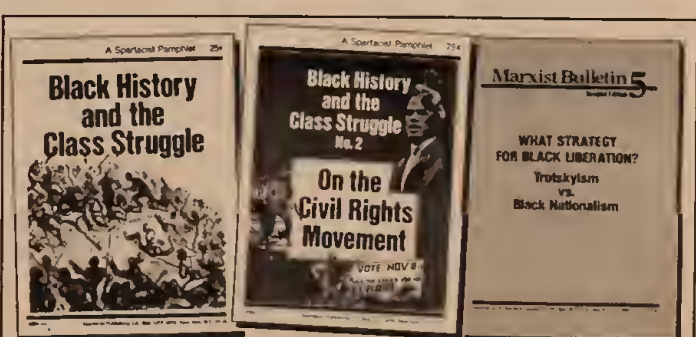
—James P. Cannon, "Platform of the Communist Left" (1929)

Don't Let Them Put Hurricane Carter Back in Jail!

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter is in a desperate struggle to maintain his freedom. On November 8, the black former middleweight boxing contender was freed from prison on his own recognizance. In ordering Carter's immediate release, U.S. federal district judge H. Lee Sarokin cited the outrageous racism of the Passaic County prosecutor's office which had kept Carter locked in the hellhole of New Jersey's Rahway State Prison on a racist frame-up for *18 bitter years*. But on December 18 the prosecutor's office filed a motion demanding Carter be *sent back to jail*, pending a court decision on the appeal of Judge Sarokin's decision.

Carter, a popular sports figure, was targeted by the cops and FBI for his public statements advocating black self-defense against cop terror following the 1964 Harlem police rampage. In retribution, the government framed him for the triple-murder of three white patrons of the Lafayette Bar in Paterson, New Jersey in 1966. The prosecutors argued to the carefully screened jury that Carter was guilty because he was black. Their "evidence" was the bought testimony of Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley, petty crooks who recanted between trials. Carter was robbed of 18 years of the prime of his life, and at the height of his boxing career. Now 48, if Hurricane is railroaded back to prison, he will not be eligible for parole until 1997.

The Passaic County prosecutors urged Carter's reimprisonment, calling him a "substantial threat" to society. The threat to his freedom is an ominous threat to blacks, workers and all decent people, and must be met with mass protest, including mobilizing the power of labor. Hurricane's freedom must be labor's cause—for mass class-struggle legal defense! Hurricane Carter must not go back to jail!



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WORKERS VANGUARD 474

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No. 395 17 January 1986

SL Protest: "Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go!"

Vengeance for Michael Stewart!

JANUARY 9—Chanting "Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go!" and "Avenge Michael Stewart!" the Spartacist League demonstrated today outside state hearings "reviewing" the dismissal of charges against NYC's chief medical examiner Elliot Gross. Protesters denounced the ongoing racist cover-up in the killing of Michael Stewart, the 25-year-old black artist who was hog-tied choke-holded, and beaten to death by the cops in September 1983. Gross refused to rule the death homicide, stopping at nothing to protect the cops, actually gouging out Stewart's eyes to hide evidence of strangulation. It was Gross's lying testimony—changing his story *three times* on the witness stand—which laid the "legal" basis for the cops' acquittal November 14, and the whitewash of the cold-blooded murder.

The all-sided government conspiracy to protect the ghoulish coroner has come to symbolize the whole system of racist police terror in New York City. Up for re-election last fall along with his boss, NYC mayor Koch, District Attorney Robert Morgenthau made sure the cops' sham "trial" was strung out past the November vote. One sign at today's picket read, "Koch's Kops Kill—D.A. Morgy and Gross Cover It Up!" Other signs included, "Elliot Gross—Koch's Dr. Mengele," and "Vengeance for Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs, Edmund Perry!", other victims of the racist NYC cops.

The case of the cadaver switching, eyeball gouging coroner has become a political football between Koch and New York governor Cuomo. When Koch's Liman Commission let Gross off the hook last spring, Cuomo's State Health Department lodged charges of "gross incompetence" and "negligence" against him. Campaigning in last fall's NYC elections, the Spartacist League

WV Photo

Spartacists protest continuing cover-up of crimes of NYC medical examiner Elliot Gross outside state hearing, January 9.

raised the demand for labor and the oppressed to mobilize against racist cop terror. As part of that campaign we called a demonstration outside the scheduled state hearing at the World Trade Center last October 3, which was called off (for the second time) at the last moment. However, after Koch reinstated Gross in December, the State Board of Regents announced it would "review" dismissal of charges.

Needless to say, this "hearing" was another charade. While Gross's lawyer Howard Squadron (the bigoted loudmouth who also represents Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post*) obscenely flapped off about "lynch mobs" going after his client, government lawyer Dietrich wanted the hearing limited to the ridiculous debate over whether autopsies by the medical examiner constitute the "practice of medicine" and are thus subject to review by the State Board of Health! *No* witnesses were called, and the committee adjourned that same afternoon, stating it might come up with a recommendation late next month. Meanwhile the cover-up continues. As the SL release at the demonstration said, Elliot Gross is guilty of far worse crimes than "professional misconduct": "Gross is a criminal who belongs behind bars no less than the T.A. cops who beat Michael Stewart to death!"

The Liman Commission used the Eichmann defense to clear Gross: the coroner was just following "standard operating procedure" in the death of Michael Stewart, they said. In other words, cops are never found guilty of anything. Likewise, Koch said cop Sullivan "followed departmental guidelines" when he blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs. At the picket outside the hearing, SL spokesman and candidate for mayor in last fall's elections, Marjorie Stamberg said, "It is no accident that Mayor Koch reinstates his Dr. Mengele while the racist cops who murdered Michael Stewart go free. That outrageous acquittal was a license for the New York cops to shoot down black people with impunity. Meanwhile, a transit brother James Grimes, who defends himself from attack, faces a year in jail and possible loss of his job."

The media predictably blacked-out today's protest as they have almost every action against the ongoing racist conspiracy. From the broadcast studios to the governor's mansion, the capitalist politicians and media are wary that outrage against Koch's murder machine could explode. The struggle against police brutality must be forged *against* all the Democratic Party pols, white and black, who are necessarily complicit in the cover-up. As the SL spokesman summed up at the demonstration, "There is no justice for the black man and the poor in the capitalist courts. We stand for the mobilization of the victims of racist terror—minorities, working people, based on the power of our own organizations to smash the racist terrorists. We say: Break with the Democrats and the Republicans, partner parties of capitalism, racism and war. We say: Vengeance for Michael Stewart! Smash racist cop terror! Blue uniforms, white sheets—Racist terrorists off the streets!" ■

NYC Transit: All Out for James Grimes!

Up on Gun Rap for Self-Defense

On January 6, James Grimes, a 55-year-old black token clerk on the "GG" subway line in Brooklyn was mugged by three men while carrying $1,490 in Transit Authority (TA) cash after his booth closed for the night. The robbers grabbed Grimes, knocked him down and shouted, "Shoot him, shoot him, shoot the bastard." Fearing for his life

WV Photo

Courageous NYC transit worker James Grimes.

Grimes pulled a .22 from his eyeglass case and fired a warning shot. When they still kept coming Grimes fired again, wounding one attacker and forcing the others to flee.

For this act of elementary self-defense, Grimes was held for 24 hours by transit police, including nine hours handcuffed to a bench. He was charged with possession of an unlicensed gun and the TA suspended him without pay (later changed to "sick leave" as they pursue their "investigation" of Grimes). An Authority spokesman declared: "The only people allowed to carry guns here are transit police." This is an outrage! The knee-jerk response of Transport Workers Union Local 100 president Sonny Hall was to demand more cop "protection" for clerks. In contrast, the Committee for a Fighting TWU, a group of class-struggle militants in the union, issued a leaflet calling on members to mobilize in support of their union brother James Grimes at the Brooklyn Criminal Court on January 23.

The Committee leaflet recalled that black TWUer Willie Turks, beaten to death by a racist mob in 1982, would be alive today if he had a gun. As James Grimes said, "If I didn't have what I had on me, who's to say? I might be in the ground" (*Daily News*, 9 January). In Koch's New York, the transit cops who killed Michael Stewart (son of a transit worker) walk the streets, while decent citizens like Grimes face jail for the "crime" of defending themselves.

After Grimes was in custody for hours, Hall finally offered to provide him with an attorney, but by that time Roy Innis and his Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) jumped into the void and took over Grimes's defense. Workers and blacks—beware of Innis, who is notorious for backing the CIA/South African-supported forces of Savimbi's UNITA against the Cuban troops defending black Angola.

Token clerks work alone in glass cages, sitting on thousands of dollars in tokens and cash, which they frequently must carry out at the end of their shift. The union should fight for the *abolition* of the outrageous $1 subway fare; clerks could then serve the riders providing directions and aid instead of being sitting ducks.

The TA and Brooklyn District Attorney Liz Holtzman know they are sitting on a powder keg of support for James Grimes among a population subjected daily to the crime-ridden trains and NYC's deteriorating subway system. But they are out to enforce the disarming of the citizenry in order to assert the racist capitalist state's legal monopoly on armed force. And they will try to "make an example" of Grimes unless transit workers mobilize to stop them.

We reprint below the leaflet of the Committee for a Fighting TWU.

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet:

The groundswell of support from NYC labor for union brother Grimes' act of armed self defense has caused Brooklyn DA Holtzman to hit him with "only" the fourth degree misdemeanor charge of illegal weapons possession. But if convicted Grimes faces a sentence of one year in prison! James Grimes, a 55 year old black transit worker with 16 years service, who has raised 17 children, has been the victim of three robberies and two attempts in the past. While on duty he successfully defended himself from this latest attempt, he was grabbed by TA cops and kept chained to a bench for *nine hours!* If Grimes gets convicted and/or disciplined we must all go out—shutting transit and New York City down!

Gun control leaves decent citizens defenseless. Black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist lynch mob in front of his work place in Coney Island. If he had a gun he would be alive today!

James Grimes is free on his own recognizance right now with a return court appearance scheduled for January 23. On that day every transit worker should be at the Brooklyn Criminal Court building to give brother Grimes a hero's welcome and demand that all charges and disciplinary actions be dropped! Sonny Hall and the TWU leadership have offered legal aid for Grimes, which is well and good, *but* the union should officially endorse this mobilization of the whole TWU Local 100 membership on January 23. Whether it's officially endorsed or not *all TWU workers should be there!*

Drop all charges against James Grimes! No TA discipline! For the right of armed self defense! Remember Willie Turks! All out on January the 23rd!

Be there:
Brooklyn Criminal Court
120 Schermerhorn
9 a.m. sharp! (Thursday, Jan. 23rd)

Committee for a Fighting TWU
9 January 1986

Bay Area Labor—Smash Fascist Attacks!

Racist Punks Beat Gays for Defending Blacks

SAN FRANCISCO—On December 21, in broad daylight, a gang of "skinhead" punks attacked David Johnson and Matthew Holloway, breaking Johnson's jaw and three of his ribs. The assault on the gay couple took place in the parking lot near the entrance to busy Petrini's supermarket on the edge of the largely black Western Addition district. According to the *Bay Area Reporter* (2 January), a local gay newspaper, Johnson and Holloway tried to ignore taunts by punks shouting, "You faggots are killing us all with AIDS." But when the bigots went after two elderly black women leaving the store, yelling "niggers," Johnson courageously went to the women's defense.

There was some pushing and then, as Holloway told the *Bay Area Reporter*, "a third guy came out of the store with chains on his jacket that very conveniently snapped off. He came at David and hit him on the back of the head with a chain wrapped around his hand." Johnson fell to the ground, he said, and "the other punk hit him on the side of the head with his skateboard." Johnson's jaw was broken, but when they went into the store for help, the assistant manager said the police weren't needed. Then as they tried to drive away, Johnson was pulled from the car and beaten again. Finally, two cashiers closed their registers and came out to protect Johnson, while store workers called the cops and an ambulance.

The perpetrators appear to be the sort of consciously fascist scum spun off by the punk rock milieu. These lumpenized white thugs, self-styled "superpatriots" sporting swastika tattoos, have marched through the Haight-Ashbury chanting "Sieg Heil." They threatened in a leaflet last March: "Punks, Communists, Anarchists, Hippys [sic] and Homosexuals": "We the SKINHEADS will not tolerate your spreading of unwanted diseases both mental and physical" (San Francisco *Examiner*, 11 April 1985). Three months later a gang of them assaulted a black couple on a busy downtown corner with spike-studded wrist and shoulder bands.

David Johnson deserves a medal for his courageous stand against these racist hoodlums. But he and his companion have been given nothing but a hard time. The Bay Area media have downplayed the incident, ignoring the racist attack and whitewashing the cops. The police did not assign an investigator to the case until December 30, *nine days* after the attack—even though witnesses immediately provided descriptions and even pointed out the house from which some of the attackers had come. Needless to say, no arrests have been made. The SF cops have repeatedly turned a blind eye to "gay bashing."

For the Reaganite "Moral Majority," San Francisco, a culturally and ethnically diverse city, a union town run by liberal Democrats and long seen as the gay mecca of the U.S., is Sodom and Gomorrah rolled into one. But Reagan's terrorist shock troops are also emboldened by Democratic mayor Feinstein, who is again playing on AIDS hysteria to try to shut down SF's gay bathhouses entirely. This gross appeal to the anti-gay AIDS bigots can only encourage more terror against homosexuals. And Feinstein's cops are themselves riddled with pro-Nazi/KKK elements—remember the Nazi swastika poster cops put up in a police van last August, at a Spartacist demonstration against the hanging of South African anti-apartheid martyr Benjamin Moloise.

WV Photo

Spartacist League mobilized Chicago-area unionists and blacks to stop Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day in 1982.

Reactionary terror is on the rise in the San Francisco Bay Area. In 1984 John Dennis O'Connell was brutally murdered by white toughs from Vallejo who came to town to "do a little fag bashing." Last fall the Humanist Party and Congregation Beth Sholom were bombed. The White Armed Resistance of Klansman Tom Metzger has its largest California chapter in SF, while the KKK terrorists nightride in the white suburbs like eastern Contra Costa, where a young black man was lynched last November and two other black men were brutally stabbed by white-robed Klansmen.

Johnson and Holloway were attacked not only for being gay but because they came to the defense of blacks. Anti-gay bigotry and racism go hand in hand. Fascists see homosexuals as particularly vulnerable; black people are the special target of homegrown American fascism, which aims to whip up a frenzy of race-hate that will serve as a battering ram against the working class. The SL led a 3,000-strong demonstration that by mobilizing Chicago-area unionists and blacks stopped a Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day on 27 June 1982. This was one of a number of anti-fascist mobilizations initiated by the SL which effectively interdicted the would-be stormtroopers and lynchers from northern cities, culminating in the 27 November 1982 demonstration that chased the KKK out of Washington, D.C.

Labor/black mobilizations with a class-struggle program can and must crush the fascist terror gangs in the egg! In San Francisco, while Feinstein insisted on the Hitlerites' "right" to march, the SL-initiated ANCAN mobilization in 1980 stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday at the Civic Center. The scum who attacked Johnson and Holloway should be thrown in jail—and throw away the key! As for their skinhead huddles and other racist thugs and killers, integrated, labor-centered defense guards drawing on longshore and other powerful area unions would soon send them scurrying back to their rat holes. ■

Victory to Oakland Teachers Strike!

OAKLAND, January 12—Teachers here have been on strike for a week, after voting January 6 to reject the Oakland Unified School District's "final" offer of minuscule pay increases that would leave Oakland teachers among the lowest paid in California. This was the last straw for the 3,500 teachers, nurses, psychologists and counselors here, already angry about the stalling of the union misleaders of the Oakland Education Association (OEA), who had kept them working without a contract since July 1.

The District claims it has no money yet it managed to give its top-heavy, highly paid administrative staff a hefty 14 percent raise last summer. Meanwhile, Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson has offered a $15 million emergency loan to the Oakland A's—but nothing for the teachers! Oakland parents in this working-class, 47 percent black and Hispanic community have shown their support for the teachers by keeping their children out of school: by January 10 over 95 percent of the teachers and over 90 percent of the students were out.

Teachers in the Oakland public school system face overcrowded classrooms, severe lack of support personnel, textbooks and supplies, and substandard salaries. The student body in Oakland's public schools is over 80 percent black and Hispanic: in Reagan's America education for minority youth, trapped in inner-city hellholes, has been cut below minimal subsistence to help finance the anti-Soviet war drive. Just as Oakland's Highland Hospital "butcher shop" (run by the Democratic County Board of Supervisors) is a dumping ground for the poorest people in the county, so too Oakland's public schools are treated simply as a dumping ground for its children.

The OEA leadership has called in an administrative law judge to "dialogue" with the District officials, with no results (predictably) thus far. On January 10 the District came up with virtually the same insulting "offer": a *1 percent* increase in the first year's salary—in return for a cap on benefits! The OEA bargaining committee rejected this slap-in-the-face "offer."

WV Photo

Oakland teachers at strike rally, January 8.

What's needed to win this strike is to shut the schools down tight! At this point the schools are still officially "open," with members of most of the other unions that work in the District scandalously crossing picket lines, including Teamsters. This must be stopped! Militants call on all the affected unions to go out in joint strike action and effectively close the schools. For mass picket lines! Victory to the Oakland teachers strike! ■

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Zionist Terrorists Target Arab Americans

A sinister and deadly wave of terror is being directed against the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), a respected civil liberties organization that combats discrimination, harassment and racist stereotyping of Arab Americans. On 11 October 1985, Alex Odeh, West Coast regional director for the group, was murdered by a bomb blast as he opened the booby-trapped door of his Santa Ana, California office. Two months earlier in Boston a 12-inch pipe bomb planted in the building housing ADC offices went off, seriously injuring two bomb squad cops who were trying to dismantle it. And on the night of November 29, a fierce two-alarm fire swept through the Committee's Washington, D.C. headquarters, which it took 80 firefighters nearly an hour to put out.

At first the FBI belittled the significance of these murderous attacks on the

Der Spiegel

Alex Odeh, murdered by Zionist terrorists.

ADC. But on December 10 FBI director William H. Webster, speaking before the National Press Club, issued the ominous warning "that Arab individuals or those supporting of Arab points of view have come within the zone of danger" (*New York Times*, 11 December 1985). The FBI says it knows who was the "possible responsible group" for the murder of Alex Odeh: the Zionist fascistic Jewish Defense League (JDL).

The JDL's present *Führer*, Irv Rubin, while disclaiming responsibility, hailed the deadly Santa Ana bombing: "I have no tears for Mr. Odeh. He got exactly what he deserved." While stating that the ADC has been subjected to constant threats and harassment from the JDL, ADC chairman and former Democratic Senator from South Dakota James Abourezk has turned over to the FBI evidence that the perpetrator of the Boston and Santa Ana bombings may well be an anti-Arab fanatic acting independently. In any case, neither the FBI nor local police have pressed charges or made arrests for any of the terrorist attacks against the ADC.

The murderous assaults against Arab Americans certainly bear the hallmark of the JDL, founded in the U.S. in the 1960s by Meir Kahane to terrorize Arabs, blacks, leftists, Soviet diplomats and anyone else on their "enemies of Israel" list. But Kahane's aspiration to be a Zionist Hitler ran into the social reality of the U.S. where mass fascist movements target Jews as readily as blacks, Arabs and other minorities. So in 1972 Kahane migrated to Israel where Zionist terrorism is state sanctioned. There he built a bona fide fascist cult, the Kach party, whose armed thugs, often American Jews, terrorize Palestinian Arab communities in the Israeli-occupied territories as well as within Israel itself. Campaigning for the expulsion and genocide of the Arabs in the occupied territories and of the 600,000 Arab Israeli citizens, Kahane won a seat in the Knesset (parliament) in the last elections.

The murder of Alex Odeh and the arson against the ADC's Washington headquarters coincided with Kahane's 12-city fundraising tour in the U.S. Kahane's American supporters and other kill-crazy Zionist fanatics act like this is the West Bank where every Arab is branded a "terrorist" to be blown away under the slogan of "Terror Against Terror" (TNT) like the Palestinian mayors of Ramallah and Nablus. In San Francisco, where liberal Zionist and Arab student groups held *separate* anti-Kahane rallies, the Spartacus Youth League called for militant mass mobilizations to "Smash the Fascist Kahane!" (*WV* No. 391, 15 November 1985).

Among the hate-filled threats the ADC Washington headquarters received prior to the November 29 arson was a telegram stating, "We have Bassam Shaka's legs," referring to the former mayor of Nablus whose legs were blown off by a car bomb planted by Israeli terrorists. A *Village Voice* (12 November 1985) article titled "In the Realm of Perfect Faith" portrayed the deadly U.S.-Israeli terrorist exchange program in which thousands of American Jews emigrate to the "Promised Land" to join Kach and the even more significant clerical-fascist Gush Emunim and return as experienced and hardened Zionist murderers. In fact, the article reveals that at least one of the Nablus bombers is living safely in New York City.

Alex Odeh was a 41-year-old poet, professor of Arab studies, a father of three young daughters. Like his colleagues in the ADC, Odeh was a respected and prominent Arab American citizen, a member of the Santa Ana Human Rights Commission, a champion of Arab-Jewish coexistence and dialogue. Precisely because they so belie the racist Zionist stereotype of the Arab "terrorist," the liberal ADC and the moderate Palestinian mayors of the West Bank have been targeted by the Zionist terrorists.

But the hostility and hysteria which has placed Arab Americans in the "zone of danger" is not restricted to or principally generated by Zionist fanatics. It is deeply rooted in the racist character of American society compounded by Washington's support for Israel as its gendarme in the Near East. The Zionist lobby in this country spends millions of dollars mobilizing U.S. support for Israel and excoriating those who oppose it. But when the National Association of Arab Americans paid for an advertisement criticizing Republican Senator Arlen Specter for his support of Israel, Specter accused the association of using "terrorist tactics." Another Republican Senator, Rudy Boschwitz, called the advertisement "broadcast terrorism"!

The most odious and sinister source of anti-Arab racism in the U.S. emanates from NYC's city hall. In 1983 racist pig mayor Koch went to occupied southern Lebanon via Israel to solidarize with the Zionist genocidal blitzkrieg. The following year Koch "celebrated" Purim, a Jewish holiday of deliverance from extermination, by parading through the streets of Queens, New York with Israeli general and would-be *Führer*, Ariel Sharon, the butcher of the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps outside Beirut.

"Zone of Danger"

Odeh was murdered within hours of his appearance on two television news broadcasts in which he was interviewed about the hijacking of the cruise ship *Achille Lauro*. The broadcast included Odeh's dissociation of the Palestine Liberation Organization from the hijacking and his praise for PLO leader Yasir Arafat as a "man of peace." Edited out of the broadcast were Odeh's denunciation of terrorism in general and in particular the stupid "shipjacking" with its wanton and senseless murder of Leon Klinghoffer. No matter, Odeh was already in the "zone of danger."

The shipjacking played right into Reagan's hands, who exploited it to obscure the U.S.-backed Israeli mass murder bombing raid on PLO headquarters in Tunisia in which 70 Palestinians and Tunisians were killed and another hundred wounded. And it was exploited to whip up anti-Arab hysteria and American jingoism, a mood that found its fulfillment in the American skyjacking of an Egyptian passenger plane containing the alleged perpetrators of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking. ADC national chairman James Abourezk linked Reagan's bloodlust over the *Achille Lauro* to the murder of Alex Odeh: "There is this sense of kind of lynch mob, from President Reagan on down, it's cowboy time, on the part of the President, on the part of the media, on the part of the Congress." This atmosphere has created a mood, he said, that "to go ahead and to kill some Arabs, it's OK" (*Los Angeles Times*, 12 October 1985).

The ADC's response to this campaign of murderous terrorism has been to call for police protection and to pressure the FBI to take a more aggressive role. Reliance on Reagan's spies, however, must leave even many ADC members uneasy. The FBI *has* in the past taken a quite active role in "investigating" Arab American groups—not to protect their "civil liberties," but to harass and intimidate them. James Zogby, co-founder of the ADC, admitted as much when he stated, "We've been calling for investigations of this sort for the last five years. My office here in Washington was first firebombed in 1980. The FBI investigated more Arab Americans than anybody at that time, used the investigation almost as an opportunity to find out more about Arab American activists in Washington" (WBAI News, 2 December 1985).

The Nixon administration's "Operation Boulder" in 1972 brought together the FBI, CIA, INS, IRS, State Department and U.S. Customs Service to "monitor" Arab Americans and students, leading to the deportation of hundreds. Detroit attorney Ahdeen Jabara was the target of intense FBI harassment and wiretappings from 1967 to 1975 (he brought a lawsuit which was eventually settled out of court). When the Israeli authorities arrested Palestinian-born U.S. citizen Sami Esmail in Israel in 1977, the FBI sent material to Israel to use in its frame-up prosecution.

Lipski/Washington Post

Arson strikes offices of American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, in Washington, D.C.

Such official surveillance and victimization continues, including denial of visas and residency rights, while the U.S. government keeps up well-established connections with the Mossad and domestic Zionist groups to spy on Arab Americans. According to the *Journal of Palestinian Studies* (Spring 1985), the ADC's "Washington office alone receives ten new discrimination or harassment cases per week, half of which involve the INS." As the article concludes, "However, with the Reagan administration firmly on the course to combat 'terrorism' both within the US and abroad, the prospects faced by those of Arab descent in the US are anything but good."

As ADC spokesman David Habib stated: "Alex was killed as an American, in America, because we dare to speak for what is for some people an unpopular truth: That Arabs are people, that Arab-Americans are people too...[and] are entitled to all the rights and privileges of being an American" (Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*, 15 October 1985). It is outrageous that David Habib is compelled to state the obvious. There are between two and three million Arab Americans in the U.S. Most are third generation, their families having come to this country after the Civil War and before racist immigration quotas were established with World War I.

From Reagan's White House and Meese's "Justice" Department down to the dark shadows where the KKK and JDL firebombers do their murderous dirty work, "terrorist" has become a label by which a perceived political opponent is stripped of his rights, declared a non-person and rendered a target for *state* terrorism and its fascist auxiliaries. Every decent person, every defender of labor and democratic rights had better defend the rights of Arab Americans, for in Reagan's America we are all in the "zone of danger."■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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For a Bolshevik Party in South Africa!

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

South Africa. Apartheid. The very words evoke images of the most hideous racist oppression, degradation and exploitation. An entire people are treated as foreigners in the land of their birth, stripped of every democratic right and human decency. Millions are driven from their homes at gunpoint and dumped into the bantustan wastelands. Hundreds of thousands of black men are forced to live in all-male hostels as they toil as "migrant" laborers in the white-owned factories and mines. If they're lucky, their wives and children, eking out an existence on the barren "tribal homelands," get to see them perhaps one month during the year, around Christmas. What other people are forced to live like this?

Today South African blacks aren't taking it anymore. Often armed only with sticks and stones, they have defied and confronted the massively armed white police state. They have driven black policemen and police informers out of the segregated "townships," and killed scores of the apartheid regime's collaborators. Every class-conscious worker, everyone who stands for social justice, indeed, every decent human being instinctively solidarizes with the revolt of South Africa's black masses against the *wit baaskap* (white domination). The impact of the struggle against apartheid is especially powerful in the United States, where more than 20 million descendants of black African slaves see in South Africa a horrible mirror image of their own oppression.

However, many of those who solidarize with South Africa's defiant blacks believe that they are, in fact, bringing the system down, that the days of white-supremacist rule are numbered. It is one thing for Americans or Europeans who hate racism but know little of South African realities to think that the apartheid state is crumbling in the face of black rage and protest. But this same view is propagated by South Africa's principal black nationalist organization, the African National Congress (ANC). The communiqué issued by the ANC's "council of war" held in Zambia last June stated that "It ...agreed that the possibility of victory was greater now than at any other time in our history."

Last spring we warned:

> "So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confrontation, now and for the next period the whites will win hands down. The danger is of a pointless bloodbath...in which the vast majority of the victims will be from the oppressed black, Indian and coloured majority.
>
> "Yet the *class* principle can prevail."
>
> —"South Africa: Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985

Since then, events have only confirmed our analysis. Over a thousand blacks have been killed in the period of black unrest since September 1984, while casualties among the white police force and army have been all but nil. "The power of the people is very strong, but we lack the means of confronting the regime. The regime is the one that does the shooting and the people do the dying." These are the words of "Comrade Lucas" in Crossroads, a bleak squatter community outside Cape Town which has been the scene of violent clashes with the police for the past year.

A perceptive article in the *Washington Post* (30 December 1985) summed up the situation in this way:

> ". . .while blacks have succeeded for the first time in a generation in seriously damaging white South Africa, they remain far from their goal of toppling white rule. The dream that many youths believe is around the corner remains elusive. And because white military power remains intact, there is no clear path to get there. Blacks have created an enduring crisis, not a revolution."

Yet there is no such thing as an enduring crisis of massive social unrest. The present impasse between the black oppressed, who are battling to overthrow apartheid, and the still powerful white police state cannot last long. And, ominously, in recent weeks black rage fueled by economic desperation has turned in upon itself in a wave of tribalist, factional and racial violence.

Mendel/AFP

Black and white mourners at funeral of white anti-apartheid activist Molly Blackburn.

Black Rage, White Terror

In the desolate shantytowns south of Durban, some 5,000 Zulus and Pondos (a Xhosa-speaking people) armed with spears, clubs, knives and shotguns battled for two days over the Christmas holiday. Behind this bloody clash—the worst tribalist violence in a decade—was fierce competition for jobs and for water rights and other scarce resources. The death toll of 59 was significantly higher than in any single day in the more than year-long period of black unrest. The following week, 20 more people were killed when Ndebeles moved into a Pedi district near Pretoria after the regime had officially incorporated this area into the KwaNdebele "homeland" (bantustan).

Along with a resurgence of tribalist bloodletting has been the violence arising from black nationalist politics in the townships. Take, for example, "black Christmas," a misguided campaign endorsed by the ANC to force blacks to cancel holiday celebrations. Young activists calling themselves "black Christmas marshals" tried to impose this ban on migrant workers in the hostels. They raided *shebeens* (illegal speakeasies), breaking up Christmas parties and destroying liquor. In Soweto five people were killed (it's surprising there weren't more) in clashes between the "marshals" and migrant workers trying to enjoy their hard-earned holiday. At the same time fighting between supporters of the ANC and its narrowly black nationalist rival, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), took still more lives.

Desperate black rage has also turned to indiscriminate terror against the privileged white population. The worst incident was a bomb set off in the racially exclusive beach resort of Amanzimtoti near Durban killing six whites, three of them young children. Such acts are not only criminal and indefensible, but they will rebound against the black masses. The Durban beach resort bombing plays into the hands of hardline white supremacists who in order to restore apartheid "law and order" are prepared to kill, in truly Hitlerite fashion, hundreds of thousands of blacks. But when Molly Blackburn, a leader of Black Sash, a white women's anti-apartheid group, was killed in a car crash, some 20,000 blacks flooded into the white areas of Port Elizabeth to attend her funeral January 2.

Fearing monstrous repression by the white police state and looking at the mounting tribalist and factional violence among the black oppressed, Black Sash leader Sheena Duncan exclaimed that the country was heading into "an endless destructive hopelessness in a Beirut-type conflict in which there is no justice, no truth, no peace and no freedom from fear" (*Washington Post*, 24 December 1985). There is, however, an alternative in South Africa to false and fatuous "revolutionary" triumphalism and liberal despair. That is the road of workers revolution against apartheid capitalism.

Mendel/AFP

Formation of Congress of South African Trade Unions in early December created the strongest organization of black proletariat in South Africa's history. Black workers must break with petty-bourgeois nationalism.

Unlike neocolonial black Africa, there exists in South Africa a potentially powerful black proletariat which in the past decade has entered into the struggle, from the gold mines and industrial heartland of the Witwatersrand to the auto plants of the Eastern Cape. Early last month, independent black and coloured (mixed-race) unions united to form the half-million-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the strongest organization of the black proletariat in the country's history. However, the top leadership of the new "super-union" stands politically close to the liberal nationalist ANC.

Key to unlocking the South African situation is a racially integrated Leninist party, centered on the black and coloured working class together with Indian and white revolutionaries, which can break that proletariat from petty-bourgeois nationalism in the course of the struggle against apartheid. As we wrote in "South Africa: Razor's Edge":

> "Instead of the mass starvation and internecine tribal strife which have marked the 'independent' neocolonial states of black Africa, proletarian class rule in South Africa will open the way to socialist construction, based on the higher levels of industry and culture, in which whites will also have a necessary place. Only such a perspective of a black-centered workers government, through forging a multiracial working-

class vanguard which struggles for class power, can break down the iron whites-black line."

Tribalism, Migrant Labor and Apartheid

Consider concretely the question of tribalism in South Africa. The recent fighting between Zulus and Pondos, and between Ndebeles and Pedis, is *not* simply a recurrence of ancient tribal enmities. It is the result of deliberate apartheid policy. The white supremacist regime has artificially maintained and fostered tribalism by funneling millions of rands to its puppet bantustan chieftains like the Zulus' Gatsha Buthelezi. Buthelezi's private army of thugs (*impis*) has for a decade sought to terrorize anti-apartheid militants, especially supporters of the ANC. He has also incited the Zulus against the large Indian community in Durban, as during the pogroms last August.

Resurgent tribalist strife is rooted in the very structure of South African capitalism. Key to brutal apartheid racism is the migratory labor system, the reduction of South African blacks to dispossessed foreigners within their own country and the reduction of surrounding black states to labor colonies for South Africa's mines, factories and farms. The bantustans with their forced evictions and tribalization, the contract labor system, the onerous pass laws, all exist to turn southern Africa into a vast reservoir of superexploited black labor.

Thus the fighting between the Zulus and Pondos is directly tied to the economics of apartheid capitalism. Since the early 1980s, South Africa has been in the throes of the deepest depression in half a century, now worsened by massive capital flight. Driven out of the Transkei bantustan by starvation, thousands of Xhosas migrated to the Durban area, largely inhabited by Zulus, desperately looking for work. The prominent white South African sociologist Lawrence Schlemmer explained:

> "The resident Zulus regard the Xhosas who have moved in there as interlopers. As the pressure has increased on the district's scarce resources of water and land, and as unemployment has risen to about 45 percent, it was more or less inevitable that tribal conflict would erupt."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 27 December 1985

To effectively combat tribalism and the divide-and-rule policies which are at the heart of apartheid capitalism requires united proletarian struggle. The ANC nationalists' illusion of a "nonracial, democratic" capitalism will founder on the rocks of brutal competition for scarce economic resources. It will take a workers revolution, laying the basis for a socialist planned economy, to provide the framework for the overcoming of tribalism. This requires a program to relocate the millions trapped on the bantustans and provide them with productive work. It also demands full employment throughout South Africa, something absolutely incompatible with capitalism which always needs a reserve army of the unemployed to hold down wages.

From the discovery of diamonds in 1869, and especially gold in 1886, the development of the mining industry shaped the institutions of apartheid slavery. Black miners are regimented in work gangs under white foremen armed with whips and guns and plunged thousands of feet into the ground, to toil in suffocating heat and dust around the clock, 100 hours a week. The minerals they extract account for 20 percent of the national income, and gold alone for more than half of its foreign exchange.

By law, 97 percent of the black miners must be "migrant," recruited either from the bantustans or from the equally impoverished, nominally independent black states like Lesotho, Mozambique, Botswana, Malawi and Swaziland. More than 45 percent of the labor force comes from outside the borders of South Africa. The mine bosses are careful to recruit a tribally and ethnically mixed labor force in order to exploit these divisions. There are frequent clashes between South African urban blacks and these migrants, and within the migrant workforce between the various tribes.

Nevertheless these workers, driven by the concentrated brutality of their condition, have shown tremendous courage and combativity. They have forged South Africa's largest and most powerful black union, the National Union of Mineworkers. However, the leadership of this union is narrowly legalistic, shackling the tremendous social power of the black miners within South Africa's extremely restrictive and corporatist labor codes. In the mines, the question of an integrated, internationalist communist party, armed with the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, is an urgent necessity. For the proletariat to successfully pursue the class struggle, it must forge a class unity that cuts across tribal and national lines. It must pose itself as the vanguard of workers revolution, not only within South Africa, but also as the motor force for the socialist reconstruction of all southern Africa.

Pendl/UN

Peter Magubane

Segregated townships like Soweto (above) are designed so that white police state can seal off and massacre rebellious black masses.

WV Photo

Reuters

ANC leader Oliver Tambo (left) seeks deal with "progressive" South African capitalist Gavin Relly (right).

For Permanent Revolution in Southern Africa!

In this regard the black miners of South Africa resemble the oil workers of Baku in tsarist Russia. Recruited from the many peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia, they were not only the vanguard of the Bolshevik Revolution in the region but became a transmission belt for communism to the toiling masses and oppressed peoples of Turkey and Persia. And one might contrast the mass misery of neocolonial black Africa with Soviet Central Asia today.

All the "independent" black African states, including those labeling themselves "African socialist" or even "Marxist-Leninist," are subject to the economic dictates of imperialism. A fall of 5 or 10 percent in the world market price of oil, copper or cocoa brings near-total economic collapse and massive dislocation, such as the expulsion of a *million* Ghanaian workers from Nigeria a few years ago. Vast sections of the continent are ravaged by famine, as African peasant villagers cannot compete with the mechanized and subsidized agriculture of North America. The imperialist immiseration of black Africa goes hand in hand with endemic, massive tribalist bloodletting. The genocidal slaughter of the Ibos in Nigeria in the late 1960s, for example, was directly linked to conflict over oil revenues.

Soviet Central Asia at the time of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was largely inhabited by illiterate, mullah-ridden Turkic-speaking nomads. Today their social progress is measurable in centuries, and in some respects (e.g., literacy) compares favorably even with the United States. An urban worker in the Uzbek or Tadzhik Soviet republics receives wages and benefits *on the same scale* as those in European Russia and the Ukraine—thanks to central economic planning. Every year a disproportionate share of the government budget for health, education and other social programs is allocated to these still relatively backward regions. Thus, despite Stalinist bureaucratic mismanagement, the once vast economic gulf between the Turkic-speaking peoples of Soviet Central Asia and European Russia has been practically overcome. Such a development would be *impossible* under capitalism.

South Africa, like tsarist Russia, is an extreme case of combined and uneven capitalist development. Not far from the modern automotive plants of Port Elizabeth, Xhosa youth are initiated by their tribal elders into the secret rites leading to circumcision and manhood. An advanced industrial infrastructure is entirely dependent on a rigidly totalitarian, colonial subjugation of the nonwhite toiling masses.

And because South Africa represents an extreme case of combined and uneven capitalist development, it also represents an extreme application of Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution summarizing the experience of the Russian Revolution. This holds that in countries whose bourgeois development has been belated, especially colonial and semi-colonial countries, genuine democracy and national emancipation can be achieved only under the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation. Writing of tsarist Russia, Trotsky described the permanent revolution as:

> "...a revolution which welds together the oppressed masses of town and country around the proletariat organised in soviets; as a national revolution that raises the proletariat to power and thereby opens up the possibility of a democratic revolution growing over into the socialist revolution.
>
> "The permanent revolution is no isolated leap of the proletariat, rather it is the rebuilding of the whole nation under the leadership of the proletariat."
>
> —*The Permanent Revolution* (1930)

This holds true for South Africa today.

ANC Class Collaboration and the "Strategy of Chaos"

Yet what the African National Congress nationalists are offering South Africa's black oppressed and exploited is a "democratic, nonracial" (capitalist) state, which would be "non-aligned" between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union. Many Western observers see the ANC as having two contradictory sides—one side "moderate" and seeking a peaceful solution; the other side militant and advocating civil war.

According to this view, the "moder-

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Mendel/AFP

Afrikaner fascist Terre'blanche at white power rally.

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Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 7)

ate" face is what the ANC presents to South Africa's white business and liberal communities and to the Western world. After talking with Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders last fall, South African capitalist Tony Bloom reported, "They used the example of Sweden as an ideal, rather than the USSR or Eastern Bloc states" (*International Viewpoint*, 25 November 1985). Tambo has also assured American imperialism that it has nothing to fear economically from an ANC-ruled South Africa. The ANC's "militant" side is presented to South Africa's black masses. Thus, speaking on Radio Freedom broadcasting from Ethiopia, Tambo closed his "Address to the Natinn" last July with the slogan, "Make South Africa ungovernable!"

There is, in reality, *no contradiction* between what Tambo tells Tony Bloom or Gavin Relly, head of the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing empire, and what he broadcasts over Radio Freedom. The ANC's policy of "making the townships ungovernable" is designed to *pressure*, not overthrow, the white ruling class. Tambo & Co. are saying to the masters of apartheid capitalism that only hy coming to terms with us can you restore social peace in South Africa. Whether the ANC leadership can actually control the rebellious black masses and young militants ("the comrades") in the townships is very much another matter. Nonetheless, the ANC has offered to call a truce and begin negotiations with the Botha regime if it releases Nelson Mandela, the organization's long-imprisoned and universally revered leader, as well as other anti-apartheid prisoners, legalizes the ANC, lifts the state of emergency and begins dismantling apartheid.

Campbell/Sygma

Black demonstrators demand freedom for Nelson Mandela, revered leader of the ANC who has been imprisoned for 25 years.

Today the ANC insists vehemently that it stands for one man, one vote, and this is non-negotiable. The leaders of the white bourgeois "liberal" opposition, such as Anglo American's Relly and Progressive Federal Party head van Zyl Slahbert, refuse to accept one man, one vote, and call instead for "power sharing with acknowledged black leaders." Indeed, the South African bourgeoisie *cannot* accept the democratic rule of the black majority and still maintain its social dominance. Yet the ANC's 1955 Freedom Charter is deliberately ambiguous on this central point, calling for "equal status in the bodies of the state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races."

This formula opens the door to a racially federated state and "power sharing" with a section of the white capitalist class. Significantly, last fall the ANC issued a *joint* statement with the Progressive Federal Party, the political arm of Anglo American, proclaiming "the urgent need to dismantle apartheid and establish a nonracial democratic society" (*New York Times*, 14 October 1985). A government which includes Nelson Mandela and Gavin Relly, the biggest superexploiter of black labor on the African continent, will *never* come about. But this utopian program nf class collaboration dangerously diverts the black toilers from revolutionary struggle against apartheid capitalism.

Even more dangerous in an immediate sense is the ANC's policy of "making the townships ungovernable." At bottom, this "strategy of chaos" aims at stepping up the action in order to get South African business interests and white liberals and the U.S. imperialists to move against the Afrikaner nationalist regime. Two American liberals reported that when Botha proclaimed the state of emergency last July, ANC second-in-command Alfred Nzo tnld them he "expected that the crackdown would divide the white population by driving the moderates and English-speaking capitalists away from the *verkramptes*, the reactionaries" (*Nation*, 26 Octoher 1985).

Laurie Bloomfield

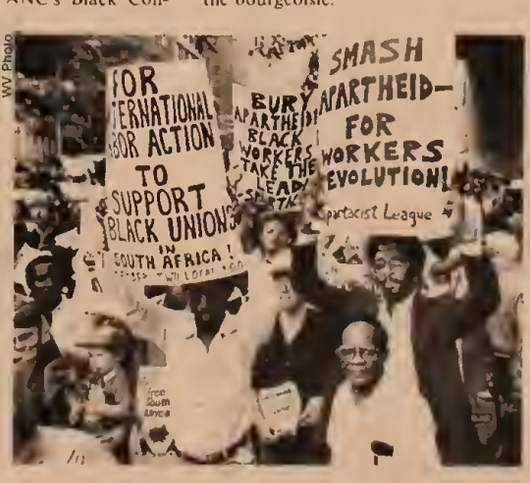
Impi thugs of Zulu chieftain Buthelezi terrorize Indian community in Durban. Only a Bolshevik party can combat tribalist and communal violence.

For the moment, the rulers of South Africa are in some disarray and confusion. They lack a commanding leadership and are polarized between hardline Afrikaners, soft-line (*verligtes*) Afrikaners and those generally referred to as English (including many Rhodesian and Portuguese ex-colonialists). But it is dangerously shortsighted to count on continuing paralysis among Snuth African rulers, and even more so on the "moral" sensibilities of the Anglo American hoard of directors and their friends on Wall Street and in the City of London.

Meanwhile, the ANC's Black Consciousness rivals of AZAPO are calling for the final battle, here and now. AZAPO's outgoing president, Ishmael Makhabele, proclaimed recently: "The gun-shy Azanians have, in struggle, learnt the lessnn 'an eye for an eye.' Enemy fire is answered by revolutionary fire. The law of the jungle, the survival of the fittest, is the order of the day" (*Weekly Mail* [Johannesburg], 20-26 December 1985). But it is the whites, not the "Azanians," who have the guns; and if the law of the jungle is the order of the day, it is the blacks who will be the victims.

As the black unrest continues, an Afrikaner Hitler can emerge, winning over a decisive section of the white populace. The black townships are already set up for civil war, surrounded hy an empty "free fire" zone. A South African Hitler could seal them off, hlow up the sewer lines, demolish the hospitals, cut off electricity, food and water ...and wait. After about 18 months the resulting hundreds of thnusands, perhaps millions, of dead would secure "social peace" for a generation. True, Anglo American and the rest might have to operate in the red for some time, but that is a price they are prepared to pay.

Despite the radically different historical context, the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 holds a lesson for South Africa today. As the Prussian army approached the French capital and the working class hecame increasingly restive, the bourgeoisie fled Paris. The workers then took power in the city. However, the Paris Commune was isolated and surrounded by the Prussian army on the one side and the French bourgeois forces on the other. Working-class Paris was starved, forced to eat rats, horses, and slaughter the animals in the zoo. When the people were demoralized and weakened by starvation, the French bourgeoisie moved in for the kill. Twenty thousand Communards were massacred outright, over 70,000 taken as prisoners to Devil's Island and New Caledonia. Marx paid tribute to the great heroism of the Paris Commune as the first workers government. But he insisted that the workers could not maintain power in a single isolated city. They had to seize the hasic elements of the national economy from the bourgeoisie.



WV Photo

Spartacists, militant transit workers in NYC anti-apartheid protest, August 1985.

What is to he done to prevent a Paris Commune-type hloodbath in South Africa? The breaking down of residential segregation—the tnwnship/bantustan system—is a key aspect of the struggle for a black-centered workers government. It has become commonplace for South African hlack nationalists to disparage any weakening of apartheid laws which does not directly affect political power. "I'm not interested in going to swimming pools with hlondes in bikinis," expresses the attitude of many a black activist. But that is not the question. It's very important for the revolution that the white supremacist rulers *not* be able to unleash their bombs and cordon off areas without affecting *any whites*.

The enforced ghettoization of the hlack majority must be fought as an important part of the struggle for workers power. Thus, repealing laws against interracial sex and marriage is not for revolutionaries a trivial matter, since this points to repealing the laws against residential segregation. Furthermore, it is impnrtant for the organization of a racially integrated communist party that hlack and white men and women activists can drive in a car together and visit each other's homes at any time of the day or night. In South Africa, as nowhere else, the struggle for the most elementary democratic rights is inextricably bound up with the struggle for socialist revolution.

The Road to Power

The ANC's class collaborationism and its current "strategy of chaos" are directly combined in its campaign for international economic sanctions against South Africa and for corporate divestment. The African National Congress has historically looked to U.S.-British imperialism as a protector of hlack Africans against the Afrikaner nationalists.

South Africa is the largest "free world" producer of gold and various strategically important minerals (manganese, platinum). It is also a strategically important ally of Western imperialism against the Soviet Union, a relationship highlighted and strengthened under Reagan and Thatcher. The South African naval hase at Simonstown is a key installation dominating the rnutes for supertankers carrying much of the West's vital oil supplies from the Near East. The idea that Washington and London can be pressured into sabotaging the South African economy in order tn liberate the black oppressed is as absurd as it is reactionary.

The ANC has also campaigned for the international lahor movement to hoycott South Africa. Thus the South African Conference of Trade Unions (SACTU) last summer issued a call for a standing labor boycott of all cargo to and from South Africa. And they have had some success. For example, the social-democratic-led International Federation of Transport Workers has called upon its memher unions to boycott all South African trade, and the Swedish transport workers are already doing so. Many anti-racist and class-conscious workers support such action, helieving they will in this way help to hring down apartheid.

International labor hoycotts can *at times* be a powerful weapon against reactionary governments. Thus in 1935 Leon Trotsky called for "workers' sanctions" against fascist Italy when Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. Such action can he effective during a civil war or general strike, or as part of a specific mass campaign for immediate demands upon the apartheid regime. But what the ANC and its reformist friends in the West are advocating is a *permanent* trade hoycott intended to bring about the collapse of the South African economy. And that is *not* in the interest of South Africa's workers.

Look at what has happened to the South African economy over the last

year. Over $2 billion in capital (both domestic and foreign-owned) fled the country. The South African rand plunged to historic lows in world currency markets. Western banks refused to roll over the country's $14 billion in short-term foreign debt, forcing Pretoria to declare a moratorium on debt service. As "progressive" South African capitalist Tony Bloom observed: "The banks accomplished in just two weeks what the entire international divestment movement couldn't do in five years."

The South African economy is mired in its worst depression since the 1930s. Has this benefited the black masses or strengthened their resistance to apartheid? As we have seen, starvation on the bantustans and massive unemployment in the townships was directly responsible for the recent outbreak of tribalist violence. Mass unemployment has also weakened the black union movement, making it easier for the apartheid bosses to fire their entire striking workforce and replace thousands of workers from the vast pool of desperate jobless.

If black Africans will suffer more than privileged whites from economic sanctions and disinvestment, how can this weaken, much less bring down, the apartheid system? An answer of sort is given by the American liberals Calahrese and Kendall, who had extensive discussions with the ANC leadership about their strategy:

> "Strengthened by their numbers and, strangely enough, fortified by the sheer hopelessness of their present life, blacks can absorb more violence and economic hardship than whites. Like Rocky Marciano, they expect to win the fight by taking more punches than the opposition, not throwing them."
> —*Nation*, 26 October 1985

So black African children are supposed to die from starvation or disease in order to bring "economic hardship" to white executives and professionals, who perhaps cannot meet the payments on their BMW or continue to employ two full-time black maids, and may even think about emigrating to Australia?! And Rocky Marciano did not win his 49 fights by being a human punching bag.

The black masses of South Africa have the power to knock out the apartheid bosses. That power lies centrally in the six-million-strong black proletariat whose labor drives the South African economy. But this power must be organized and directed by a Bolshevik vanguard party. The Bolsheviks' program in 1917 was the *exact opposite* of a strategy of chaos. Amid the terrible devastation growing out of the first imperialist world war, threatening a nationwide famine, Lenin wrote his famous pamphlet, *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*—namely by the proletariat seizing power, which it did a month later.

Communism is today a very positive word among the South African black masses, but one only barely understood. Certainly as the political police control of the massive townships weakens, there is an unprecedented opportunity to build small communist cells, in and oriented toward the workers movement. Among the Cape's coloured proletariat there may be particular openings, because they represent an intermediate layer which is oppressed by apartheid, they can most easily transcend nationalism. It was among coloured teachers that in the 1930s and '40s Trotskyism had a base in South Africa. And among black, coloured and also white organizers of the mushrooming black trade unions there are many who are fighting apartheid not in order to turn South Africa into a Zimbabwe writ large.

Out of this present ferment there can emerge in South Africa a Bolshevik party, preparing itself at the next crisis of the apartheid state to take power in what is, economically, a reasonably advanced industrial country which can provide a decent life for its citizens—and liberate the rest of black Africa from the chains of neocolonialism. ■

Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

Pouvoir ouvrier!"—"Down with Duvalier, workers to power!" Protesters also hit the racist treatment of Haitian refugees in the U.S. One demonstrator asked for an SL sign calling to "Free Haitians from Reagan's Concentration Camps!" and took it up to the head of the march.

The current revolt is the first time since François ("Papa Doc") Duvalier came to power in 1957 that the regime's existence appears to be at stake. In 1984 there were widespread food riots, which soon died down when faced with army bayonets. This time they are organized rather than spontaneous, and repression has only provoked new protests. It is being widely predicted that the Duvalier government will be overthrown by a U.S.-backed military coup in the near future. According to *Haïti Progrès* (4 December 1985) demonstrators in Gonaïves, reflecting dangerous illusions, chanted, "*Vive Lame Dayiti!*" (Long live the Haitian army!). Even the Reagan administration, which is willing to give a "human rights" stamp of approval for almost any anti-Communist "moderately authoritarian" tyranny, is reportedly having "trouble" finding any "progress" in Haiti.

Last summer, there was much talk about a "liberalization" of the Duvalier regime. However, a plebiscite aimed at consecrating his reign was "approved" by a 99.98 percent "yes" vote. Duvalier's "liberalization" meant the murder of one priest and the expulsion of three others connected with the Catholic opposition radio station, Radio Soleil. The priests' "crime" was denouncing the referendum as a fraud. Following the November demonstrations, a Protestant minister died "in custody." A number of opposition leaders were also arrested, including Grégoire Eugène, who recently registered his Social Christian Party under the election law requiring that parties list their members with the police and acknowledge Duvalier's "supreme authority" in all government matters.

While repression of prominent bourgeois figures makes the news, the main victims of the regime's infamous "Tontons Macoutes" secret police are the Haitian masses. The Macoutes also have free reign next door in the Dominican Republic, where they terrorize Haitian exiles (*El Diario*, 27 December 1985): nine of their intended victims recently sought asylum in Italian and Venezuelan embassies. These official hitmen in reflector glasses also carry out their dirty work in the U.S. in cooperation with the FBI. Thus, the struggle against the Duvalier dictatorship must be directed as well against their Dominican allies and U.S. patrons.

Haiti: First Black Republic

When the French colony of Saint-Domingue declared its freedom 180 years ago in Gonaïves, Haiti became the first independent black republic in the world, acting as a beacon to Latin American independence movements. Inspired by the principles of the French Revolution, Toussaint L'Ouverture's abolition of slavery provoked slave unrest throughout the Caribbean and in the American South, including the revolts led by Gabriel Prosser (1800) and Denmark Vesey (1822). The United States refused to recognize Haiti until the Civil War. But internally Haiti sank into stagnation. Following a ruinous civil war, a mulatto elite replaced the rule of the revolutionary black generals. As the plantation economy declined, Haiti fell under the economic domination of the United States. Finally, U.S. Marines occupied Haiti from 1915 to 1934, justifying their rule with the need to impose order and collect debts owed the National City Bank of New York.

Diederich/Time

Baby Doc ("I'm in control") Duvalier. Don't count on it.

François Duvalier came to power in 1957 with demagogic appeals to the black masses against the mulatto oligarchy. He soon erected a despotic "papadocracy" based on arbitrary terror spread by the Tontons Macoutes, sadistic torturers trained by a U.S. military mission. As opposition politicians "disappeared," the state machinery was "macoutized." Later, under John F. Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress," the organs of repression were "professionalized" by a massive infusion of arms and police cars. Now, after almost three decades of Duvalier rule, opposition leaders are reportedly looking for a military coup. But for the Haitian masses, the army, with its elite "Leopard" battalions, is no alternative to the Tontons Macoutes: *these* are the murderers who shot down the students in Gonaïves. They are all instruments of U.S. neocolonial rule.

Today Haiti is sunk in an economic morass mirroring that of the entire Caribbean region (except Cuba). The vicious austerity of the International Monetary Fund seeks to slash the miserable wages of Haitian workers who "survive" on wages of $1 a day. There is an extreme shortage of gasoline and electricity, as the government is unable to pay its oil tanker bills. While Haiti has built up some light industry (textiles) and an ALCOA aluminum refinery, its classic products have been coffee collected bean-by-bean by impoverished peasants, the export of slave labor to the sugar harvest in the Dominican Republic, the manufacture of baseballs and brassieres, and the export of blood. In the midst of it all, Madame Duvalier last month took 16 of her entourage to Paris on the Concorde, spending a rumored $2 million on haute couture.

Today everyone from Third World Stalinists to Christian Democratic politicians and Catholic priests calls for a "front of the entire people" (Father Jean-Juste at the Brooklyn demonstration) and chants, "Only one solution: revolution"—a vague slogan inherited from the French May '68. A revolution *is* brewing—the question is: which *class* shall rule, the bourgeoisie or the workers? As opposition politicians angle for a U.S.-backed military takeover, class-conscious militants should recall that a similar "human rights coup" has led to more than half a decade of civil war in El Salvador. But the overthrow of the Duvalier dynasty will unleash forces which have been pent up for nearly 30 years, and there is no predicting where it will end. Authentic communists insist that only *workers* revolution will liberate the Haitian masses.

Today hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers are to be found in the "diaspora," with major concentrations in Montreal, Boston, New York and Miami. A revolution in Haiti could have a dramatic impact on American blacks, just as the "black Jacobin" L'Ouverture transmitted the program of "liberty, fraternity and equality" to the slave South. In the United States, the Spartacist League has uniquely fought for full rights for Haitians and all "illegal aliens." At the time of INS roundups a decade ago, trade-union supporters of the SL at the Mahwah, New Jersey auto plant campaigned for union action against deportations. And in last year's New York City election campaign, Spartacist candidates fought for "no deportations" and "full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers." In the Dominican Republic, where 20,000 Haitian blacks were massacred by the Trujillo dictatorship in 1937, unity with the Haitian working masses is key to proletarian revolution on the island.

WV Photo

January 11: Over 3,000 march in Brooklyn against bloody Duvalier dictatorship.

The fight for the Haitian revolution comes directly up against the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive. Black Haitian refugees who escape the U.S. Coast Guard cutters ramming overcrowded rickety boats on the high seas are thrown into concentration camps in the United States, from Miami's sweltering Krome Avenue to the Olympic Village in frozen upstate New York, while supporters of Polish Solidarność are welcomed with open arms. And the U.S. Navy is reportedly attracted by Môle St. Nicolas, a natural harbor on Haiti's northwestern tip, just 50 miles across the strategic Windward Passage from Guantánamo, where Washington maintains an imperialist foothold in Cuba. It's all part of Reagan's program of turning the screws on Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet Union until they cry "uncle," a strategy of global counterrevolution that points directly to World War III.

Now Reagan plans to visit Grenada, to return to the scene of the U.S. rape of this tiny black Caribbean island. If things get "out of hand" in Haiti, he will not hesitate to send in the Marines, just as the Democrats did in Santo Domingo in 1965. From L'Ouverture to Lenin, only the program of social revolution offers a future to the working masses, whether colonial slaves or neocolonial wage slaves. A Haitian Trotskyist party, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, must fight for permanent revolution throughout the Caribbean. *A bas Duvalier—Pouvoir ouvrier!* ■

Libyan Frenzy...

(continued from page 1)

Tunis, 1,500 miles from its borders. And the main base for international terrorism is right here in the US of A. The CIA bankrolls, arms and trains whole armies of "contra" terrorists to be sent against governments from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan.

Washington's allies have not only opposed Reagan throughout the Libyan "crisis" but have done so with obvious relish. Like schoolmasters dealing with a dimwitted student, West European governments are lecturing the U.S. president on the ineffectiveness of economic sanctions. Not even Reagan's favorite reactionary in Europe, Britain's Margaret Thatcher—who broke off diplomatic relations with Libya in 1984 after a London policewoman was killed by gunmen hiding in the Libyan embassy—has gone along with Reagan on this one. And the Israelis, whom everyone expected would be the main hitmen against the anti-Zionist fanatic in Tripoli, told Washington, in effect, that Libya is your *shtick*, not ours. Israeli prime minister Peres explained: "We have too many other things to deal with closer to home" (like their terror raid on Tunis?!).

There is something about Muammar el-Qaddafi which drives the American rulers bananas. Reagan's latest sanctions have practically no effect. He already cut off most trade with Libya beginning in 1981, claiming that a Libyan "hit squad" was coming for him! And it's not just Reagan. Liberal Democratic Senator Howard Metzenbaum has stated that maybe "Qaddafi has to be eliminated," in other words, assassinated.

Colonel Qaddafi is a typical "Third World" despot, if somewhat more irrational and outrageous than most. Qaddafi's Libya is certainly byzantine. The recent death of Colonel Hassan Ishkal, number three in the regime and spokesman for the officer corps, was officially explained as an auto accident and semi-officially as suicide, while a post mortem revealed he had been shot at least six times. For all his bluster, the main victims of Qaddafi's hit squads are Libyan dissidents. He claims to be the most fervent champion of the Palestinian cause in the Arab world. Yet when the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion besieged the Palestinian forces in Beirut in 1982, Qaddafi did absolutely nothing to help them. On the contrary, he called on the Palestinian commandos to commit "revolutionary suicide."

Like many a Third World nationalist regime, Qaddafi's Libya plays off the Soviet Union and Western imperialism. A chorus of West European and also American officials and diplomats contend that if anything happens to Qaddafi, more pro-Soviet elements might take over in Tripoli:

> "For the West, however, Khadafy serves to hold back Soviet influence in North Africa and may be a better alternative than one of his close aides, one diplomat argued."
>
> —*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 January

We'd rather see all the advanced weaponry which the Russians are supplying to the flaky colonel in Tripoli sent instead to Nicaragua, where a bona fide revolution has taken place and is under armed attack by U.S. imperialism.

Near East Cauldron Bubbles

Reagan's obsession with Qaddafi and Libya certainly makes for good political farce. But the current situation in the Near East is a deadly serious business. There is certainly nothing funny about the incident which triggered the latest Libyan "crisis." The bloody attack by Palestinian terrorists on the Rome and Vienna airports was criminal and utterly indefensible. But these Palestinian youth are also the victims of far greater criminals—the rulers of imperialist America and Zionist Israel—and of *betrayal* by the Arafat leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The only Palestinian survivor of the Rome/Vienna actions is a 19-year-old born in the Shatila refugee camp in Beirut. When the Israeli army besieged Beirut in 1982, Arafat invited in the U.S. Marines who disarmed the Palestinian commandos and took them into exile,

Brogioni

Senseless, bloody act of nationalist terrorism at the Rome airport in December.

leaving their families behind. Once these camps were left defenseless, the Israelis organized the massacre of Palestinians at Shatila/Sabra by their Lebanese Maronite henchmen. Early last year Shatila/Sabra was once again the scene of genocidal slaughter, this time carried out by the Shi'ites. Decades of terrorist atrocities against the Palestinian people have created a pool of desperate youth ready to commit suicidal terrorist missions just to get even.

The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, billed as an attempt to improve Israeli "security," has only set the stage for another war. Not only did it create more "radical" Palestinian nationalists, but it has led to an increased Syrian influence in Lebanon. Now, the Zionists dare to complain that they can't fly their military planes wherever they please in the region because the Syrians have deployed Soviet antiaircraft missiles on Syrian soil! The Israelis even shot down two Syrian MIG-23s in *Syrian* airspace for tailing after Israeli planes flying over Lebanon. The Syrians have in fact pulled back their antiaircraft missiles from Lebanon, yet the Israelis continue to voice threats. And now Reagan is talking about imposing sanctions on Syria...for its alleged role in the Rome/Vienna airport attacks!

As a seething cauldron of all-sided nationalist conflict the Near East today resembles the Balkans before World War I. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire at the dawn of the 20th century left behind a legacy of savage national, ethnic and religious blood feuds which were exploited by the rival European imperialist powers. At the Western end of that empire, the Balkans, this created the combustible conditions such that a senseless act of nationalist terrorism, the assassination of the heir to the Hapsburg throne by a Bosnian student, set off the horrendous imperialist bloodletting of the First World War.

But out of World War I came not only carnage and destruction. From the backward Russia of the tsars came the first successful workers revolution which emancipated what Lenin had called the "prison house of peoples," inspiring the toiling masses throughout the world, not least in the Balkans and Near East. Despite the subsequent Stalinist political counterrevolution, the social gains of the Russian October remain intact, the foundation for the construction of a society free of national and social oppression.

Against the background of World War II, in the Balkans, where nationalist rivalries and enmities are older and far bloodier than those between Arab and Jew in the Levant today, came a historical lesson equally valid for the Near East. A largely Serbian and Montenegrin Communist Party led by the Croat Tito carried through a social revolution. As an expression of a *proletarian state power*, albeit bureaucratically deformed, Yugoslavia laid the basis for the unity of the Serbian and Croatian peoples.

The experience of Yugoslavia proves that the forging of a multinational Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab communist vanguard party is not a utopian pipe dream. It is the only road to genuine national justice for the deeply oppressed Palestinians, for the right to self-determination for both Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking nations in a Socialist Federation of the Near East. Otherwise, and especially with that flaky warmongering terrorist in the White House, the Near East can easily be the trip wire for a nuclear World War III. ■

Meatcutters...

(continued from page 12)

contract. Tell it to the Teamsters of Local 592 in Fullerton, who were locked out of the Alpha Beta warehouse as soon as the contract was signed! The bosses there aren't satisfied with their pound of flesh and are refusing to agree to the "progression" wage fraud of the master contract. The Teamster tops have left Local 592's 185 members to rot, while Alpha Beta threatens to move their facilities to Arizona. Some Teamsters burned their union jackets in anger at this stinking sellout.

From the start, the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) bureaucrats sabotaged the strike. L.A. labor reporter Harry Bernstein reported that "Some top officers of the international union, including, reportedly, UFCW President William Winn, had indicated to management early in the dispute that they might not oppose some form of a two-tiered wage structure..." (*Los Angeles Times*, 1 January). When the sellout came down the bureaucrats wore down the angry ranks with two votes and the threat of a mail referendum. The solid rejection of the contract in the first vote was dismissed as a "misunderstanding." Three out of six locals were forced to vote again on December 29, and in the absence of a class-struggle leadership to oppose the bureaucracy, the contract was finally approved. Members at one UFCW local responded to the betrayal by flattening the tires and spray painting "SCAB" on the car of the regional vice president of the UFCW (Long Beach *Press-Telegram*, 30 December 1985).

This strike *could have been won*. But battles in the class struggle are won on the picket lines, not by bowing to the bosses' courts. The cowardly, legalistic union tops submitted to a court injunction limiting pickets to five per entrance. And this in the face of several organized goon attacks on strikers! One Teamster told *WV* that while alone on the picket line one morning, he was beaten up by two scabs who punched him in the stomach and face, shouting, "This is what you Teamsters do to us scabs, so we're paying you back." There was plenty of support for the strike from workers who knew what the grocery strike meant in "open shop" Southern California, but it takes a class-struggle leadership to build mass picket lines and turn those injunctions into worthless scraps of paper.

During the strike the Spartacist League called for mass picketing in defiance of the injunction, appealed to bring out the clerks (who are members of the UFCW!) and to mobilize labor on behalf of full citizenship rights for immigrant workers. On December 7, at a rally of 1,000 strikers in MacArthur Park, Los Angeles, *Workers Vanguard* salesmen sold 114 copies of *WV* on the strike and distributed several hundred copies of the *WV* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," and got an attentive hearing.

In the aftermath of the strike, the bourgeois press is counseling strikers that "it could have been worse." They are echoed by those waterboys for the labor bureaucracy, the Stalinist Communist Party, who can't even call a sellout by its right name: "Only small concessions were granted..." lies the *People's World* (4 January). And they parrot uncritically the Teamster tops' lies about "job protection," after reporting the lockout of the Teamster workers in Fullerton!

The UFCW tops have also been working overtime in the Midwest, where they have openly sabotaged the six-month-long strike of UFCW Local P-9 workers against the giant Hormel meat processing plant in Austin, Minnesota. These labor lieutenants of capital—who one UFCW member told *WV* the union ranks call "Union For Company Welfare"—refused to sanction the strike, and then threw out a Local P-9 vote rejecting the contract and demanded a mail referendum run by the International. Now strikers have a real battle on their hands, as Hormel is trying to reopen the Austin plant with scabs, while the strikers are dispatching roving pickets to other company plants in the Midwest.

From L.A. to Hormel to the Watsonville cannery workers, labor must play hardball to win: For mass picket lines that no scab even thinks about crossing! Not a truck or a rail car moves—Hot-cargo scab products! The resistance to the capitalists' givebback/union-busting drive must be a political fight to oust the labor bureaucracy and forge a workers party that can lead workers and minorities to root out capitalist oppression at its source. ■

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Chicago Tribune...

(continued from page 12)

For daily mass picketing bolstered by union contingents from throughout Chicago!

Ready to Play Hardball

The workers who turned out Saturday were ready to do just that. They came ready for action: many wore heavy work shoes, some wore helmets; firemen, recalling their own bitter 1980 strike, came protected in their heavy black raincoats. Their spontaneous chants were "Shut Down the Trib!" and "Teamsters suck!" The *Workers Vanguard* supplement which was distributed at the picket line caught the mood with its headline, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" Pickets grabbed 1,000 of these supplements: one *WV* distributor had to go back for more—a group of workers wanted enough for their friends and relatives. Over 120 copies of the current *WV* were also sold to strikers and their supporters.

The *Tribune*'s union-busting attorney condemned the strikers' defense of their picket line as mob violence reminiscent of Libya(!), but from the moment they arrived, pickets were subjected to real "state-supported terrorism" made in the USA. Even beforehand, a delegation of cops "paid a visit" to Firefighters president Martin Holland after he put a message on the union "Hot Line" calling for shutting down the Trib. On Saturday, police superintendent Fred Rice, Mayor Washington's hand-picked top cop, was out there well before dawn to personally supervise the arrest and beating of picketers.

Two Chicago Transit Authority workers told *WV* they witnessed the cops beat a unionist repeatedly with blackjacks before tossing him into a paddy wagon. As the morning progressed, the cops gave a valuable lesson on their true role as the capitalists' armed thugs and sworn enemies of all working people. Earlier some pickets had expressed illusions in the "union brothers" of the Fraternal Order of Police. By 10 a.m.—after several hours spent ducking billy clubs—pickets were shouting "FOP—Fuck Off Pigs!" and "Cops Go Home!" Many craft workers were victims of the kind of police violence that black working-class youth experience every day. The myth of the "alliance of uniformed services" was exploded by the cops clubbing Chicago firefighters on the picket line. Cops out of the labor movement—no police or prison guard "unions" in the AFL-CIO!

WV Photo

Chicago, 19 August 1985—Angry transit workers demonstrate outside police headquarters against racist frame-up of union brother.

The CFL bureaucrats never intended for the "Solidarity Rally" to deal a blow to the Trib's union-busting. The mass rally was scheduled for 8 a.m., *after* the trucks would have left, but hundreds of workers surprised the union tops by coming out early. Between 5 and 6 a.m. the picketers waged a battle to stop the delivery trucks leaving the near North Side plant. ITU International vice president Allan Heritage orchestrated a series of moves to make sure the trucks got out. When more than a dozen trucks were lined up at the exit, pickets were lured across the street for a "rally" and Heritage read the scab injunction! Union marshals were organized to help the cops clear a pathway for the vans.

While the decisive battle to stop the deliveries was going on, thousands of members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) gathered a half-mile away at the Merchandise Mart. A member of IBEW Local 134 later told *WV* that by 6 a.m. there were 2,000 workers ready to go. Yet the IBEW tops kept them there, watching *Tribune* trucks roll up Wells Street, until after 7:30. By that time, they were 3,500. "We could have shut the Trib down all day in a blink," she said. But the IBEW officials didn't want to shut down the paper; particularly they didn't want to confront Local 134 members whom they had ordered to cross the picket lines every day since the strike began!

At the rally, after the cops had attacked the picket line, and arrested several strikers for allegedly damaging the trucks, Heritage incredibly denounced the victims as company agents! "Bullshit!" responded workers in the crowd. The real company agents were at the microphone.

Later that morning, firefighters leaving O'Sullivan's bar a few blocks from the picket line spotted a *Tribune* van coming down Grand Avenue. Within seconds their bright red antique fire truck was stalled on the road, blocking the scab truck's path. Strike supporters inside the bar were quickly alerted and poured into the street. The pickets proceeded to patiently explain to the driver why scabbing was a hazardous and unhealthy activity. The truck was allegedly damaged during this lesson. Chicago cops responded by attacking the picketers and singling out the firefighters for especially brutal treatment. At least one fireman was beaten and dragged from atop the fire truck by the bloodthirsty cops. The striking unions must defend *all* those arrested, including workers from other unions who defended the picket line on Saturday.

Build a Workers Party!

Mass picketing must shut down production and delivery of the paper, or the strikers will likely lose their jobs as the strike fades into another of the AFL-CIO's eternal, useless consumer boycotts. Even facing the destruction of three union locals, the CFL tops try to sabotage any real picket line fight for fear that even a small victory will unleash class struggle beyond their control. And for capitalism's labor lieutenants, the name of the game is controlling the workers to ensure the bosses' profits. These swivel-chair bureaucrats are the profit system's political police, keeping the working class tied to the bosses' Republican and Democratic parties. They offer the *Tribune* strikers lip service and a stab in the back.

The printing trades unions have allowed the newspaper bosses to use the application of new production technology to break the old craft unions, and drive down wages and working conditions for all printing industry workers. A fight for an industrial union encompassing all workers, from pressmen to drivers, could effectively combat the *Tribune*'s pitting skilled against unskilled, union against union. It would also open up the industry for an aggressive union-run minority recruitment and upgrading/training program for skilled jobs.

The key to winning the strike is the mobilization of the big battalions of Chicago's industrial unions—steel, auto, transit—in mass picket lines that nobody even thinks about crossing. But the CFL, dominated by white craft unions, didn't lift a finger to mobilize these heavily black unions hit hard by givebacks and layoffs. Where were the transit workers, under heavy attack by Chicago mayor Harold Washington? Last August, 700 CTA workers occupied State Street in front of police headquarters and beat back the racist, anti-labor frame-up of David Johnson, a black bus driver who had been involved in a tragic and unavoidable accident. And what about the South Works steel workers, thrown on U.S. Steel's scrap heap by the thousands? Or the Danly strikers, who fought for nine long months in defense of their union?

Saturday's militancy showed that a strike victory is well within reach if union militants organize mass picketing as part of a broader fight against the bureaucrats' betrayals. To combat the *Tribune*'s use of desperately unemployed, mostly black and Latin workers as scabs, what's needed is a class-struggle program to unite unions with the unemployed and minorities in a fight for jobs for all. The labor fakers fear the powerful, integrated mobilization of Chicago labor and the unemployed that's necessary to win the battle at the Trib, because it points the way forward for labor and blacks to break the stranglehold of the labor lieutenants and their "lesser evil" Democrats.

The fake socialists of David North's Workers League "demand the Chicago Federation of Labor follow Saturday's action be [sic] calling a Congress of Labor to build [a] Labor Party in 1986" (*Bulletin*, 3 January). Saturday's action amply demonstrated that a WL-style "Labor Party" organized by the CFL tops would be anti-picket line, anti-black, one only North and his former godfather Gerry Healy could love. And will this "Labor Party" include the cops? The WL is notorious for hailing the "militant" bonapartist New York police "strike" in 1971. What is needed is the forging of a workers party, built in the struggle against the bosses' war on unions, on blacks, on the Soviet Union. And that means an all-out fight against the treacherous labor bureaucrats who sabotage the defense of their own members' jobs in order to protect their position as "mediators" between the working class and their exploiters. ■

Is Workers League Bulletin a Scab Paper?

Workers Vanguard reporters and salesmen at the January 4 union rally in solidarity with the *Chicago Tribune* strike found the militant Trib workers to be quite interested in socialist literature. We also noticed that supporters of the recently Healyite Workers League were skulking about, curiously unaggressive in pushing their raison d'être, the twice-weekly *Bulletin*. Meanwhile, a *WV* salesman was approached by several strikers who, misinformed, protested that he was distributing a publication printed by non-union labor. The *WV* salesman immediately showed the union "bug" prominently displayed in our masthead and, reassured, each of the striking workers bought a copy of the paper. We concluded that this misunderstanding arose because some fake-left outfit was, grotesquely, handing out literature without a union label at the rally—an intolerable insult to the strikers whose struggle is one for the survival of unionism in the printing industry. Recalling the WL's furtive behavior at this rally, we checked out the *Bulletin* and, sure enough, found *no union bug*. Is the *Bulletin* a scab newspaper?

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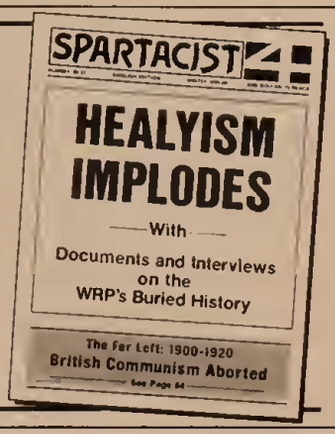

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WORKERS VANGUARD

17,000 Unionists Rally in Bitter Six-Month Strike

Shut Down the Chicago Tribune!

CHICAGO—Early Saturday morning, January 4, some 17,000 workers turned out at the *Chicago Tribune*'s sprawling production plant to support three unions that have been on strike for nearly half a year. The conservative Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) officials who called the action wanted a tame labor festival at the company gates, but the union ranks had ideas of their own. They came to *stop the scabbing and shut it down!*

For several hours starting at 5 a.m., hundreds of angry pickets led by the strikers themselves fought tooth-and-nail to stop the scabs and Teamster delivery trucks from entering and leaving the ultra-modern facility. They went up against the cops and their own union officials, who worked together to enforce a court-mandated agreement to let the scabs go through. By noon more than 40 unionists had been arrested, some brutally beaten, including 32 strikers and several firefighters.

Around the country, the bosses are continuing their "takeback" offensive with a vengeance. But wherever there has been any attempt to marshal labor's forces, from auto workers in Toledo to cannery workers in California—and transit workers in Chicago, last August—union ranks have tried to use that power to turn back the attacks. On Saturday, the Trib strikers unambiguously demonstrated their will to fight: what was missing was a class-struggle leadership.

Militant workers try to stop scabbing at Trib strike, January 9. Cops bust over 40.

Drop the Charges! Victory to the Tribune Strike!

Three unions walked out of the *Tribune*'s "Freedom Center" (the company's near North Side production facility) July 18: International Typographical Union (ITU) Local 16, Mailers Union Local 2 and Local 7 of the Web Pressmen's Union. In order to "remain competitive," the wealthy Tribune Company was demanding takeaways that would have gutted the unions: a three-tier wage system with up to a *37 percent* pay cut, arbitrary job assignments, gutting the grievance procedure and pension plans, unlimited hiring of low-paid trainees and part-timers, and elimination in practice of the "lifetime job guarantees" negotiated in 1975. The *Tribune* signaled its union-busting intentions ten days before the strike began. Ignoring the postponement of a midnight strike deadline, security guards waving guns and accompanied by vicious dogs roamed through the "Freedom Center" rounding up pressmen and mailers. The workers were kept captive in the cafeteria and then expelled from the plant!

From day one the central task of this strike has been to *stop production* and *stop newspaper deliveries*. But this has never happened. The company imported professional strikebreakers from around the country; housed them in a posh hotel and bused them across the picket lines every day. And the 1,000 strikers were stabbed in the back by other unions representing workers at the *Tribune*, like the Machinists, the IBEW and most importantly, the Teamsters (IBT). IBT Local 706, representing the delivery drivers, issued a hypocritical leaflet "supporting" the strike while oh-so-legally explaining that a no-strike clause in their contracts tied their hands. Incredibly, the same cowardly Teamster bureaucrats were at that time trying to woo the ITU into a merger! A couple of weeks later, FBI fink and Teamster president Jackie Presser denounced the Trib strike as "a crass tactical move calculated to arouse anti-Teamster sentiment"!

As we go to press, the strikers face a restraining order that threatens to become a permanent injunction against mass picketing. The strike has languished because of the union tops' obedience to the bosses' legality. Screw injunctions and no-strike clauses: if the Trib strikers don't mobilize their allies on the picket lines and stop the scabbing, they will lose! Instead, the strike leadership has concentrated on a no-win consumer boycott, which has not prevented the company from printing and selling tens of millions of newspapers. Meanwhile the *Tribune* bosses arrogantly proclaim that many strikers won't get their jobs back. *Shut it down now! Stop the Teamster-driven trucks!*

continued on page 11

L.A. Meatcutters Strike Sold Out

LOS ANGELES—After putting their bodies on the line for a bitter eight-week strike, L.A. Teamsters and meatcutters have returned to work. It took outright betrayal to defeat the thousands of courageous workers who braved the combined attacks of strikebreaking cops, scabs and the sabotage of their own misleaders. Learning the lessons of this defeat is vital for striking Hormel meatpackers facing the same treacherous bureaucracy in the Midwest.

The 12,000 Teamster drivers and warehousemen and 10,000 meatcutters had struck seven Southern California supermarket chains on November 5. The arrogant Food Employers Council was out to hust the unions by preventing automatic Teamster recognition at new warehouses and to impose the vicious "two-tier" wage system. They won the two tier, cutting starting pay for meat wrappers to $5.53 an hour, less than *half* current wages. There is no cost-of-living increase for Teamsters or meatcutters, and the hours per day that a market must have a journeyman meatcutter on duty is cut from 16 to 8. As one local official remarked: "The agreement is nothing but a rape of the American breadwinner" (*People's World*, 4 January).

L.A. unionists picket supermarkets in hard-fought, two-month strike.

On December 26 the Teamsters ratified first. The Teamster bureaucrats have attempted to cover their sellout by claiming that new-hires will "aggressively" catch up during the last year of the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 396

31 January 1986

Racist Hypocrisy on Martin Luther King Day

It was the first celebration of Martin Luther King's birthday as an official national holiday, and America's racist rulers were really spreading it on thick. Ronald Reagan, who fought tooth and nail to defeat the law making M.L. King Day a holiday, declared the slain civil rights leader "was a great man who wrested justice from the heart of a great country." Alabama governor George Wallace read a proclamation honoring King from the capitol steps in Montgomery where he once proclaimed "Segregation Forever." The hypocrisy was symbolized by Vice President George Bush joining hands with the widow Coretta King, singing "We Shall Overcome" at King's Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. Many blacks and indeed everyone who fought for integration was revolted by the spectacle of arch-segregationists and reactionaries hailing the man they denounced as a communist and "race mixer."

The ruling class seized upon King's "I Have a Dream" speech at the 1963 march on Washington. Ever since the days of slavery they have tried to get black people to live on dreams of heaven by and by—so they would forget about the hell they're living here and now. At the time of King's speech, radical civil rights activists declared, "The American dream is a nightmare

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For Mass Labor Action to Smash National Guard Strikebreaking!

Shut Down Hormel!

AUSTIN, Minnesota, January 28—Sharp battle lines have been drawn for all labor in the five-month-long meatpackers strike against Hormel & Co.'s key pork processing plant here. Two weeks ago the company announced it would try to reopen the plant with scab labor; last Monday the union, Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW), responded by surrounding the Austin plant with militant strikers. After a day of hard struggle on the picket lines, Minnesota's Democratic "friend of labor" governor Rudy Perpich dispatched 600 National Guardsmen to break the strike. The union answered by sending roving pickets to shut down other Hormel plants. *The showdown is here—shut down Hormel now!* At stake is not only the survival of the Austin union, dating back to a victorious 1933 sit-down strike. Today Hormel strikers are on the front line of the fight against wage-slashing, union-busting "concessions" across the U.S.

Levison/Minneapolis Star and Tribune

UPI

Austin, Minnesota: Striking meatpackers face scabherding National Guard, jeer scabs entering the plant. Thousands of Midwest unionists must be mobilized to smash Guard strikebreaking and run the scabs out of town.

The Guard is the armed fist of the bosses' government, and they soon showed it. When strikers sought to block access roads with their cars early on the 23rd, Guardsmen, state and local cops smashed the windows, dragged picketers from their cars and then drove them over a snow bank into a ditch. On Friday strikers' wives marched on the plant with signs demanding "National Guard Out of Austin" and an end to martial law, while squads of P-9 strikers picketed out Hormel workers at the Ottumwa, Iowa and Fremont, Nebraska plants. Union members honored those pickets, even, in the case of the Fremont plant, waiting until a single carload of Austin strikers showed up. When this happened again on Monday, the company reportedly fired 350 workers at Ottumwa and scores elsewhere. P-9 vowed to continue the flying pickets.

Abandoned by the UFCW International, for months Austin strikers have courageously fought alone against the company assault. All of labor must come to their defense now! Local union president Jim Guyette has pointed out that the "labor movement is under attack throughout the country," and there is an opportunity in Austin to deal a blow against the employers' offensive. But the call for a consumer boycott against Spam and Dinty Moore Stew is a diversion from the crucial struggle to *shut down Hormel*. Twin Cities auto workers, Iowa meatpackers, Chicago newspaper strikers—labor organizations from all over the Upper Midwest must mobilize to flood Austin with thousands of unionists who can send the scabs scurrying! There must be political strike action to beat back the National Guard strikebreaking!

Hormel Strikers Play Hardball

The fight began 15 months ago when Hormel, whose profits have consistently topped $25 million a year, ripped up the UFCW contract and cut wages from $10.69 to $8.25 an hour. The union called in "labor consultant" Ray Rogers, who had run a media blitz for the textile workers against J.P. Stevens. As an alternative to "obsolete" strikes, Rogers urged a "corporate campaign" to embarrass Hormel through demonstrations outside stockholders meetings and pressure on the banks. It didn't work. So when the contract expired last August 17, the local union struck the huge $100 million plant in Austin. Two weeks ago, P-9 strikers turned down the company's "final offer," now up to $10 an hour. But this is no "69 cent fight." With the company bringing in hundreds of scabs, it's a crucial battle for unionism.

On Monday, January 20, pickets assembled outside the gates of the Austin plant; Local P-9 leaders instructed pickets to obey a Mower County court injunction limiting pickets to three per gate and prohibiting intimidation of scabs. Across the street from the plant's two main gates, hundreds of workers stood behind police barricades while a hundred cars circled the facility. A caravan of twenty cars from the Twin Cities joined them. One pickup had a sign in its rear window: "Save our town, kill a scab." Scabs would sneak into the line, breaking out at an entrance to veer sharply into the plant, followed by yells of "Scab!" and "Low-life!" A woman striker, recognizing one of the 80 or so P-9 workers who crossed the line, shouted out, "That was my brother! Well, he's not my brother anymore!"

By 7 a.m. there were scores of cars in the company parking lot, and P-9ers were getting tired of playing by the bosses' rules. One striker demanded, "Let's get some baseball bats and put an end to this!" Scabs found their cars bracketed by strikers' vehicles, while dozens of pickets surrounded them. One scab got special treatment: strikers told *WV* he had been fired last summer, but

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For the Nicaraguan Revolution

An Insightful Report

For two weeks last summer, Kim Kihner and her companion Paul visited Nicaragua. They went to observe a revolution in progress and to express their solidarity with the embattled Nicaraguan workers. Paul, who was able to provide some skilled technical assistance, noted the workers he met were "mostly high school kids during the insurrection, all of them fought on the streets of Managua and then came to work" replacing technicians who fled before the Sandinista victory. Upon their return Kim and Paul gave reports to the Bay Area District Committee of the Spartacist League, which senior Central Committee members found informative and insightful. Kim's report is printed below.

When we left Managua they'd started digging in the tanks. So the city of Managua itself, on certain streets, around the airport and in the open field areas, is pretty much tanks and half-tracks every hundred yards, defended by troops that are camping out there. They've also increased the security checks in the city—both of us got stopped on the street during the day by the Interior Ministry.

In the papers, every day basically the front headline is on the CIA and "We Will Not Be Grenada" and "Reagan's Looking for a Pretext," etc. They're really mobilizing the country, with propaganda and military preparation. And they've also gone hard and heavy on the Contadora stuff, trying to win over world public opinion.

The contra attacks are pretty intense right now. They're really penetrating deeply into the country. The boat that we rode to Bluefields—which is on the Atlantic Coast, a six-hour ride down a river where you think you're in Central Africa somewhere—was blown up by the contras a week and a half after we took it. The soldiers on the boat were killed and some were kidnapped, and all of the passengers thrown off onto the side of the river.

There was a demonstration at the airport by the right-wingers. Cardinal Obando came in and walked 25 kilometers through town. About 200,000 people reportedly showed up for it—there were 6,000 right-wingers organized at the airport with yellow and white flags of the Vatican, who spontaneously broke into a chant of "Viva Reagan! Death to Ortega!" So the church is a very powerful force in the country. You really feel it on the woman question, and they're a focal point for organizing the contras.

The other thing that we managed to intersect was the Juventud [Sandinista youth] demonstration, which commemorated the martyred dead at Batahola, which is a barrio where 187 youth had died in the insurgency. And there were 15,000 youth there and the Sandinistas passed out guns, empty guns, but ones that worked, so at various times during the demonstration—which was quite lively, about 15,000 kids and all these hundreds of guns raised in the air—they were chanting, "*¡Aquí, allá, los yanquis morirán!*" which is "Here, there, the yankees will die!"

The land confiscations are proceeding apace. This year they've announced that they will have distributed titles to more land in this year than in four years past, and I think it's clearly an attempt to consolidate the peasantry, which is apparently the base of the support for the [Sandinista] Frente. (You see more graffiti and more signs of opposition to the Frente in Managua than you do in the countryside.) So they're basically dispersing the land into small private plots. The state collectivized farms are not very productive, so they seem to be turning toward the private, small plots again. And they're also resettling a lot of the Indians that were moved out of the northern coast or border with Honduras back into that Rio Coco area.

WV Photo

Kim and Paul (right) in Bluefields, Nicaragua, 1985.

In terms of the working class—these are some general observations, because on the tour that we were on for two weeks, we didn't really get to go to any of the unions or working-class organizations. The paper is filled with a lot of push for efficiency, productivity, discipline—you know, the only way that you can be a defender of the Revolution is to do this so-called voluntary overtime where you work a couple extra hours every day or you come in on Saturdays, without getting paid, it appears. And I know they just announced a new national award for the most efficient and disciplined worker.

You can really feel the effect of the *bloqueo* [U.S. trade embargo], and the government uses it as *the* reason that the economy's in such anarchy. Which is, of course, not the only reason, but it is a big part of it. The exchange rate: a couple of weeks before, 60 córdobas would buy one dollar; when we hit town *650* córdobas would buy one dollar. So we were buying beer for like 15 cents a beer, and eating huge dinners and drinks and everything for $1.50. But the population itself doesn't have dollars, except for the bourgeoisie, so the economy is very depressed, they're rationing food and fuel.

A lot of the housing, especially in Managua and many areas—we traveled in a lot of areas of Nicaragua—was just horrendous. Systematically, two days out of every week they cut the water, so you have no water from like six in the morning until maybe ten or eleven at night. And in many areas, like in Bluefields, they would cut the electricity, sort of at random, and just darken parts of the city.

You can see the dedication to health care, in the face of a very depressed economy, and the fact that they can't get anything from the United States, which is where they used to get almost everything. They have dedicated themselves to providing free medical care for everybody. I visited Lenin-Fonseca Hospital with a doctor friend of ours, and it was unbelievable, the conditions in there. They had no air conditioning, for one thing, and they had like six beds in every small room, which meant like wall-to-wall beds, people out in the hallway in beds. There's lots of TB in the country; the health conditions are atrocious. Potable water is hard to find outside of Managua. They can't get basic medications, so therefore you have these huge wards of young women with TB.

The state stores vs. the private markets: the state stores are not very well supplied. You get basics (oil, sugar, rice, beans, etc.) but if you want to get anything you go to the private markets, which is overwhelmed by the black market, so the prices are really high. The government says they're trying to control that, which is part of the reason that they changed the exchange rate to 650 to 1, because that's what you could get on the black market.

The schools: there's a real literacy campaign. So the schools are running about three shifts a day, including the primary and secondary schools. Although clearly when we went out into the more rural areas, the young kids are being used in the economy, they're really not in the schools. The universities, however, have been opened up to everybody, and they're running full-time, they're just packed full of students. It's just a nominal cost to go there.

The woman question: it's really intensely terrible for women there. There's not many jobs, they basically work in the markets or on the streets selling food. It's the most oppressive conditions of the intersection of the Catholic church and a desperately poor economy, where they're basically the people that care for the children and the families. There's been some minimal attempt to build childcare centers—there's about 117 right now in Nicaragua. But birth control and divorce laws and you name it, it's so backward.

Bluefields was really interesting. Just a quick story: we looked for some people that might have some contradiction with the Frente, people who were in solidarity with the Revolution. And the line that we got was, well, the Frente is the leftists, and MAP-ML, which is seen

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WV Photo

U.S. war blockade exacerbates desperately poor Nicaraguan economy—women and children suffer the most.

TROTSKY

Trotsky on the Death of a Son and Comrade

On 16 February 1938, Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son and close comrade, died at the age of 32, poisoned by the Stalinist GPU. In a moving testament Trotsky wrote of his son: "He unwaveringly served the cause of the oppressed, because he remained true to himself." And he concluded:

LENIN

Goodbye, Leon, goodbye, dear and incomparable friend. Your mother and I never thought, never expected that destiny would impose on us this terrible task of writing your obituary. We lived in firm conviction that long after we were gone you would be the continuator of our common cause. But we were not able to protect you. Goodbye, Leon! We bequeath your irreproachable memory to the younger generation of the workers of the world. You will rightly live in the hearts of all those who work, suffer, and struggle for a better world. Revolutionary youth of all countries! Accept from us the memory of our Leon, adopt him as your son—he is worthy of it—and let him henceforth participate invisibly in your battles, since destiny has denied him the happiness of participating in your final victory.

—Leon Trotsky, "Leon Sedov—Son, Friend, Fighter," *Writings (1937-38)*

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 396 **31 January 1986**

Kim Kilmer

17 June 1953 — 24 January 1986

WV Photo

Our comrade Kimberly Sue Kilmer died tragically on 24 January 1986. She was only 32, but had been a member of our movement for almost eleven years. She died of carbon monoxide poisoning from a faulty gas oven in her San Francisco home. Comrades, concerned because her companion Paul Costan had not turned up for an appointment, went to their home in the early hours of January 24. There they found Paul overcome, but in time to get him to the hospital; he has since substantially recovered. Kim, a small slender woman, was already dead.

It was "landlord murder." Their apartment had central heating, but the landlord would never supply enough heat. And it can get damn cold in San Francisco.

Kim was a socialist all her adult life. She joined the Spartacus Youth League in April 1975 in Ann Arbor, Michigan and first joined the SL two years later in Boston, where she was youth organizer. Kim worked in the Detroit and Los Angeles branches, and in New York as part of the *Young Spartacus* comp crew. In a brief period of demoralization in 1979 she resigned, but soon came back hard, actively selling the paper in L.A. where she rejoined in 1981. A tenacious, driving comrade, Kim was always in there fighting for the party. She was a party activist. Kim felt strongly that communists must champion the cause of the oppressed—every incident of police brutality or racist victimization became her fight. At the time of her death, she was a member of the SF local committee of the Spartacist League.

It's not easy to be a communist in America, and the bitter tragedy of Kim's death is that she had put in that hard decade of work it takes to make a seasoned communist cadre, and was visibly growing and maturing politically. She and Paul, an active trade unionist, had visited Nicaragua in the summer of 1985 as an act of solidarity with that embattled country. Upon their return she gave an insightful report to the Bay Area district committee that illuminated the necessity of revolution. Kim paid special attention to the condition of women, and how the U.S. imperialists' overt/covert war against Nicaragua led to impoverishment of the population.

WV Photo

Los Angeles 1983

A longtime friend and comrade said of her, "Kim was moved immediately and directly by the sight of oppression, to the point of imperiling her own welfare. This could be a cop arresting or messing with someone on the street or a scene during a movie. The oppression of blacks in Detroit, where Kim grew up, was a formative factor in her worldview, and a contributing factor in becoming a communist." Kim came to the party during the course of a bitter campus strike and sit-ins against discrimination at the University of Michigan. Her years on the West Coast, particularly in Los Angeles, reflect the SL's ongoing struggles for labor black defense of minorities against racist terror.

"She was extremely competent, energetic, sometimes too energetic. She seemed to have no threshold of exhaustion," one comrade recalled. Kim put this energy to work, meticulously calling contacts, organizing to build the April 1983 demonstration demanding, "Vengeance for Patrick Mason," the five-year-old black child shot down in his own home by Orange County cop Anthony Sperl. That same June, news reached this country of an international campaign to try to save the lives of three South African black militants facing imminent execution by the apartheid regime. They had less than 24 hours to organize a demonstration—Kim had all the comrades in the L.A. office within two hours, working against time.

A comrade recalled his work with Kim on the Los Angeles docks: "For two years plus, we did the ILWU longshore sale. This was a tough sale, but Kim knew this turf inside out. The longshoremen there knew that we were reds and *WV* was the working-class paper down there. Kim saw the presence of the timid SWP sales team there as an opportunity to engage in political debate. Week after week, she popped out of a car at 6:30 a.m., ready to fight those disgusting reformists. After our November 27, 1982 victory over the Klan, she hit the SWP hard over their 'free speech for fascists' line." Kim was particularly feisty in defending the Trotskyist program against opponents.

The L.A. comrades elected Kim as their first alternate delegate to the 1983 Spartacist League national conference, primarily based on her hiting interventions against the whining quitters of the ET (External Tendency). She furiously attacked the ET's worse-than-"color blind" line that the Spartacist League was supposedly turning away from the working class by the formation of the labor/black leagues. In 1984, Kim moved to the Bay Area. Her last political action was participating in the 4 December 1985 demonstration called by the Labor Black League for Social Defense in defense of black unionist Jeff Higgins against Jim Crow discrimination at San Francisco General Hospital.

Kim had been a pre-med student, and because of her medical background during her time in L.A. she helped out veteran Trotskyist Dick Fraser when he was in the hospital and out. "She'd bring him cigarettes and vodka, go to the races with him," a comrade remembers. "They were both fairly stubborn, and so they would go at it a bit. But they both cared about each other a lot."

Last October, after returning from Nicaragua, Kim spoke at the University of California at Santa Cruz and talked to the students about the responsibilities of American revolutionaries: "We say to really fight imperialism abroad you have to wage class struggle at home against our own bourgeoisie. And we're looking to labor/black America to build a revolutionary party that has the power to bring down the biggest enemy of all the working and poor people of the world, and that's U.S. imperialism. That's our job, and we're looking for people who want to fight with us."

Kim Kilmer's death was a widely and bitterly felt loss in our organization. Comrades came to her funeral in Farmington Hills, Michigan from New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Atlanta and the West Coast. Her closest friends and comrades observed that Kim came out of the New Left, and had a sense of struggle. "Maybe she struggled too much against herself, which is often the case with women. But she always kept on fighting." We extend our heartfelt condolences to her family and her companion.

A memorial meeting for Kim Kilmer will be held in the San Francisco Bay Area.

POLITICAL BUREAU
SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
28 JANUARY 1986

WV Photo

Los Angeles 1982

Hormel...

(continued from page 1)

the union got his job back just before the strike—at a cost of $4,000. Later, Hormel's photographer got out of his car and threw a punch at one of the strikers. When the pickets parted he was seen being carried to an ambulance holding his testicles. Austin police chief Donald Hoffman wasn't going to tangle with the P-9ers: "I've only got so many men to work with. I'm certainly not going to be like Custer."

Despite the Local P-9 leadership's partially successful effort to keep the strikers in a legal straitjacket, Hormel was worried. So by Monday afternoon, with the aid of Austin mayor Tom Kough (himself a striker!), four military police units of the Minnesota Guard and the Air National Guard were mobilized on a pre-existing plan to move in and break up the pickets. Initially, some strikers thought they would be neutral in the battle with Hormel. Ray Rogers even told the press "they should call out the National Guard against the company"! But Democratic "Farmer-Labor" (DFL) governor Perpich mobilized the Guard to break the back of the militant local. On Tuesday the Guard shut the plant gates in exchange for the withdrawal of mass pickets. At 3 a.m. Wednesday, armed with heavy clubs and tear gas (and rifles nearby in reserve), the troops sealed off the service road surrounding the plant and established a scab entrance on the nearby off-ramp of Interstate 90. The next morning eight strikers were arrested as they tried to clog I-90.

Hormel, a Fortune 500 company which posted record $38 million profits last year, has gone to the concessions well over and over again. According to P-9 president Guyette, the local has given concessions in 16 of the last 20 years! In 1984 Hormel slashed wages by 23 percent—to achieve "parity" with the rotten contract the UFCW bureaucrats shoved down the throats of other locals. Meanwhile, productivity has increased not because of automation, but through old-fashioned speedup. Despite the modern plant, Hormel workers toil in extremely dangerous conditions, recalling pages out of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*. Forty degree temperatures are common, and hog cut workers handling razor sharp knives are forced in crowded conditions to bone as many as 92 hams per hour. Since 1981, serious injuries at the Austin plant have more than doubled. In the Hormel chain, there are a total of 202 injuries per 100 workers per year.

UFCW International president William Wynn has openly tried to isolate and break the strike, denouncing it as a "suicide mission." But after watching their work speed up and their living standards plummet, packinghouse workers throughout the Hormel chain feel the need for joint action. Earlier this month UFCW members at Local 431 in Ottumwa and Local 22 in Fremont voted to demand the International sanction P-9's roving pickets trying to spread the strike. Wynn refused and called on the Austin local to end the strike. International spokesman Al Zack chimed in, "it made no sense to spread the misery." These traitors have imposed giveback contracts throughout the industry, and they're not about to let a militant local bust up their sweetheart arrangement with the companies! They also fear the showdown with the liberal DFL strikebreakers in St. Paul that is necessary to win this strike, and are willing to destroy a UFCW local to avoid it.

National Guard arrives at Austin Hormel plant, January 21. UPI

Lessons of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters Strike

Alone in their fight against Hormel, facing their own union misleaders and now the troops brought in to break the strike, P-9 strikers have shown determination and courage. The strike is now at a critical juncture. But it will take more than militancy to win. "We will not be another PATCO," vow the strikers, recalling the air traffic controllers union destroyed by Reagan, with a stab in the back from the AFL-CIO misleaders who didn't lift a finger to back them. From Phelps-Dodge copper miners to A.T. Massey coal miners, all too many hard-fought strikes have gone down in defeat in the Reagan years, where injunctions, massive scabherding and union-busting are the rule. As long as the P-9 strike remains an isolated war of attrition, it will be lost.

Yet there is a wealth of class-struggle history among the packinghouse workers and the Minnesota labor movement which points the way to win. In 1933, the Austin Hormel plant was the site of the first sit-down strike, led by the Industrial Workers of the World, who won recognition for the Independent Union of All Workers, forerunner of Local P-9. The next year Austin militants also sent a motorcycle brigade to aid the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamster strike, a crucial battle for union recognition that beat down strong resistance from the bosses and sabotage by an entrenched union bureaucracy. The Minneapolis Teamsters together with left-led mass strikes that same year in Toledo (auto) and San Francisco (docks) paved the way for the great labor battles for industrial unionism.

Led by the Communist League of America (CLA), Minneapolis Teamster Local 574 pioneered class-struggle tactics which would be used to forge the CIO: mass picket lines, flying picket squads, democratically elected strike committees, the inclusion of the unemployed, farmers and women in strike organizations. But the success of these militant tactics was based on the strike leaders' firm refusal to place any reliance or trust in the bourgeois state and the capitalist politicians. When Farmer-Labor Party governor Olson declared martial law and ordered in the National Guard to break the '34 strike, the Trotskyist union leaders called for a general strike. The Minneapolis Teamsters' *Organizer* proclaimed: "Answer Military Tyranny by a General Protest Strike! Olson and State Troops Have Shown Their Colors!—Union Men Show Yours!" (Farrell Dobbs, *Teamster Rebellion* [1972]).

It was a Democratic Party "friend of labor" who brought in the National Guard to break the Hormel strike: this should be a burning lesson to every striker that in the class struggle the state is never "neutral," and that the Democrats are no more "friends of labor" than the Republicans. The cops, National Guard and federal troops are never on the side of strikers. These are the hired guns of the capitalist class. Every serious strike is *political* because it directly confronts not just the individual boss, but the employers organized and centralized through *their* government, *their* law and *their* armed forces. PATCO-smasher Reagan made that perfectly clear.

Strike pickets are, in Trotsky's words, "the basic nuclei of the proletarian army." But to combat the bosses as a class *and win* workers need their own party, the party that embodies their most proven, dedicated and class-conscious champions. We need an integrated workers party in which black workers, the most combative section of American labor, must play a leading role. Crucial to the victory of the Minneapolis Teamster strikes of the 1930s was the leadership of the Trotskyist CLA, which was the nucleus of a revolutionary workers party. The CLA brought together the best traditions of the heroic Wobbly class battles and the experience of the 1917 Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky, in which the working people took and successfully defended their political power.

Silverman/Minneapolis Star

Mass picketing and flying squads were key to victory of Trotskyist-led Teamsters in historic Minneapolis strike of 1934.

Fight to Win!

Following the lead of a revolutionary workers party, Local 574 broke the back of the open shop and established the Teamsters as an industrial union in Minneapolis. In contrast, the strategy of the P-9 leadership is taking the strikers into a blind alley. Guyette views the picket line as a subordinate part of a "multi-dimensional" campaign to sway Hormel by mobilizing public opinion. Behind this conception is Ray Rogers and his Corporate Campaign Inc., which was hired by P-9 in November 1984 (for $340,000!) after Hormel's wage cut. Rogers' claim to fame was the American Clothing Workers and Textile Union (ACTWU) campaign against J.P. Stevens which culminated in a betrayal in 1980: in return for substandard contracts for less than 10 percent of the workforce, the ACTWU gave up its organizing drive for the rest of the company's workers.

It's not Rogers' flashy razzmatazz but the old-fashioned class-struggle methods of the picket line that have given Austin meatpackers a chance to win. Rogers was *forced* into the Hormel strike, after months of running P-9 members around "exposing" Hormel's ties to the First Bank System, pressuring depositors and lobbying board members. And now he is pushing a consumer boycott, the same tactic the AFL-CIO labor fakers used to cover their betrayal of the PATCO strike. In the face of government scabherding and vicious attacks on union members, Rogers counsels nonviolence. At one strike meeting Rogers called on union supporters to be prepared to "lay down in front of those plant gates."

All over the country, the militant Hormel strikers are being looked to by workers faced with similar union-busting attacks. Last December at a Chicago conference of the "National Rank and File Against Concessions" (NRFAC), speaker after speaker paid homage to Local P-9. (NRFAC was created in Minnesota last summer by local union leaders involved in support work for the Hormel strike.) Yet this conference pointedly rejected any criticism of the sellout International union tops—even though the UFCW tops have sabotaged the Hormel strike from the beginning! The only help NRFAC offered P-9 strikers was to support the local's "adopt-a-family" campaign. And even though NRFAC includes the elected leaders of Twin Cities auto and steel workers unions, their only response to Perpich's mobilization of the National Guard was an impotent demonstration at the governor's mansion.

These "rank-and-file" bureaucrats are inspired by Ray Rogers' appeals to the bosses' "conscience" rather than class-struggle unionism; they would prefer to see P-9 members lie down in the road than sit down in the plant. Yet the NRFAC has now become the darling of the pseudo-socialist left. The dubious Workers League, led by David North, former disciple of Gerry Healy, British messenger of Libyan dictator Qaddafi, praises the National Rank and File Against Concessions as "a group of militant local union leaders." The social-democratic *In These Times* (29 January) shamelessly quotes a Rogers sidekick saying that "the key to winning has never been closing the plant in Austin"! Instead they talk of "building solidarity with a wider public" by boycotting Spam and Dinty Moore Beef Stew.

Just as among Harlan County coal miners, there are no neutrals in Austin today. Just as at the bitter Iowa Beef Packers strikes, where the bosses have routinely brought in the National Guard with helicopters, machine guns and armored personnel carriers, this is *class war*. The courageous Hormel strikers are fighting for us all. From Cleveland Greyhound drivers and Toledo auto workers to Chicago newspaper strikers, Arizona copper miners, California warehousemen and cannery workers, over the last couple years there have been repeated bitter struggles against union-busting takebacks. But pro-company union tops have left them isolated, like the PATCO air controllers who were left hanging in the wind by the AFL-CIO labor traitors.

Today, while the bosses are still trying to keep up the "concessions" offensive, more and more union workers are saying "No more PATCOs!" The Hormel strike could be the turning point. Even hard-hit Minnesota farmers are backing the strikers with "tractorcades" as they return from besieging the state capitol in St. Paul. Tens of thousands of workers in the region know full well that if P-9 goes down, they will be next. Mobilize them now! ■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Labor Must Crush Fascist Killers in the Egg!

"The Order": Neo-Nazi Murder, Inc.

The anti-Soviet war drive has spawned a fascist Murder, Inc. at home. From Reagan's salute to the Nazi SS killer elite at Bitburg to the Philadelphia MOVE massacre, the convergence of mainstream bourgeois politics with the right-wing lunatic fringe has emboldened and unified the small but heavily armed fascist movement in this country. There is a terrorist network in the U.S., not of "Soviet surrogates" as Reagan, Meese & Co. allege, but made up of kill-crazy fascist paramilitary outfits as amply testified to by the recent trial of the Nazi "Silent Brotherhood" or "The Order" as it has become known.

Johns/Seattle Times

Two-bit Nazi Führer Richard Butler in fascists' Idaho bunker.

On December 30 a Seattle federal court jury convicted ten members of the neo-Nazi Order on conspiracy and racketeering charges stemming from a two-year rampage of murder, armed robbery and terror, including the assassination of Denver radio personality Alan Berg and a $3.6 million robbery of a Brinks armored truck. The crimes were part of the Order's plan to overthrow the so-called "Zionist Occupation Government," or ZOG, and establish an "Aryan homeland" by exterminating blacks, Jews and "white traitors." U.S. district judge Walter McGovern set sentencing for the ten for February 6 and 7. These murderous scum should be put away for life.

Twenty-three Order members were indicted in April 1985 under the 1970 Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). Of those 23, one, Richard Scutari, is still at large; another, David Tate, has been sentenced to life imprisonment for killing a Missouri state trooper; five pled guilty and six turned state's evidence in return for plea bargaining. These six provided lurid and detailed testimony on the inner workings of The Order.

During the 14-week trial held under heavy security the prosecution called 295 witnesses and the all-white jury viewed over 1,500 pieces of evidence. Witness after witness testified to incidents of cold-blooded murder, attempted murder, armed robbery, the bombing of a synagogue and an adult theater, counterfeiting and the stockpiling of weapons and explosives.

The trial revealed The Order's "enemies list" of those targeted for assassination, including (in addition to Alan Berg): TV producer Norman Lear, industrialist and "détente" advocate Armand Hammer, the heads of the three major TV networks, Baron Elie de Rothschild, numerous anti-Klan activists and others. According to Order member Denver Daw Parmenter, Berg was assassinated because "he was mainly thought to be anti-white and he was Jewish" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 17 September 1985). A five-man Order hit squad waited for Berg outside his Denver home in June 1984. According to Robert Ward, U.S. prosecuting attorney, "it took less than one second for 13 shots to spit out" of the .45 caliber MAC 10 machine-pistol. Twelve bullets struck Berg in the head and chest.

Other Order members testified to the execution of Order member Walter West. Deemed a security risk by his fellow thugs, West was lured to an Idaho forest, bludgeoned with a sledgehammer and shot in the forehead. His body was never found.

At the trial it was described how The Order carried out at least four armed robberies netting over $4 million, most of it never recovered. The most spectacular robbery occurred in Ukiah, California in July 1984. Twelve Order members brandishing automatic weapons and a sign reading "Get out or DIE" surrounded a Brinks truck and made off with $3.6 million. In planning the job The Order had the help of two Brinks supervisors. The pair also helped plan an aborted $30 million robbery of the Brinks San Francisco office where they worked before being arrested in January 1985.

A large portion of the stolen money was used by The Order to bankroll other fascist groups. A confession by Order member Bruce Carroll Pierce detailed how the money was distributed. (Pierce became leader of The Order after founder Robert J. Matthews was incinerated when FBI agents surrounded his island hideout and burned it to the ground with him in it.) According to Pierce over $250,000 went to Tom Metzger, San Diego-based leader of the fascist "White American Resistance"; $300,000 went to Glenn Miller of the North Carolina KKK, $100,000 to Louis Beam of the Texas KKK (reportedly an Order member) and another $60,000 to Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations Church in Hayden Lake, Idaho.

Up to another half-million dollars was set aside for Robert Miles of the neo-Nazi Mountain Church and for former aide to George Lincoln Rockwell, William Pierce, the two-bit *Führer* of the Arlington, Virginia-based National Alliance and author of the tract *The Turner Diaries* on which The Order based many of its actions.

Not one of the groups that received funds from The Order or harbored its members from the FBI is being prosecuted by the government for these crimes. In prosecuting these latter-day Hitler worshipers the Reagan government has no intention of destroying the fascist Murder, Inc. of which The Order is a part. Ordinarily the capitalist government works with and protects the fascists, the likes of Klansman/FBI informer Gary Rowe, who gunned down civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo. But The Order went *too far* in the eyes of the capitalists—including in their hit list not just blacks, Jews and communists but also FBI agents and federal judges! As *New York Times* Houston bureau chief, Wayne King, who has tracked fascist groups for 20 years, put it:

> "I think the FBI and most federal agencies have had less concern about right-wing organizations that tend to be of a possibly violent nature, than they have of left-wing organizations. Guys like Matthews and others declared war on what they called the ZOG—the Zionist Occupational Government—when that happened you saw the Feds begin to scramble, when Matthews shot at a couple of federal agents."
>
> —Interview on San Francisco's KQED, 2 October 1985

Unlike in the whitewash trial of the 1979 massacre of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina where government "prosecutors" did everything possible to let off the Nazi/Klan murderers, in Seattle the government intended to bring their attack dogs to heel.

Order members still face separate trials on murder, armed robbery and other charges, but the government consciously chose to begin its prosecution under RICO's broadly written laws which allow the feds to prosecute for "conspiracy," even when no crime has been committed. Ed Meese's Justice Department touted the trial as the first use of RICO in a "political" case (*New York Times*, 31 December 1985). But the Reagan government's use of RICO against these genuine terrorists is an attempt to legitimize the use of RICO against leftist political organizations. Lead prosecutor Gene Wilson made this explicit when he threatened that this trial was not only a warning to the right but also the left (*San Francisco Examiner*, 31 December 1985).

The Reaganites, who deny abortion clinic bombers are terrorists, repeatedly try to slander left-wing political opposition as criminals and terrorists, in order to legitimize the use of the secret police and criminal conspiracy laws against them. Some reformist pseudo-socialists such as the Communist Party actually call on this same capitalist state to "ban the Klan" and other fascist groups. Writing to his Dutch comrades on such a proposed "anti-fascist law" in parliament, Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "[Such laws] will be used against the proletariat. . .
>
> "This is not to say that for the immediate future Colijn [then Dutch Premier] will not want to free his right elbow from the excessive presumptuousness of the fascists. The social revolution in Holland does not seem to be an immediate threat. Big capital hopes to allay the threatening dangers by using the strong, concentrated (i.e. Bonapartist, or semi-Bonapartist) state. But to keep the real enemy, the revolutionary proletariat, within bounds, Colijn will never completely eliminate or even sidetrack fascism."
>
> —Letter, 13 January 1936,
> *Writings (1935-36)*

Today, Reagan and Meese also look to a "strong state" police apparatus. But for the capitalist class, intent on crushing all opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive, the fascists must be kept in reserve, as shock troops against labor, blacks and communists.

The arrest and conviction of the Order members is at best a temporary setback for the fascists in the U.S., which is nonetheless a good thing. But even as the Seattle trial was going on, last October over 200 degenerate fascist thugs, including Klan, Nazi and WAR members, gathered in Cohoctah, Michigan to pay tribute to The Order ("POWs" Metzger calls them) and many broadly hinted that they were already carrying on its bloody work.

The fascists, overwhelmingly drawn from the dregs of society, are well armed and well financed (they have national computer hook-ups like the "Aryan Liberty Net" to coordinate their night-riding terror). They remain small in number and on the fringes of American society, but dangerous murdering thugs, nonetheless. Now is the time to crush the fascists in the egg! The struggle against the fascist killers starts "in the factory—and ends in the street," as Trotsky put it, with mass integrated labor-centered mobilizations to smash the fascists.

The Order originated in Richard Butler's "Aryan Nations—Teutonic Order." Butler in turn traces his fascist "roots" to Gerald L.K. Smith, the notorious fascist anti-Semite. Smith's campaign in California immediately after World War II was smashed by militant labor mobilizations fought for and participated in by the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. Today the Spartacist League carries on that revolutionary heritage. We have successfully initiated mass labor/black mobilizations in a number of major urban centers—Detroit, San Francisco, Chicago and Washington, D.C.—that successfully stopped fascist provocations. We seek to build a revolutionary workers party to fight for socialist revolution that will sweep away the fascist terrorists and the dying capitalist system that breeds them. ■

WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization stopped Nazi punks from goose-stepping in San Francisco, April 1980.

Sandinistas and Miskitos

Armed Miskito guerrillas visit Nicaraguan town under cease-fire agreement with Sandinistas.

Barricada

Last September 21, residents of the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast town of Puerto Cabezas stared as Miskito insurgents came to town. *Barricada Internacional* (17 October 1985) reported: "Dressed in camouflage uniforms and with their rifles slung over their shoulders, they walked through the streets of the port, talked to the inhabitants and visited bars and discos.... While in the city, the indigenous combatants were escorted by unarmed officers of the Ministry of the Interior." Only a year earlier such a scene would have been unthinkable. Since 1981, the Miskito organizations MISURA and MISURASATA have been allied with the CIA's "contra" mercenaries, part of Reagan's overt/covert terrorist war against the Nicaraguan Revolution. Now, however, under terms of a cease-fire negotiated last May, fighting between the ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and Miskito groups has virtually halted.

Until the U.S. onslaught against Sandinista Nicaragua thrust them onto the center stage of world politics, the Miskito Indians led an isolated existence in the Caribbean backwaters of Central America. Then American delegate Jeane Kirkpatrick got up in the UN to grotesquely compare the FSLN's 1982 evacuation of the Honduran border with Hitler's holocaust against the Jews. Vietnam War criminal Alexander Haig charged the Sandinistas with "atrocious genocidal actions," waving a photo of an alleged massacre of Miskitos—which turned out to be the devastation of Esteli, in the west, by Somoza's National Guard in 1978. Investigations by Americas Watch and the Inter-American Human Rights Commission found no basis for reports of "widespread massacres" of indigenous peoples. But this didn't stop the U.S. disinformation mills from trumpeting purported Sandinista atrocities against the Miskitos as a battle cry of counterrevolution.

The conflict between the FSLN and the Miskitos has been a major strategic weakness for the Nicaraguan Revolution. It has soured relations with the population of the Atlantic Coast, where Pacific Coast inhabitants are often referred to—along with the government in Managua, Sandinista or Somozaist—as "the Spanish." This is the only region in Nicaragua where armed opposition to Sandinista rule managed to win a mass base (Miskito villagers call combatants "the boys," much as FSLN fighters were known as *"los muchachos"* during the struggle against Somoza). The Miskito question became a rallying point for imperialist propaganda against the revolution. And coastal towns like Puerto Cabezas and Bluefields are likely beachheads for a Yankee invasion, just as in the numerous previous times U.S. forces intervened in the Central American country.

So the cease-fire is a major breakthrough for the Sandinistas. At the same time, the fragility of the arrangement is evident: with two armies warily occupying the same territory, any spark can set off another round of tragic fighting. Nevertheless, Miskitos soon began returning to their ancestral homes along the Coco River in northeastern Nicaragua. The government resettlement effort began last July, supplying transportation and basic provisions to thousands of Miskitos who had been forcibly removed in 1982. By mid-September, the pro-Sandinista Miskito organization MISATAN had organized the return of 7,000 inhabitants, representing half of the river communities. In addition, some of the 20,000 refugees who had fled to neighboring Honduras are also beginning to trickle back.

These developments are part of an autonomy program negotiated with MISATAN, which, if successful, could neutralize what has been a nagging political and military liability for the Sandinista regime. But the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FSLN, in reversing their previous policy toward the ethnic minorities, have flip-flopped from bureaucratic "decolonization" to exempting the Atlantic Coast from even the limited social transformation in progress. By essentially leaving Miskito elders and Moravian Protestant pastors in local political control—backed up by the armed MISURA and MISURASATA factions—the Sandinistas are tolerating a regime based on social backwardness, which could be a springboard for opposition to completion of the Nicaraguan Revolution. But in the short term it is the U.S. which stands to lose by peace on the Atlantic Coast, which is why they have assiduously hushed up the cease-fire.

The Revolution Comes to the Atlantic Coast

While Reagan's Big Lies are patent inventions, the Sandinistas' heavy-handed nationalism did indeed drive the Miskitos into opposition. Even though the FSLN's 1969 program recognizes the multi-ethnic character of the Atlantic Coast population, the Sandinistas, on coming to power, refused to recognize any special rights for the six

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FSP: Contra Socialists

The Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) has found a new group to champion. These professional cheerleaders for every imaginable Third World "vanguard" have joined Ronald Reagan, Jeane Kirkpatrick and the Polish pope of counterrevolution in boosting "Miskito Power" in Nicaragua. While the Sandinistas' heavy-handed nationalist policies may have driven many among the ethnic groups of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast population into opposition, the main Miskito Indian organizations (MISURA and MISURASATA) *sold their services to U.S. imperialism's "contra" mercenaries.* But for the FSP, the most oppressed are *ipso facto* the most revolutionary, so in the name of defending the Miskitos, these "socialist" sectoralists end up embracing...the used-up pawns of the CIA.

The Summer 1985 edition of *Freedom Socialist* published an interview with MISURASATA leader Brooklyn Rivera, titled "The Indian Struggle for Autonomy." Rivera is hailed as some sort of revolutionary hero: his speech to an FSP forum was "greeted with thunderous applause," they report. He is presented as a misunderstood "Miskitu leader" who really wants to "protect the revolution." Not one word about how until recently he was bankrolled by Yankee imperialism's Murder Inc. Nor do they mention that Rivera is one of the few Miskito leaders who rejected a truce that, since last May, has brought tenuous peace to most of the region.

MISURASATA was formed in 1979 to represent the Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians in alliance with the victorious Sandinistas. MISURASATA leader Steadman Fagoth, however, turned out to be a former Somoza police agent presently collaborating with the CIA mercenaries. Brooklyn Rivera was thrown into jail along with Fagoth, and after being released, followed him to Honduras. But there he was kicked out by the Somozaist contras for being tainted with *sandinismo*. He then went to Costa Rica and joined forces with ex-Sandinista comandante Edén Pastora. While allied with Pastora's ARDE, according to former contra leader Edgar Chamorro, "Brooklyn Rivera was receiving funds from the CIA" (*Guardian*, 27 November 1985).

Given only a trickle of dollars by Washington, which preferred dealing with the Somozaist butchers, Rivera's MISURASATA was going nowhere on the battlefield. So in 1984 he broke with

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The Indian Struggle for Autonomy

Interview with Miskitu leader Brooklyn Rivera

freedom socialist

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

—Summer 1985

FSP hails Brooklyn Rivera, counterrevolutionary Miskito leader formerly bankrolled by CIA.

Government Hands Off FSP!

The tiny Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) has been thrust into a legal imbroglio with an ex-member which contains serious implications for all left and labor organizations. In 1979, one Richard Snedigar donated $22,500 to the FSP's Freeway Hall Eviction Fund, to aid in the purchase of new headquarters. Snedigar resigned from the FSP in 1980 and four years later sued for return of the donation with interest. Snedigar's suit alleges fraud and "undue influence," because the FSP failed to purchase the headquarters at that time. Enlisting two redbaiting lawyers, Snedigar has used the suit as a witchhunting vendetta raising a fundamental threat to freedom of association.

During pre-trial disclosure Snedigar and his attorneys have sought to obtain FSP membership lists, names of contributors, supporters and ex-members, bank records, internal documents and minutes of party meetings. The FSP, to its credit, has thus far resisted these disclosure requests. In October, the Superior Court judge exempted the FSP from disclosing the names of members but ordered that party minutes be handed over with names deleted. The Washington State Court of Appeals has granted a stay of this order, and the FSP has sought review by the state Supreme Court, citing their constitutional rights not to disclose these internal documents.

The FSP case has been widely endorsed and an *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court") brief supporting its anti-disclosure motions has been filed by the National Lawyers Guild, joined by the National Conference of Black Lawyers, Washington public workers unions and the NAACP, which has frequently been the target of similar "discovery" harassment. The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League have also joined in the *amicus* brief.

The disclosure of membership lists and internal documents is an open door to government intimidation and blacklisting, and a set-up for right-wing smears and attack by fascist elements. Snedigar's suit takes place in the context of a reactionary political climate and a growing arsenal for political repression generated by the Reagan/Meese administration. If successful, the suit could establish a precedent for disgruntled ex-members of a political organization to paralyze its very existence by seeking recovery of prior contributions, thereby giving the bourgeois state control over the organization's finances. Particularly for small left-wing organizations, the right of association has meaning only insofar as its members and supporters can participate and contribute to its activities outside of the prying eyes of government snoops, courts and cops.

Similar issues were raised when the feds prosecuted "Unification Church" head Sun Myung Moon for tax evasion and fraud, declaring that assets held by Moon for his group were taxable property. Moon is a sinister right-wing ideologue and financier of reactionary terror around the world. But his 1982 conviction was a direct blow to freedom of association, and in the fall of 1983 the Spartacist League

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Anti-Soviet Mercenaries Flock to Washington

Reagan's Contra Band

It's Mercenary Month in Reagan's Washington as the CIA's state-supported terrorists line up at the trough for their paychecks. Reagan has announced he will press Congress for $100 million in military and other aid for the Nicaraguan contra hutchers, up from $27 million in "humanitarian" aid last year. And Congress will no doubt secretly renew the estimated $250 million in covert aid for the Afghan mullahs' *jihad* ("holy war") against the Soviet Red Army and women's liberation from the veil. Meanwhile, Jonas Savimbi, the former Portuguese colonial police agent now serving as a black front man for South Africa's war against Soviet-backed Angola, will arrive in Washington in a few days to get in on the gravy train. (Reagan plans to give him "moral support"—i.e., under-the-table bucks.) No budget deficit will stand in the way of Reagan's global counterrevolution.

In Nicaragua, Cambodia, Afghanistan and Angola, Washington is fielding mercenary armies to overthrow so-called Soviet "proxy" governments. While liberal "doves" occasionally moan about getting bogged down in "another Vietnam," at every step Reagan has pulled them into line by playing the old anti-Soviet card—no Congressman wants to appear "soft on Communism." Ever conscious of the Congressional "Vietnam syndrome," Reagan sold the contra aid bill last year as a way to get counterrevolution on the cheap and avoid direct U.S. military intervention in Latin America. But the contras are losers, and everybody knows it. So while U.S. troops have been busy preparing the logistics—building roads, airfields and supply depots in Honduras—Reagan has been laying the political basis for the invasion of Sandinista Nicaragua. Reagan wants to reconquer the world for U.S. imperialism and ultimately retake the Soviet Union, home of the first successful workers revolution in 1917.

UPI

Jeune Afrique

State-supported terrorism: Reagan plots "holy war" with Afghan mullahs against Soviet Red Army (left), apartheid foreign minister Pik Botha with hired Angolan contra Jonas Savimbi (above).

Translating this into military terms, Pentagon planners have recently coined a strategic doctrine of "low-intensity conflict" (LIC). War secretary Caspar Weinberger in his annual report to Congress declares that LIC will be the leading "threat to free world security for the rest of this century," and called for a major buildup of U.S. special forces. To showcase its "new" hobbyhorse, in mid-January the Pentagon held a public conference in Washington, attended by administration top-siders like Weinberger, Secretary of State Shultz and General Paul Gorman, former chief of U.S. forces in Latin America. LIC turns out to be a catchall concept which could mean anything short of global war, as long as it is violent and directed against the Soviet Union and its "proxies."

General Gorman tried to be a little more specific: "It is a conflict which inevitably involves innocents. It is, almost by definition, war upon non-combatants. Its perpetrators are secretive, conspiratorial, and usually morally unconstrained" (WBAI National News, 15 January). While Gorman was talking about "terrorists" and guerrillas, his doublethink description better fits U.S. imperialist intervention into numerous countries over the years. Indeed, "low-intensity conflict" sounds like nothing so much as a Reaganite revival of Kennedy-era "counterinsurgency," which brought the U.S. into Vietnam.

Gentile/Newsweek

Sandinistas crush contras with aid of Soviet MI-24 helicopters. Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Actually it is far more sweeping and aggressive. As Michael Klare explained in a recent issue of *The Nation* (28 December 1985):

> "L.I.C. is counterinsurgency and a whole lot more. As portrayed by Administration officials, it encompasses counterterrorist strikes, 'police' operations of the Grenada type and U.S.-aided efforts to topple pro-Soviet regimes in the Third World."

In the Pentagon's view, says Klare, even the Vietnam War was "low-intensity conflict" for most of its duration (you've got to watch out for that slippage into "mid-intensity"!). And the doctrine is broad enough to include "pro-active" military measures (as opposed to the wimpy "reactive" kind)—meaning naked aggression against any country judged to be a Soviet surrogate. Thus this week, for instance, two U.S. aircraft carrier battle groups, centered on the *Coral Sea* and the *Saratoga*, are "exercising" off Libya's coast, blatantly looking to provoke a dogfight with mad colonel Qaddafi's Soviet-supplied MIGs, in the name of "fighting terrorism."

Aid to Dependent Contras

The problem for the U.S. is their mercenaries are *losing*; a year ago, General Gorman told a Senate committee that the Nicaragua contras couldn't hope for victory in "the foreseeable future." Yet Congress turned the dollar spigot back on. Similarly, in Cambodia the contra coalition last year saw their border camps smashed up by battle-hardened Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean soldiers. In Afghanistan, liberal columnist Richard Cohen moaned, "We are covertly supplying arms to guerrillas who don't stand the slightest chance of winning" (*Washington Post*, 2 January). And last October Jonas Savimbi's ass was barely saved only by the intervention of the South African apartheid army.

For now, many of these contra armies are being funded simply to bleed the Soviet Union and its so-called "proxies"—in Afghanistan, the Reaganites salivate over the unique opportunity to kill actual Russian soldiers. But in Nicaragua the immediate Reaganite goal is more ambitious, namely the overthrow of the Sandinista regime (make them "cry uncle," as Reagan put it)—and for that the contra army is totally inadequate. Ultimately Reagan will have to send in U.S. troops to "save" his mercenaries. Already the administration propaganda machine is spewing out stories about "sharply increased" Soviet military aid to their "Third World clients," to which the U.S. is supposed to respond with "defensive" lethal aid. Then comes the Rapid Deployment Force.

House Democratic leader Thomas O'Neill predicts that Reagan would lose his request for "aid to dependent contras" if the vote were held today. This only means that the White House and Pentagon will be busily thinking up new provocations as the vote approaches in order to whip the pusillanimous Democrats into line. According to Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, there has been "a change in the view held of the Sandinistas. They now have, essentially, no supporters on the Hill." Suddenly last summer it was a "contra Congress," as the Democrats in quick succession approved "humanitarian" aid to the Nicaraguan contras, listed conditions for a U.S. invasion against the Sandinistas and removed the Clark Amendment barring aid to Savimbi's UNITA. Why?

The "solidarity" lobbyists who pretended that the struggle in Central America is divorced from the anti-Soviet Cold War willfully ignored the fact that Reagan has tied every question into his global war on Communism. They even resorted to thug violence and calling in the capitalist cops against the "reds" of the Spartacist League who openly proclaimed, "Defense of the Soviet Union and Cuba Begins in Central America." But now they can't understand how Reagan has succeeded in pulling along the Democratic "doves" for his contra wars. Simply because Daniel Ortega went to Moscow? Rather it's because all wings of the American ruling class are united in the anti-Soviet war drive.

It is Vietnam, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua who need all the *Soviet* aid they can get to face the CIA's "low-intensity" counterrevolutionary war. And it is impossible to effectively combat U.S. imperialism in Latin America or anywhere else, without militarily defending the Soviet degenerated workers state. It will take the independent mobilization of the American working class in struggle for its own class interests to put an end to the imperialists' military adventures through proletarian revolution. ■

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Why the FBI Tried to Destroy M.L. King

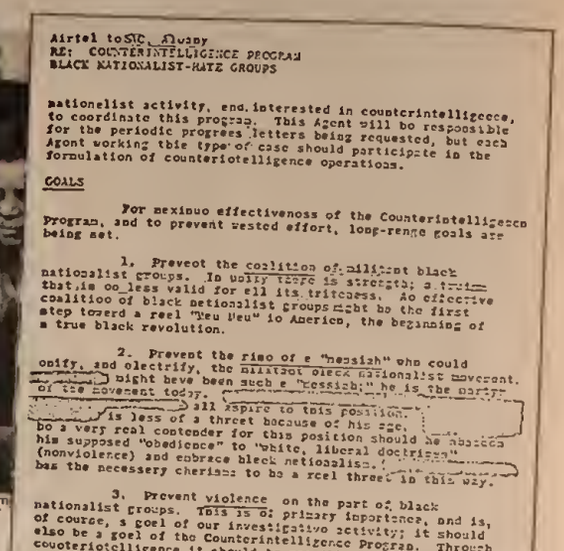
Amidst the orgy of racist hypocrisy that inaugurated the Martin Luther King federal holiday, one ceremony contained a particularly grotesque irony. On January 16, 1,500 federal employees from 26 agencies were shepherded into the Departmental Auditorium to hear a message from their boss in the White House. There they were addressed by Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., the secretary of Housing and Urban Development and the only black in Reagan's cabinet. Washington lore has it that after Pierce was appointed Reagan met him at a reception and asked who he was.

Pierce is a loyal defender of Reagan racism, claiming "the President is very sincere with respect to equality among people" (*New York Times*, 17 January). Regarding M.L. King, who was assassinated on the eve of the 1968 Poor People's March on Washington, Pierce said: "He wasn't seeking so much getting more food stamps, or getting more welfare checks." According to Pierce, King really shared Reagan's vision of "equality" which to paraphrase Anatole France, makes it equally against the law for either the rich or the poor to steal bread or sleep on sidewalk gratings.

But there is also a historical dimension to the cruel irony of black Reaganite Pierce addressing a meeting "honoring" King. For Pierce's name figures in the vicious campaign conducted by Herbert Hoover's FBI to discredit and "neutralize" (eliminate) King as a leader of the civil rights movement. Despite the fact that King sought to disarm black struggle and sink it in the cesspool of the Democratic Party, this campaign was conducted under the Democratic administrations of both John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

By 1962 King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were the subjects of a "COMINFIL" (for "Communist infiltration") operation of harassment, disruption and "dirty tricks" that anticipated "COINTELPRO" operations launched four years later to destroy black groups like the Panthers and their leaders. The FBI launched an insidious McCarthyite smear campaign targeting two of King's closest associates in the SCLC. President John Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, gave Hoover full rein. In June 1963 a meeting was organized between King and the Kennedys to get King to dump his two colleagues, which he did. The SCLC leader reported JFK's sinister warning during this meeting: "I assume you know you're under very close surveillance."

Freed/Magnum



Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counteriotelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a true that is no less valid for all its triteness. No effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. all aspire to this position. is less of a threat because of his age, be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counteriotelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. militant black net

Supporters greet King in Baltimore, 1963 (above). Hoover's FBI COINTELPRO memo (right)—ordering feds to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify" black struggle—drips with blood of martyred black leaders.

Throughout 1964, tapes from the bug in King's hotel room were circulated to the bourgeois press and politicians throughout the country. They were played for then president Johnson. They were even mailed to King's wife, Coretta Scott King, and to the SCLC Atlanta office with an unsigned cover letter drafted by Sullivan urging King to commit suicide or face public exposure of the tapes. The FBI's McCarthyite smear of King and SCLC escalated especially when he criticized America's dirty colonial war in Vietnam.

When members of the press not completely devoid of integrity complained about the crudeness of Hoover's campaign, Johnson defended his FBI director, explaining that it was better having him "on the inside of the tent pissing out rather than on the outside of the tent pissing in" (Morton Halperin, et al., *The Lawless State* [1976]). The ruling class in this country feared nothing so much as the joining of the black struggle for freedom with a communist working-class perspective. They needed Hoover and his secret police.

On April 4, 1968 King was knocked off his "pedestal" by an assassin's bullet. If the FBI did not pull the trigger, they fueled the social climate that spawned vermin like James Earl Ray. King tried to serve both the oppressed and the oppressor, but the latter would not accept a dual loyalty. ■

M.L. King Day...

(continued from page 1)

for blacks." The bitter irony of M.L. King Day 1986 was captured in San Francisco where the march was led off by a contingent of black homeless under the official banner, "Living the Dream." And amid the celebrations came one report after another showing that the desperate "State of Black America" has become a calamity during the Reagan years.

The current occupant of the White House told black children at the Martin Luther King School in Washington, D.C., "It takes a lot of guts not to hit back when someone is hitting you—and [King] had that kind of guts" (*New York Times*, 16 January). What nerve coming from "Ramho Reagan" who threatens to do away with Qaddafi, the Sandinistas or anyone who so much as looks cross-eyed at an American aircraft carrier! Turn-the-other-cheek pacifist preaching didn't win the gains of the civil rights movement, and certainly won't defend the remaining gains now under massive attack. As the ghettos sink ever deeper into poverty, as big city Democratic Party mayors wage Reagan's war on labor and minorities and their cops bomb black America (the MOVE massacre), it's clear that any talk of "survival" in racist capitalist America is a cruel hoax. *The only road to black liberation is socialist revolution!*

Not everyone was "celebrating" M.L. King Day, however. In a despicable racist obscenity, the Ku Klux Klan surfaced in parts of the South. With their preferred "Klandidate" in the White House, the KKK marched in Raleigh, North Carolina hailing the birthday of Confederate general Robert E. Lee. In Atlanta, Georgia governor Joe Frank Harris ever so politely refused permission to the Klan to use the capitol steps for an anti-King rally January 20, urging a KKK grand dragon to "reconsider your request to demonstrate...to avoid potentially disruptive activities." In Pulaski, Tennessee, where the Klan was born in 1865, 100 KKK nightriders came out in white sheets and camouflage combat fatigues, hollering "White power!" and "Smash commies!" as a crowd of 2,000 looked on.

Weiner/NY Times

Revolting hypocrisy: racist Reagan sends his vice president George Bush to join Coretta Scott King in Atlanta memorial.

There was an orgy of commercialization, with King Day sales and nauseating "memorial" ads from banks, supermarkets, hotels, the whole racist capitalist class which regularly gouges the ghetto buyer, enforcing residential segregation, living off the "last hired/first fired" exploitation of the black reserve army of labor. McDonald's commercials showed a profile of King with the "Golden Arches"; Teddy Kennedy declares, "Martin's dream of equality has become the American dream." Sammy Davis, Jr. says Martin told him, "We've made it." In the same spirit, for Black History Month the Miller Brewing Company will feature an ad for its Lite Beer with "We Shall Overcome" as the theme song.

Atlanta, King's birthplace, was the focal point of the national holiday. While 6,000 invited "distinguished citizens" marched behind the stars-and-stripes and *the Confederate flag* (Georgia's state flag), a plebeian crowd of tens of thousands looked on. A *New York Times* (20 January) article contrasted

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the celebration by the "talented tenth" with the grim reality of the black condition in Atlanta. In this "Mecca for Middle-Class Blacks," according to official statistics, a quarter of all black households earn less than $5,000 a year, fully half live in poverty, the infant mortality rate is higher than in Cuba, and the head of the Fulton County Commission sees anger and alienation growing in "a split between the haves and the have-nots" in the black population.

Naturally, black elected officials like King's lieutenant Andrew Young, now Atlanta mayor, and aspiring BEOs like Jesse Jackson used the occasion to join the Reaganites in glossing over the class conflict between the oppressors and oppressed, echoing King's talk of a "beloved community" of interest. Cadet marching bands strutted in memory of the "drum major for justice" and the Air Force did a low overfly as a salute to the man who turned civil rights demonstrators around in Selma and called for the National Guard to crush the Watts ghetto explosion.

Coors, the notoriously racist anti-union brewery whose ultraright president is a top Reaganite and funder of CIA "contras" in Nicaragua, was one of the biggest sponsors of the King Day festivities. So was Coca-Cola, the standard-bearer of the "New South," which is as big a fraud as the "New Coke." Coca-Cola also subsidizes the King Center for Nonviolent Social Change, which symbolizes the whole symbiotic relationship of the thin layer of petty-bourgeois blacks with corporate America. The head of the King Center's public relations department is a vice president of Coca-Cola, and Coca-Cola president Donald Kehoe received the 1986 "salute to greatness" award from the King Center for "community service." The corporation's murderous union-busting in Guatemala and its operations in South Africa where they pay black workers starvation wages were ignored.

At the January 20 "ecumenical service" in Atlanta, Edward Kennedy (who got chased out of Soweto by black militants) called King a "rare genius" and likened South Africa's Bishop Tutu to King. While both appealed to the "humanity" of the oppressors, King at least belatedly came out against the Vietnam War. Tutu, however, calls on Reagan to give Botha the Nicaragua treatment, endorsing the U.S imperialists' global counterrevolutionary policies and merely urging that they adopt more *effective* measures against communism in South Africa.

Various leftists have been trying to cover their opportunism with the mantle of King. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) hails King, "Freedom fighter and international hero," while collecting signatures on a "Freedom Letter" to Bishop Tutu (*Young Socialist*, December 1985-January 1986). In Atlanta SWPers marched briefly in the King Day parade, carrying a banner appealing to American rulers to "Boycott South Africa, Not Nicaragua." From Atlanta to SF, the reformists were pushing the lie that King represents the totality of the civil rights movement. They're trying to forget the "black power" militants who strove to go beyond the preachers' defeatist pacifism and alliance with the Democratic liberals.

Although King represented the liberal wing of "The Movement," he too ran into the dead end which blocked the civil rights movement once they legislated formal elimination of Jim Crow. Black oppression, the misery of the ghettos, is rooted in the capitalist economy. King was shot down in 1968 (while under constant FBI surveillance) supporting striking black sanitation workers in Memphis. In 1986 Memphis distinguished itself by refusing to give municipal workers the day off on M.L.K. Day.

For 15 years, black organizations and others worked to have Congress enact a Martin Luther King Day, the first national holiday in honor of a black person in this country. From Ronald Reagan to North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms to New York City mayor Edward Koch, the resistance was straight out racism. It also reflected their fear of a mass movement of blacks, the same fear which led to the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO operations to "prevent the rise of a black Messiah." We will probably never know what role the U.S. intelligence agencies played in the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King until the workers revolution opens the locked archives of the U.S. secret police.

Not least of all, the red-white-and-blue hoopla surrounding King's birthday is intended to drown out memories of that original "Martin Luther King Day," which sent shivers of fear through America's ruling class. On 4 April 1968 hundreds of thousands of black people took to the streets, leaderless and without political focus, in outrage over the cold-blooded murder of the man who was seen as the leader of struggle against black oppression. Troops were called out, as ghetto explosions broke out in 125 cities across the country. Lyndon Baines Johnson had to call in airborne troop divisions to occupy the capital against the wrath of the population of black Washington.

In 1986, Republicans Reagan and Bush and Dixiecrat Wallace and liberal Democrat Kennedy all praise Martin Luther King's "dream of equality" as school integration is abandoned and social programs for the ghetto poor are slashed in favor of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. Meanwhile, under Democrat Jimmy Carter racist murders of blacks and leftists received state sanction at Greensboro; under Reagan it has become state policy at Philadelphia.

While M.L. King led blacks into the Democratic Party, tragically, groups like the Black Panther Party, isolated in the ghetto, never found the road to link the black struggle to the power of the working class. Such a labor/black alliance means mobilizing the power of the working class and minorities behind the leadership of the revolutionary workers party. ■

Contra Socialists...

(continued from page 6)

ARDE and opened negotiations with the Sandinistas. But Rivera terminated discussions last May, demanding "sovereignty" and recognition as exclusive representative of the coastal peoples, as well as withdrawal of the Sandinista army from the rural areas. In June he formed an alliance with Fagoth's MISURA in the contra capital of Miami, but soon thereafter Fagoth was expelled from his own outfit. In July, the new coalition (KISAN) ousted Rivera as well.

A "general" without an army, cut off by the CIA and the contras, and moreover having broken off discussions with the Sandinistas just when an effective cease-fire was negotiated, Rivera has taken to international grandstanding. Last November he was joined by Russell Means, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), who denounced the Sandinistas' autonomy proposal as a "racist, soulless Marxist experiment" and called for "warriors from North America" to fight alongside the Miskito holdouts. This disgusting attempt to enlist oppressed American Indians for Reagan's global anti-Communist crusade recalls the antics of CORE leader Roy Innis, who recruited blacks to fight with Savimbi's CIA-backed UNITA during the 1975 South African invasion of Angola. (Means has since been expelled from AIM for his support to the contras.)

Since the FSP claims to oppose Yankee imperialism's onslaught against "revolutionary Nicaragua," all it can do is disappear Rivera's CIA connections. But how did Clara Fraser & Co. get into this pickle in the first place? Their support to Miskito contras is a direct product of their sectoralist politics. Born as a split from the Socialist Workers Party in 1966, the FSP is wedded to the idea that each oppressed group must have its own vanguard; their specialty is trying to produce a hybrid of socialism and feminism. Thus the Spring 1983 issue of *Freedom Socialist* contains the bizarre call for "black and workingclass liberation through socialist feminism"! So why not women's liberation through black nationalism, Chicano liberation through Indian power, or ...?

And what happens when "Third World" nationalists like the Sandinistas run up against their "Fourth World" counterparts, the Miskito leaders? According to the FSP, the most oppressed are the vanguard, apparently even if they are being manipulated as imperialist stooges. This opens up quite a Pandora's box. What about the Hmong and other hill peoples in Indochina, enrolled by CIA "secret armies" to transport opium and sabotage the Vietnamese and Pathet Lao struggle against American imperialism? Before them the French used backward tribes as colonialist mercenaries against independence struggles in Vietnam and Algeria.

The same FSP article proclaims, "Black lesbians...are the most rebellious and the most unspoiled and creative radicals. They prove Lenin's dictum that the most tormented shall lead"! On the contrary, Lenin called on the *proletariat* to take the lead in the fight to liberate all the oppressed. By rejecting the Leninist concept of the revolutionary party of the working class as a "tribune of the people," the FSP laid the basis for its present alliance with Miskito contras: this is the *counterrevolutionary logic of sectoralism*. ■

Hands Off FSP...

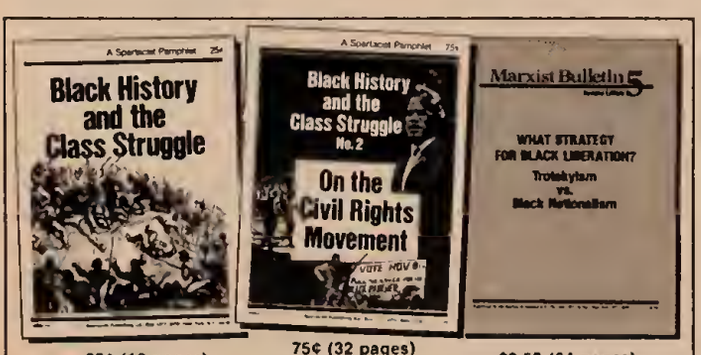
(continued from page 6)

submitted to the U.S. Supreme Court an *amicus curiae* brief against the prosecution, joining numerous religious, civil liberties and political organizations.

The Snedigar suit strikingly resembles the dirty practices of that litigious political swindler, Gerry Healy. Healy's propensity to use the bourgeois courts as a sword against political opponents is notorious. In the strange case of Alan Gelfand, this American Healyite provocateur under the direction of Workers League honcho David North enlisted the capitalist courts to challenge Gelfand's expulsion from the Socialist Workers Party. Recently, following their expulsion from the British Workers Revolutionary Party, Healy and his cohort Vanessa Redgrave sought the recovery of £29,000 from Astmoor Litho Ltd., printer of the WRP's *News Line*, claiming this was a loan by Redgrave repayable on demand. When the WRP now led by Michael Banda refused to pay, asserting that the £29,000 was a gift, Redgrave sued for and obtained the dissolution of Astmoor Litho, and has recovered the sole right to use the *News Line* banner. The Official Receiver's Department will now determine the disposition of the remaining assets of Astmoor Litho.

Intervention by the capitalist state into the internal life of left and labor organizations is lethal. Although we hold no political brief for the FSP's rotten sectoralist politics, which have landed them in an unholy alliance with Reagan's Miskito contra terrorists against the radical nationalist Sandinista regime, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have endorsed their defense in this lawsuit, recognizing the serious threat to democratic rights that is posed.

We call on all left and labor organizations, and all those who defend the right of political association and organization free of government interference, to support the FSP's defense. The PDC has contributed $100 to the defense fund. Endorsements and donations may be sent to: Freedom Socialist Party, 5018 Rainier Avenue South, Seattle, Washington 98118. ■



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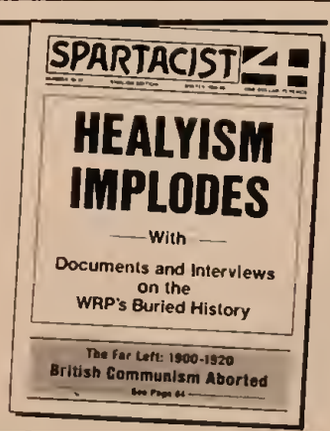

Miskitos...

(continued from page 6)

different ethnic groups of the region, simply declaring "the Atlantic coast Indians are Nicaraguans like the rest" (*International Viewpoint*, 15 July 1985). As elsewhere in the country, the FSLN sought to introduce social and economic reforms. But the literacy campaign, for example, was originally projected in Spanish until objections from local organizations convinced them to include native languages. Leading the opposition was the newly formed MISURASATA (Miskitos, Sumos, Ramas and Sandinistas United).

Separated from the Spanish-speaking Pacific Coast by mountains and jungle through which no road has passed until recently, the Indians and Creoles of Zelaya province are historically, linguistically and culturally distinct from the rest of Nicaragua. The Miskitos successfully resisted Spanish colonization and were cultivated as allies by England in its struggle against Spain for hegemony in the New World. In the 17th century the English helped create the "kingdom" of Moskitia which served as a haven for their buccaneers. English pirates were later replaced by American fruit, mining and lumber companies, and in 1894 the British Atlantic Coast protectorate was incorporated into the Republic of Nicaragua—under the guns of U.S. ships. Subsequent Nicaraguan rulers, especially the Somoza dynasty, maintained the region as a separate preserve for joint exploitation with North American firms.

The Atlantic Coast played no part in the revolution which overthrew the Somoza dictatorship in 1979: it was imported to the region from the outside. As the FSLN extended its rule to the Caribbean, the Sandinistas' hostility to demands for ethnic rights provoked unrest even among initial supporters of the revolution. Frictions over the literacy campaign were followed by disagreements over Miskito demands for a greater share in the income from nationalized lumber and mining concerns. In February 1981, the Sandinistas arrested MISURASATA leader Steadman Fagoth Müller on charges of fomenting a separatist uprising. They soon discovered that he had been an informer for Somoza's secret police and was working with Somozaist counter-revolutionaries in Honduras. When a patrol went to arrest Fagoth's associates in the coastal village of Prinzapolka, a firefight broke out resulting in the deaths of several soldiers and Indians.

In response to Miskito pressure, the government released the MISURASATA leadership, whereupon Fagoth crossed the Coco River to join his Somozaist pals (already being financed by the CIA). They soon launched attacks against representatives of the FSLN government (teachers, medical personnel, etc.) and spread rumors of Sandinista atrocities. The flow of Miskitos into Honduras increased, and contra camps were set up next door to refugee camps. After particularly violent border raids in December of 1981, known as "Operation Red Christmas," the Sandinistas decided to evacuate the border area. In January 1982 the government began a forced transfer of border residents, including about 10,000 Miskitos, to a group of camps about 50 miles south called Tasba Pri ("free land" in Miskito).

AP

Somozaist spy and Miskito contra Steadman Fagoth.

WV Graphic

Miskito and Sumo Indian populations along rivers and coastline of sparsely populated Atlantic Coast region.

While the new settlements provided health care, schools, sanitation, houses with zinc roofs and small farm plots for the refugees, the trauma of the relocation further embittered the Miskitos. Their homes were burned to the ground before their eyes and their livestock slaughtered by Sandinista troops. The evacuation hit the Miskitos particularly hard as their whole universe revolved around the river and its rich alluvial plain. Moreover, the Tasba Pri settlements became particular targets for MISURA raiders who would kidnap entire villages and march them off to Honduras, while torturing and killing every Sandinista official. Belatedly the Sandinistas became aware of their miscalculations regarding the Atlantic Coast. As Interior Minister Tomás Borge put it in July 1984:

> "The imperialist strategy grasped at that time that the Sandinista national project did not fully understand the Miskito problem, that it did not have experience and that is why they made [the Miskito question] one of their preferred spearheads, distorting it on an international level."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 18 February 1985

At the same time, Miskito refugees were finding that life under Reagan's "freedom fighters" was turning into a nightmare, with summary executions, mutilations, rape and kidnappings on both sides of the Coco River. In one notorious case, pro-Sandinista Miskito Dr. Myra Cunningham was gang-raped by MISURA soldiers chanting "Christ yesterday, Christ today, Christ tomorrow." The UN refugee center at Mokorón, Honduras became a veritable concentration camp dominated by the psychopathic killer Fagoth and a despotic council of elders. Meanwhile, Miskito combatants inside Nicaragua were being hit hard by the Sandinista army and had difficulty obtaining arms and ammunition after Congress cut off aid. So in mid-1984 MISURASATA leader Brooklyn Rivera opened negotiations with the FSLN (see accompanying article, "FSP Contra Socialists").

Although Rivera broke off talks last May, 15 out of 20 local MISURA commanders agreed to a cease-fire. This awakened tremendous hopes among the coastal residents, and when 200 MISURASATA troops attacked Bluefields shortly after the truce was proclaimed, they were defeated by army troops, local militia and private citizens who came out to join them. Meanwhile, a plan for regional autonomy worked out in conjunction with MISATAN is being discussed in town meetings around the area, and the results are to be written into the constitution now being prepared by the National Assembly. As the price for peace, the Sandinistas are exempting Atlantic Coast residents from identity cards, compulsory military service, and economic austerity measures. According to the independent (pro-FSLN) *Pensamiento Propio* (September 1985):

> "Today they no longer insist on organizing the population into Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), and instead start from respect for the traditional structures of the Miskito people, such as the community and its leaders, the Council of Elders and the Moravian Church itself...."

For a Socialist Federation of Central America!

Even leaving aside the Reaganite propagandists, who portray the Miskitos as some kind of anti-communist noble savages, the "Miskito question" has given rise to acrimonious controversy, such as the recent exchange between Sandinista apologist Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz and MISURASATA apologist Penny Lernoux in *The Nation* (11 January). But neither Third World nationalists nor pro-imperialist liberals have a program for the emancipation of the innumerable peoples, tribes, fragmentary nationalities and ethnic groups of the more backward and inaccessible regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have no program because they cannot transcend the *nation-state*, the characteristic framework for bourgeois rule. And for the Miskitos—divided by the Nicaragua-Honduras border, suffering above all from isolation and poverty—genuine liberation is impossible within the narrow confines of a tiny Central American ex-banana republic.

Some Miskitos, such as MISURASATA leader Brooklyn Rivera, call for "self-determination" for the Atlantic Coast. But the people of the area are hardly a nation, not even a nationality. While they do have a distinct history and English is widely spoken in the region, the 67,000 Miskitos, 5,000 Sumos and 25,000 black Creoles make up little more than a third of the population of the coastal provinces, the majority of whom are Spanish-speaking mestizos. Nor is the sparsely populated area an economically viable entity: in the past its natural resources were plundered by imperialist enclaves, leaving virtually no infrastructure. Moreover, the non-Miskito ethnic groups have shown little sympathy for MISURA/MISURASATA: the kidnapping of respected FSLN black leader Ray Hooker did nothing to endear Miskito rebels to the Creoles, and the Sumos have historically smarted under the more militarily aggressive Miskitos.

A recent article on "Sandinista Power and Minority Autonomy" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, December 1985) declared that Sandinista policy toward the population of the Atlantic Coast was "shocking in its brutality and authoritarian centralism, worthy of the worst Jacobins." In the classic bourgeois revolution, France of 1789-93, the most radical democrats, the Jacobins, were also the most vigorous centralizers, sweeping away every regional and local particularism as part of the struggle against feudalism. However, in this epoch of capitalist decay, the nation-state is no longer progressive but holds back the development of the productive forces. Particularly in this region where the original Central American Union was splintered into five mini-republics, national liberation for the ex-colonies and neocolonies of the "Third World" can only be achieved in a broader framework, enrolling oppressed peoples and minorities in the struggle for internationalist proletarian revolution against imperialism.

As well as recognizing the right of self-determination of nations such as Finland, Poland and the Ukraine, as early as 1913 Lenin advocated "local self-government, with *autonomy* for regions having special economic and social conditions, a distinct national composition of the population, and so forth" ("Critical Remarks on the National Question"). While this policy was later distorted by Stalin's Great Russian chauvinism, the early Soviet regime established autonomous and federated socialist republics, as a transitional form to the complete unity of the working people of different nations. For the Bolsheviks, recognition of national self-determination and regional autonomy served the purpose of *spreading the revolution*, to undermine the forces of feudal backwardness. For the Sandinistas—Nicaraguan nationalists—autonomy for the Atlantic Coast means a concession to the status quo, by *limiting the revolution*.

Jamey Stillings

Chapel on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast: anti-communist Moravian church sanctifies poverty and backwardness of Miskito Indians.

It will take a *workers and peasants government* expropriating the bourgeoisie to lay the basis for liberating the Miskito Indians from isolation, illiteracy, poverty and the domineering control of a tribal gerontocracy sanctified by the anti-communist Moravian church. A *socialist federation of Central America* will establish free association with their fellow tribesmen across the Coco River, and recognition of the rights of English-speaking black Creoles all along the Caribbean shores of the isthmus. The roots of the Sandinista "errors" on the Atlantic Coast are not to be found in "ignorance" or "lack of experience," as FSLN comandante Tomás Borge insists, but in their *nationalist* program. Key to overcoming them is the forging of a Trotskyist party, built on the *internationalist* program of permanent revolution throughout the region and beyond. ■

Meese's Porno Witchhunt

With *Deep Throat* star Linda Lovelace (aka Marchiano) standing in for Whittaker Chambers, and the genuinely obscene feminist anti-porn crusader Andrea Dworkin billed as a "civil rights advocate," the nation's top cop Edwin Meese wanted to stage the 1950s HUAC traveling road show all over again. Only this time the object of the witchhunt wasn't reds—not so abundant in Reagan's America—but sex, which apparently still lingers on despite the best efforts of the administration. In the spirit of Jesse Helms's recent declaration that there shall be no more tax exemptions for organized witches and agents of the devil, the attorney general's Commission on Pornography has been holding hearings in Washington, D.C., Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago and New York City. Their aim: to establish that pornography causes marital infidelity, divorce, child molesting, rape, incest, serial murders, hairy palms and zits.

A housewife in Houston wailed, "He had more sex with pictures in magazines than he did with me." And when they brought the hearings to "sin city" January 21-22, a clergyman in New York recounted the testimony of a convicted rapist: "I've got to stay away from those dirty magazines. They are what gets me started." A church-going Christian accidentally got a peek at *Playboy* and before you know it he was mailing pictures of sex acts committed with his own children all around the country. It seems we're headed for a new version of the Dan White "Twinkies defense" (for murdering San Francisco mayor George Moscone and supervisor Harvey Milk): *Playboy* made me do it.

It all sounded like another remake of *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, and anthropologist Carole Vance correctly identified it as a "sex panic." In periods of rampant reaction—such as '50s McCarthyism—the manipulation of sexual anxieties by the state has been a favorite tactic to regiment the population through guilt and paranoia. The hysterical atmosphere was exemplified by one Mormon woman's testimony that pornography was a greater threat to America than Pearl Harbor or nuclear war since, once viewed, it "will always remain subject to recall, flashing its perverted images across your mind and drawing you away from the wholesome things in life." Pointing the finger even more ludicrously, a fundamentalist missionary testified, "The witchcrafts of Hollywood have seduced America since the 20's," and named Bob Hope and John Wayne as directly responsible for today's social ills!

With a commission of witchhunters hand-picked by Meese and chaired by the notorious Henry Hudson, who as a Virginia vice prosecutor closed down every adult bookstore in his jurisdiction, not many supporters of the First Amendment or even sanity made it onto the witness stand. The first day of the New York hearings was composed almost entirely of cops and FBI agents.

Anti-censorship feminists' guerrilla theater ridicules Meese hearings in New York, January 21.

But it didn't go entirely to the liking of the commissioners. Former *Penthouse* pet Dominique Maure, a stunning example of American womanhood, stated, "I'm testifying because I'm not a victim of what's called pornography. It's been a great benefit, and it hasn't destroyed my marriage to a Long Island policeman." Well-known Harvard law professor Alan M. Dershowitz attacked the Commission's definition of pornography, declaring that being sexually aroused "is as American as apple pie." He might have added motherhood.

Under pressure from Reagan reaction, a split seems to have occurred among feminists. While groups like WAP (Women Against Pornography) have been competing with far right yahoos in the "war against porn," even staging an obviously prearranged take-over of the mikes for a half-time show during one of the New York hearing breaks, the liberal Feminist Anti-Censorship Taskforce (F.A.C.T.) picketed outside with chants of "Stop Sexism, Not Sex!" Inside F.A.C.T. sat through hours of hearings with large yellow and black cardboard signs reading "CENSORED" across their chests... until the Commission indeed censored the signs on the grounds that they might be intimidating to witnesses.

This ludicrous (and expensive) circus is designed to overturn the results of the 1970 President's Commission Report on Obscenity, which found no connection between pornography and violent or "anti-social" behavior. Reagan's declared "war" on organized crime has singled out pornography, prostitution, gambling and drug use as Mob activities to be stamped out. But, in fact, these are "crimes without victims"—like "sodomy," "fornication" and "adultery"—punished by the capitalist state in order to ensure social conformity and persecute deviants. At the New York hearings, FBI agents complained about the lack of tough porn laws and difficulty in convicting; one said the RICO laws should be used more, noting you can almost always get a conviction under the "conspiracy" dragnet.

This is precisely Meese's aim. The Commission's report is to be issued in June 1986, in time to whip up public hysteria for the fall election campaigns. Congressmen are to be intimidated by fear of being labeled "soft on smut" into passing even more reactionary laws controlling private life and the media. Proposed legislation under consideration by the Commission includes a law against sexually stimulating "rubber goods"—including vibrators! Abolish all laws against "crimes without victims"! No to censorship laws! Government out of the bedrooms! ■

Report...

(continued from page 2)

as the main left wing, they're ultraleft, they're radicals, they want everything right now, and furthermore they have no support. That's the line that we consistently got from the Frente. We did meet a couple of exceptions. One was a guy in Bluefields, a Spanish guy. And he was telling me about the Civil War in the United States and how what blacks needed in the United States is another civil war.

We met up with some interesting Bulgarians, who absolutely loved our line on "Complete the Revolution." But, interestingly, when it got to the question of extending the Revolution, it was "No way, no how," they're for peace. And when it came to the question of revolution in the United States, or even working-class action to stop the invasion, it was like, "C'mon, where's the party that's going to lead it? Who's going to fight in the United States?" The Bulgarians are there building some ports in the Bluefields area.

While we were down there—*La Prensa* is obviously the propaganda organ for the contras, and it was exposed in the press that the ex-chief of *La Prensa* was currently this week addressing the CAUSA conference, the Moonie conference, in São Paulo, on the situation in Nicaragua.

We met one interesting guy, 21 years old, in Puerto Cabezas, which is right in the middle of the Miskito area on the Atlantic Coast. He was probably the best that we met, and some of the stuff that he had to say: "I'm tired of the government, I think they have too much patience"—he was a hard Frente member—"I think they're too flexible, they ought to go into Honduras and knock out the contras, and then maybe revolution will spread throughout Central America." He really had his doubts about the Miskitos, who the government is negotiating with right now, one wing of the Miskito opposition. He said if the government gives the Miskitos the right to politically run the coast, the Atlantic Coast, I hope that Fidel will come. ■

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TWU...

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adjournment to "complete the investigation" and "evaluate the law." Grimes's lawyer, Harry Lipsig, moved to dismiss the charges altogether. The judge did not rule on Lipsig's motion and adjourned the hearing until February 10.

The banks and politicians who run this city are determined that only cops and criminals will have guns and decent working people will be at their tender mercy. To them it's OK that Willie Turks lies murdered while his racist lynchers still stalk the streets of Gravesend. Their idea of "law and order" means TA cops beating and strangling Michael Stewart to death and chaining James Grimes to a bench for nine hours.

If the DA has treaded lightly so far with Grimes it is only because they fear that the mass support for him will mobilize. At his hearing on January 23 nearly a hundred transit workers came out to support him. After the hearing some 40 of those workers marched to TA headquarters at Jay St. and held a spirited demonstration chanting, "Drop all the charges! Reinstate Brother Grimes!"

Make no mistake. Right now the DA's office is trying to figure out how much they can get away with charging Grimes. Even now the TA tops are wondering what kind of discipline, if not outright firing, they can slap on Grimes as a warning to other workers. We can and must stop them cold.

We thank the brothers and sisters who came out on January 23. We note that Sonny Hall and the TWU leadership didn't bother to attend Grimes's hearing. On February 10 our entire 33,000-strong union should be mobilized to be with Brother Grimes when he goes back to court. Call on your union representatives to organize your shop, crew room, barn or gang to turn out on February 10. Whether it's officially endorsed or not *all TWU workers should be there!*

Drop all the charges against James Grimes! No TA discipline! For the right of armed self defense! Remember Willie Turks!

Be there:
9 a.m. sharp! Monday, Feb. 10th
Brooklyn Criminal Court
120 Schermerhorn St. (at Smith St.)

Transit Workers to Defend
James Grimes
27 January 1986

WORKERS VANGUARD
Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Free Ramona Africa and All MOVE Prisoners!

AP

PHILADELPHIA, January 24—Her arms covered by burn scars, Ramona Africa today faced the man who gave the green light for the incineration of eleven members of the MOVE commune, including five black babies. Ramona is one of two survivors of the government firehombing of her home in black Philadelphia. But in Reagan's America, her dramatic courtroom confrontation with black Democrat Wilson Goode, the "mayor of murder," came in a trial where the *victim of the crime is the accused.* Next week Ramona will face former police chief Gregore Sambor who gloated about allowing the fiery inferno to burn out of control for more than one hour, destroying an entire black neighborhood. She is on trial for *surviving* one of the most savage racist atrocities in the history of this racist country.

Held under a *$2.5 million* bail, Ramona Africa is charged with aggravated assault, conspiracy, riot, resisting arrest and recklessly endangering other people. Assuming her own courtroom defense, Ramona indicted the real murderers, "It seems to me that every charge against me fits the police. They fired 10,000 shots, set the house on fire where me and my family were, and killed my brothers and sisters" (*New York Times*, 7 January). More than 100 predominantly black people turned out to witness the trial. The courtroom was packed and the angry overflow crowd spilled out into the corridors. One man expressed what many felt—when Goode was called to the stand, a voice yelled out "Murderer!" As the shock of the hideous massacre wears off, slowly black Philadelphia is awakening to the enormity of this government crime.

The 13 May 1985 police bombing of the black, back-to-nature MOVE group produced a firestorm that consumed 61 houses and left 250 people homeless. The MOVE massacre carried the signature of the Reagan years. Reagan's top cop, Attorney General Edwin Meese hailed the racist mass murder as "a good example." Philadelphia cops, aided and abetted by Meese's FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, had a vendetta against MOVE going back to at least 1978, when a cop was killed as an attack force of 600 police assaulted a MOVE home in Philadelphia.

Nine MOVE members are still in jail for trying to defend themselves against that terror raid. Freedom for their incarcerated brothers and sisters was the main MOVE demand before the May 13 conflagration. But the cops wanted blood. A police video tape of the carnage shows the disgusting gloating of the Philly cops as the MOVE commune on Osage Avenue was destroyed in a fiery holocaust—with black men, women and children trapped inside. The image of this hideous crime must be seared into the memory of the working class.

Ramona Africa is a political prisoner facing trumped-up charges that could put her away for the rest of her life. From Michael Stewart, the 25-year-old black artist, beaten and strangled to death by a lynch mob of NYC transit police, to Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black child killed in his own bedroom by a California cop, this racist capitalist system tries to make it a crime to be poor and black in America. And even more so if you raise a cry against the chains of oppression. As Ramona put it in her opening charge to the jury, "I do not wear my hair like you. I do not believe in the system. For this, I face more prejudice than I do being a black person or a woman" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 15 January).

It is *obscene* that Ramona Africa is on trial. Defense of all the MOVE prisoners is an elementary duty for every working-class organization. Yet from the day the bomb was dropped, the liberal left has dodged this duty or worse, blamed the victims for the massacre. Defense of these victims of the racist capitalist system is directly linked to the building of an integrated workers party that would lead the working class to power. There is no justice for black people short of socialist revolution that will bring to account all those responsible for this heinous crime. We will not forget. Free Ramona Africa and all jailed MOVE members! Proletarian vengeance for the MOVE martyrs!

NYC Transit Workers: For the Right of Self-Defense!

TWU Must Mobilize to Defend James Grimes!

For an elementary act of self-defense in performance of his job, 55-year-old black NYC subway token clerk James Grimes was hauled into Brooklyn Criminal Court January 23 on a misdemeanor weapons charge. On January 6, while transporting $1,490 in Transit Authority cash, Grimes was mugged by three men who grabbed him and knocked him down, shouting: "Shoot him, shoot him!" Fearing for his life, Grimes pulled out his .22 from an eyeglass case and fired at his assailants, wounding one and forcing the others to flee. For defending his life and TA property, transit police outrageously held Grimes for 24 hours including *nine hours chained to a bench*, and the TA suspended him without pay.

But the tremendous groundswell of support for Grimes from every decent person in this city has compelled both the Brooklyn D.A. and the Transit Authority to go a little easier in this case. The Committee for a Fighting TWU distributed 7,000 copies of a leaflet calling on the membership of Transport Workers Union Local 100 to rally for the Grimes hearing. Nearly 100 transit workers turned out at the Brooklyn Criminal Court to be with brother

WV Photo

James Grimes with his wife and transit union supporters outside Brooklyn Criminal Court, January 23.

Grimes and demonstrate their support. The demonstration was widely reported by the media. WABC (Channel 7) quoted car inspector Mary Jo Marino who had helped mobilize for the demonstration: "Many of the workers in our workforce face this kind of situation.... The brother ought to face no charges in criminal court, and the TA ought to get their hands off him." WNBC (Channel 4) quoted another demonstrator: "I feel that everyone should have the right to self-defense because these are dangerous streets, these are dangerous subways, and everybody should be out here supporting our brother James Grimes."

The kind of labor action needed to defend Grimes was demonstrated by Chicago transit workers last August. A black bus driver, David Johnson, was subjected to a racist frame-up for a tragic accident in which seven white youth were killed when their car swerved in front of his bus. He was charged with reckless homicide and chained to his hospital bed while suffering from serious injuries sustained in the accident. But when 700 angry union brothers converged on police headquarters demanding that charges be dropped, and over 170 unionists issued a statement calling all 12,000 members of the Amalgamated Transit Union local to show up at his court hearing, the Chicago D.A. quickly dropped the charges.

The day before Grimes's court appearance his wounded assailant died, causing the district attorney's office to ask for a postponement to February 10, which was granted. The D.A could well come back with more serious charges at that time. To mobilize the full power of the 33,000-strong Local 100 behind their union brother, an ad hoc committee, "Transit Workers to Defend James Grimes," has been formed within the union. They have issued the following leaflet

Leaflet by Transit Workers to Defend James Grimes

When token clerk James Grimes showed up for his hearing at Brooklyn Criminal Court on January 23rd one of his attackers, Fernando Cruz, had died the day before. Assistant DA Jon Besunder requested a two week

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 397 | 14 February 1986

Star Wars Disaster

Challenger Blows Up In Reagan's Face

AP

For Ronald Reagan, the Teacher in Space was to be a great prop. "Hero Hour Is Near" heralded the 28 January *Wall Street Journal*, referring to the president's pet gimmick of interrupting his State of the Union speech in order to present a hometown American role model. Unable to talk directly with god in real-time, the Great Communicator would do the next best thing, speaking to the heavens by sending greetings to Christa McAuliffe aboard the space shuttle Challenger. So the shuttle *had to be* launched by the 28th—the weather be damned—less than 24 hours after a scrubbed mission, the third time it had been delayed in as many days. But the result was quite the opposite of "upbeat," as seven human beings blew up in living color on TV while kids watched in classrooms across the country.

What we feel toward the astronauts is no more and no less than for any people who die in tragic circumstances, such as the nine poor Salvadorans who were killed by a fire in a Washington, D.C. basement apartment two days before. They probably never explained to Mrs. McAuliffe that she would be riding atop an allegedly "controlled" bomb. She thought it would be "the ultimate field trip," like going to Disneyland only better. But it's not simply that there are seven dead people who were sitting on top of half a million gallons of liquid hydrogen and liquid oxygen and something went wrong. The nationally orchestrated mourning over the Challenger explosion is an expression of something else, namely grief at what's seen as a blow to American imperialism.

Millions of Americans saw it as a

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Beware of Coups "Made in U.S.A."

Haiti: Duvalier Flees

"The devil Duvalier is gone!" joyous crowds shouted as they swarmed around the presidential palace in Haiti's capital of Port-au-Prince, February 7. In the dead of night, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier and his haughty, fashionable wife climbed into the dictator's favorite BMW sedan and drove to the airport, where they joined relatives and close collaborators to board a U.S. Air Force C-141 transport plane, its engines running, and took off in total darkness for exile in France. Since last November a continuing revolt by youths, workers and slum residents had rocked the black Caribbean republic. But in the end, it was Washington that removed its Haitian puppet—replacing him with an equally pliant military-civilian junta. Just to make sure that everything went as scheduled, the U.S. Second Fleet took up positions off Haiti for "maneuvers" scheduled to start February 6.

This scene marked the end of 28 years of bloody rule by the Duvalier dynasty. The country voodoo doctor "Papa Doc" had come to power in 1957 by demagogically manipulating black resentment against the mulatto social and economic elite. Duvalier Sr. ruled through the terror of the feared "Tontons Macoutes" (bogeyman in Creole), a private army of thugs who turned Haiti into what Graham Greene called a "nightmare republic" in his chilling novel, *The Comedians*. The dictator was kept in power by U.S. support: the Macoutes were trained by a U.S. military mission; during popular unrest in 1962 liberal Democrat John Kennedy dispatched a gunboat to prop up the regime; the transition to "Baby Doc" in 1971 was guaranteed by godfather Nixon. Ever since American Marines ruled the country from 1915 to 1934, Haiti has been a de facto U.S. protectorate.

For Workers Revolution!

Reuters

Outside presidential palace, Haitian masses celebrate fall of bloody "Baby Doc" regime.

And when the time came to put in a new front man for imperialist domination, the decision was taken in Washington. On January 31, just as Duvalier was declaring a state of siege, White House spokesman Larry Speakes announced to the press that the Haitian leader had fled the country and a new government was in place. Far from a "blunder," this was an eviction notice. Just in case Duvalier Jr. didn't get the message, Secretary of State Shultz repeated it two days later with a call for elections; and Reagan's main man in the Caribbean, Jamaican strongman Seaga (known at home as CIAga) sent an emissary to warn of the danger if he didn't leave.

Now Washington is taking credit for putting together the new junta, which includes several Old Guard Duvalierists and a pro-U.S. "human rights" lawyer for democratic cover. The new junta is led by General Namphy, head of the regular army and a long-time Duvalier crony; it includes the head of the U.S.-trained special forces, the "Léopards," who shot down young protesters in Gonaives. The junta's first task was to organize Baby Doc's escape; then it clamped on a 2 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew, closing the borders to keep out civilian politicians returning from exile. *This is Duvalierism without Duvalier.*

Duvalier's flight caused explosions of joy in the Haitian exile community. In Miami's Little Haiti there was dancing in the streets. And in Brooklyn, some 15,000 Haitians demonstrated all afternoon. But in the midst of rejoicing, there was widespread distrust of the new junta. Women who for years have had their sons and husbands mysteriously disappear at the hands of the Tontons Macoutes were particularly militant, and there was an openness to communist politics. At the Brooklyn demo nearly 650 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold, including over 250 copies of *Le Bolchévik*, the paper of the French section of the international Spartacist tendency. Our signs calling for "*Macoutes au poteau, ouvriers au pouvoir!*" (Macoutes to the wall, workers to power) were greeted warmly.

Haitian workers: *beware of coups "made in U.S.A."!* So far more than 100 people have been shot down by the army trying to protect the hated Macoutes from the just wrath of their victims. *People's tribunals* to dispense revolutionary justice against the Duvalier regime's professional assassins is an urgent democratic demand. So too is the call for a revolutionary *constituent assembly*, to oust the junta and root out the dictatorship that has oppressed the Haitian masses for decades. But there will be no democracy for the toilers without *workers revolution*, leading the dirt-poor peasantry and extending throughout the Caribbean to the

continued on page 5

Oakland Teachers Win

OAKLAND, February 6—In these days of rampant union-busting and giveback contracts, striking teachers here beat back the Oakland Unified School District's demands to hold down wages, cap benefits, deny annuity to new employees and impose unlimited class size. After a month-long strike, the schools' 3,500 teachers, nurses, librarians and psychologists gained a package that will raise salaries by 20 percent over the three-year contract period, increase substitute teachers' pay, restore annuity for all, maintain uncapped benefits and present class size maximums, and give—for the first time here—an annual stipend to its many bilingual teachers.

Key to the outcome of this solid teachers strike, the longest in Oakland's history, was its near universal popular support, especially among the predominantly black and Hispanic working-class parents. During the strike, the District kept the schools open with $125-a-day scab teachers and threatened to fail or deny graduation credit to its students, but the overwhelming majority remained out until the strike was settled. When it became clear that the strike could go on indefinitely, pressure mounted against the intransigence of the school board, and recall petitions were initiated. The Oakland *Tribune* (1 February) noted:

> "Parents were supportive of the teachers throughout the long strike, keeping their children out of class, marching in candlelight demonstrations and sign-waving rallies and, finally, by organizing recall efforts against board members."

At the ratification meeting teachers shouted for several minutes: "Parents, parents, parents!"

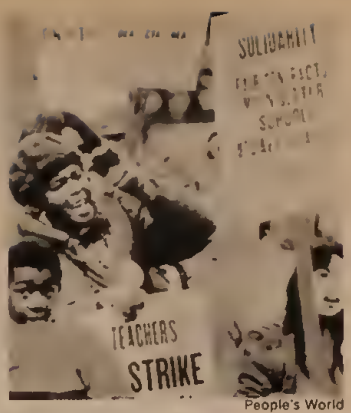
In contrast, teachers answered with boos and hisses Oakland Education Association president Connie Peoples' suggestion that teachers thank Mayor Lionel Wilson for "helping" teachers in negotiations. Early on, Oakland's black Democratic mayor was broadly attacked for his proposal to loan $15 million in city money to the Oakland A's baseball team, but not a cent to the ailing city schools. Wilson repeatedly defended this position by saying that a loan to the ball team would generate money for the city, whereas a loan to the schools could never be paid off. Adding insult to injury, it was discovered that the city also had earmarked $30 million to bring back the Raiders football team. Additionally, the recently initiated California state lottery is raking in millions—more than was expected—and the proceeds are supposed to go to education.

Everyone knows that Oakland's schools are a mess. While this strike settlement was better than many we see these days, it won't change the fact that schools and classrooms for the more than 80 percent minority students are overcrowded, understaffed and severely lacking in textbooks and supplies. Nor will this modest victory for teachers improve the lousy wages and working conditions of many of the other school employees here, such as teacher assistants, cafeteria and clerical workers, and custodians.

While these workers were mostly very supportive of the strike, often bringing food and coffee to teachers walking the picket lines, most of them crossed the lines, effectively assisting the District in keeping the schools open. Their union misleaders left up to the rank-and-file members the question of honoring the strike. And for their part, the misleaders of OEA put little if any thought into carefully planning for the eventuality of a strike. For six months after the contract expired OEA kept its members working, preferring to stall on a strike vote and pressure the District into negotiating.

Once the strike began OEA did little more than send *telegrams* notifying the other school unions of the strike and feebly requesting strike support. There should be a single union to unite all school employees and a single expiration date for all contracts. This must be part of the struggle to oust the present bureaucratic misleaders and replace them with a leadership committed to a strategy of class struggle. An injury to one is an injury to all! Picket lines mean don't cross!

Along with its wretched schools, Oakland's black and Hispanic population faces many abuses: high unemployment, cuts in public transit, unnutritious school lunch programs and grossly abusive and inadequate health care. The Highland Hospital "butcher shop," run by the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, is a dumping ground for its poorest patients. It is a well-known fact that the infant mortality rate among blacks in Oakland is higher than in some developing countries. Such is life for poor blacks and minorities in racist capitalist America! As Reagan drives up the military budget for war against the Soviet Union, the budget cuts come down hardest on those who need help most—minorities, the aged and infirm, the poor and working people. And the role of Democratic and Republican city governments alike is simply to enforce these cuts.



People's World

Students and parents stood with striking teachers in largely black Oakland.

The terrible conditions of poor, largely black cities like Oakland cannot be solved simply through trade-union action. It will take a workers government to rip this country's productive wealth out of the hands of Wall Street financiers and Pentagon contractors. For this we need a revolutionary workers party uniting the labor movement and ghetto poor against the capitalists, their parties and their state. On a small scale the Oakland teachers strike demonstrated the potential for such labor/black unity in struggle. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Russian Revolution and Black Freedom

The rise of the civil rights movement broke the back of 1950s McCarthyite reaction in the U.S. In a 1959 essay, James P. Cannon, veteran communist and the founding leader of American Trotskyism, traced the origins of the civil rights movement to the Russian Revolution:

It is customary to attribute the progress of the Negro movement, and the shift of public opinion in favor of its claims, to the changes brought about by the First World War. But the biggest thing that came out of the First World War, the event that changed everything, including the prospects of the American Negro, was the Russian Revolution. The influence of Lenin and the Russian Revolution, even debased and distorted as it later was by Stalin, and then filtered through the activities of the Communist Party in the United States, contributed *more than any other influence from any source* to the recognition, and more or less general acceptance, of the Negro question as a *special* problem of American society—a problem which cannot be simply subsumed under the general heading of the conflict between capital and labor, as it was in the pre-communist radical movement....

The Reverend Martin Luther King did remark, at the time of the Montgomery boycott battle, that their movement was part of the world-wide struggle of the colored peoples for independence and equality. He should have added that the colonial revolutions, which are indeed a powerful ally of the Negro movement in America, got their starting impulse from the Russian Revolution—and are stimulated and strengthened from day to day by the continuing existence of this revolution in the shape of the Soviet Union and the new China, which white imperialism suddenly "lost."

—James P. Cannon, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

A Disavowal

Last December, the Spartacus Youth League at Harvard University put out a flyer calling for protest against a campaign of harassment of homosexuals by the administration, spearheaded by Dean of Students Archie Epps. In harmony with the reactionary social climate of Reagan's America, the university has sent uniformed and undercover cops into men's rooms looking for illicit sex; right-wing bigots on campus have stepped up taunting of gays, and a Harvard lecturer was even arrested for receiving allegedly pornographic materials in the mails. This anti-gay persecution and hysteria fueled by Epps deserves a serious denunciation by anyone who stands for human decency. Yet the Harvard SYL leaflet struck a different note, ending with the slogans: "For a '69 That Goes All the Way! For Queen-Size Beds for Sex and Play! For Rock 'n' Roll! For Booze and Fun! Put Big Brother Epps on the Run!"

As we stated in our article "Reagan and AIDS" (*WV* No. 389, 18 October 1985), we fight "for everyone's right to conduct their sex lives as they damn well choose without being harassed or jailed by meddlesome snoops...." From the standpoint of Marxism and what the Reaganites denounce as "secular humanism," the Spartacist League has indeed distinguished itself by defending all sorts of "far out" causes, from the black MOVE group in Philadelphia to the Man-Boy Love Association, wherever we see someone being abused by the powers of reaction, racism and the capitalist authorities. This of course makes the SL itself vulnerable to victimization by a state seeking to regiment the population through Moral Majorityite sexual hysteria and witchhunting.

The Harvard SYL leaflet, therefore, objectively constitutes something of a provocation, depicting us, quite wrongly and injuriously, as some kind of lifestylist group like those whose democratic rights we vigorously defend. Unlike such lifestylist groups (and Moral Majority bigots), we have no program for how people should conduct their sexual relations. Our only "position" on sex is in this sense a negative one, that the state should keep its nose out of any and all consensual relations. As Isaac Deutscher remarked in his speech "On Socialist Man":

> "Trotsky, for instance, speaks of three basic tragedies—hunger, sex, and death—besetting man. Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labor movement have taken on....
>
> "Yes, socialist man will still be pursued by sex and death; but we are convinced that he will be better equipped than we are to cope even with these."

The Boston comrades surely meant well, having been provoked by an abusive campus administration bent on suppressing sexuality. The authors may just have wanted to be outrageous, but whether they meant it or not, they displayed a loss of a materialist outlook. Thus we perforce disavow this leaflet, which represents a qualitative departure from our Marxist program, as confirmed through decades of struggle.

Some of the comrades, when confronted with sharp criticism, responded by resigning from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. A youth wrote, "I do not feel that I can be a useful member of the organization at this time because of the recent events in Boston.... While these actions clearly spring from a program other than Marxism, I continue to believe that workers revolution is the only solution to the crisis of decaying capitalism." They all expressed a desire to rejoin at a later time, and for our part we hope that they will return soon, through fighting to recover a communist perspective.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 397 **14 February 1986**

For Class-Struggle Defense Work!

Build the Partisan Defense Committee

Workers Vanguard is pleased to print below a letter from the Partisan Defense Committee calling on PDC supporters to become regular contributing sustainers. The PDC is an anti-sectarian, class-struggle legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

In taking this step we honor the memory and work of our comrade Toni Randell (1943-1982), a founding member and first secretary of the PDC. From her research into the early history of the International Labor Defense to her meticulous indexing of the FBI files on the Spartacist League which laid the basis for our recent legal victory against the FBI, Toni infused the work of the PDC with her rigorous integrity and intelligence, and the compassion and tireless dedication of a hard communist.

10 February 1986

Dear Friends:

We are writing to you because you support the Partisan Defense Committee's work. Our victories—the PDC-supported Spartacist lawsuit challenging the FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines, the lawsuit which compelled the sinister Sun Myung Moon's *Washington Times* to retract its vicious libel of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982, the successful defense against serious felony charges of phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero for defending themselves and their picket line from racist assault—are your victories. Now we are asking you to become a regular sustaining contributor of the PDC—in short, to make it *your* organization.

Many causes cry out for class-struggle defense. The past year's events confirm both the need and promise of forging a mass class-struggle legal defense organization. The PDC summoned support of union locals and individual unionists to raise over $23,000 for the courageous British miners in their year-long struggle against Thatcher's vicious union-busting. We contributed to the Soweto hospital workers on strike against their apartheid bosses, and sought to mobilize the power of labor against the execution of ANC supporter Benjamin Moloise. In the United States, the PDC has contributed to the union defense committees of the largely Hispanic Watsonville cannery workers, the *Chicago Tribune* strikers and the meatpackers who are today fighting against the combined assault of Hormel, the Minnesota National Guard and the sellout national union leadership. They are in the forefront of the growing number of workers determined to beat back the bosses' escalating "concessions offensive."

In Reagan's America racist terror is aided and abetted by the pervasive assault on democratic rights. In support of the families of the victims of racist cop and fascist terror, the PDC has contributed to the Michael Stewart Legal Defense Fund and the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund. The PDC protested the exclusion from the United States of three prominent Soviet Jews, including Colonel General David Dragunsky, hero of the Red Army triumph over Hitler, as well as the attempted deportation of South African anti-apartheid student activist Twiggs Xiphu.

Anti-sectarianism is exemplified in our protest against the exclusion of Healyite youth leader Dolly Short from entry into the U.S. and our contribution to the legal defense of the Freedom Socialist Party, embroiled in a vicious lawsuit imperiling basic rights of political association.

American "democracy" has a place for those perceived as challenging the racist capitalist order—prison or the grave. MOVE member Ramona Africa faces up to 14 years in prison for surviving the savage racist bombing which bears the signature of the Reagan years. America's foremost class-war prisoner, former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt, the victim of a racist murderous COINTELPRO frame-up, has begun his 15th year in prison. Watsonville cannery striker Amador Betancourt, held on $250,000 bail, faces frame-up assault charges.

Those jailed for standing up to racist capitalist oppression must not be forgotten. The PDC is reviving the tradition of the International Labor Defense of monthly stipends to class-war prisoners, to help provide some of the necessities to mitigate the horrors of confinement in some degree. The PDC has begun to send monthly stipends to Ramona Africa, Geronimo Pratt, Amador Betancourt and British miners jailed for their strike activity.

WV Photo

TONI RANDELL
(1943–1982)
Died 12 February 1982

The PDC is proud of its support to these and other causes. Despite our modest resources, we have been able to respond with legal and financial aid, publicity and demonstrations, to bring these cases before the working class, opponents of racist terror and defenders of democratic rights. But this work requires money. Many of you have contributed $500-$1,000 during the past year. If you gave $50-$100 on a monthly sustaining basis, the PDC could have resources for the fights ahead. For those of you who can afford a couple of hundred dollars over a year's time, you too could become a PDC sustainer at $15-$20 per month.

You have supported the work of the PDC because you know the value of legal defense work on behalf of the oppressed and the exploited. We appreciate your support and hope that you will become an active participant in an ongoing way. This period, "Cold War II," is fraught with sinister attacks on labor and democratic rights and racist terror directed against black people and other minorities. Consistent, labor-centered defense work is urgent. Placing the PDC on a firmer organizational and financial basis is an important step forward in the struggle to forge the mass class-struggle legal defense organization which every class-war prisoner and every victim of racist persecution and brutality can look to as his own. We turn to you to become active partisans of the Partisan Defense Committee in order to build the organization we need to defend us all.

Fraternally yours,
Deborah Mackson
For the Partisan Defense Committee

SAN FRANCISCO

SYL Forum

Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Speaker: John Kenney
Spartacist League

Thursday, February 20, 12:00 noon
Student Union, Room B-112
San Francisco State University
For more information (415) 863-6963

CHICAGO

SYL Forum

Reagan's Anti-Soviet Cold War Drive Means Racist Reaction

Speaker: Bernard Vance
SL Central Committee

Tuesday, February 18, 12:30 p.m.
316 Stevenson Hall
University of Ill.-Chicago (Circle)
For more information (312) 663-0715

MADISON

SYL Forum

Reagan's Anti-Soviet Cold War Drive Means Racist Reaction

Speaker: Bernard Vance
SL Central Committee

Thursday, February 20, 8:00 p.m.
See "Today in the Union" for room
UW-Madison
For more information (608) 257-8625

Black History Month Spartacist Events

NEW YORK

Spartacist Forums

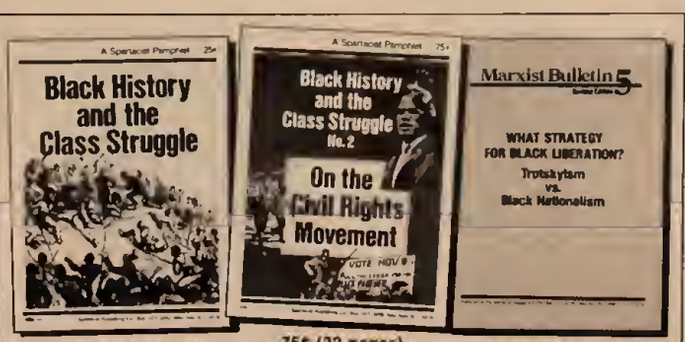
Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Speaker: Ed Kartsen, SL Central Committee,
Spartacist candidate for Borough of Manhattan President, 1985

Thursday, February 20, 7:30 p.m.
Hamilton Hall, Room 517
Columbia University

Friday, February 28, 7:30 p.m.
N-402
Borough of Manhattan
Community College

For more information (212) 267-1025



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Challenger...

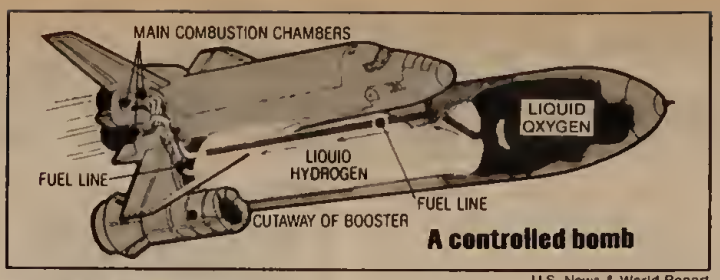
(continued from page 1)

heart-rending human tragedy; to Ronald Reagan it was an unfortunate wrinkle in his war plans against the Soviet Union. He immediately set his media managers to work channeling the outpouring of emotion into renewed commitment to the shuttle. The bourgeoisie's tears are not for the seven dead astronauts but rather for their military space program. "I don't see how it can't have an effect on SDI," moaned a Senate staffer about the "Strategic Defense Initiative" or "Star Wars." "The shuttle has been used again and again as an example of how high-technology can succeed" (*Wall Street Journal*, 30 January). So there may be some small benefit from the death of these seven people in that it makes a mockery out of Star Wars, where an enormously sophisticated system must work perfectly without testing.

For the Reaganauts, it's all about high tech for the "high frontier"; in his eulogy the president kept stressing the "pioneer spirit." In fact, confirming what we all knew implicitly, R.W. Apple reported in the *New York Times* (2 February) that "Mr. Reagan had planned to build his State of the Union message, scheduled for the evening of the very day Challenger came to grief, around this notion of the 'new frontier'." Conquering space was to be America's new Manifest Destiny, with Star Trek fantasies of orbiting space stations with killer lasers replacing the Great White Fleet. But Starship Free Enterprise just blew up in Reagan's face. Those who died were the victims of the U.S. imperialist anti-Soviet war drive, like the 200-plus dead Marines in Beirut or the passengers on the KAL 007 spy plane.

Reagan's scriptwriters responded with a gigantic brainwashing operation. While ships and helicopters went out to pick up the pieces, the media dredged up child psychiatrists to tell parents and teachers to talk it all over with the kids and allay their "undirected fears." (Like children's fear of nuclear annihilation?) "Such a disaster challenges our basic trust that the world is a predictable place," said one. Reagan could only re-establish that innocent "trust" by resorting to the Big Lie, cloaking the military role of the shuttle in the raiments of Man's Quest for Knowledge. With a straight face, Reagan told schoolchildren: "We don't hide our space program, we don't keep secrets and cover things up"—this from the man who ordered a news blackout on military shuttle launchings!

Playing along with Reagan, most media described Challenger's main payload innocuously as "the world's largest privately owned communications satellite," called the Tracking and Data Relay Satellite. The TDRS network is actually part of the Pentagon's "command, control, communications and intelligence" network known as MILSTAR, and the purpose of TDRS is to relay critical data across space directly back to the U.S., "thus eliminating America's politically sensitive dependence on foreign ground-tracking and data-reception stations," such as the CIA/NSA Pine Gap station in Australia (Jack Manno, *Arming the Heavens: The Hidden Military Agenda for Space, 1945-1995* [1984]). The real purpose of the Challenger was perhaps best described by the Polish army newspaper *Zolnierz Wolnosci*: "consciously or unconsciously the crew members participated in a program aimed at achieving domination in outer space for a future victory in a confrontation on earth" (*New York Times*, 30 January).



U.S. News & World Report

Atop half a million gallons of liquid hydrogen and oxygen, Challenger astronauts rode uncontrolled bomb.

Aviation Week

Anti-Soviet Star Wars: Plan for laser weapons system mounted on space shuttle, to be tested in 1987.

Space: The Final Free-Fire Zone

Since the day the Russians launched man's first *Sputnik*, the "space race" has been an integral part of the U.S. imperialists' arms race. Science and engineering were put at the top of the agenda for American schoolchildren. NASA, a civilian space agency created by Eisenhower, churned out propaganda about the pursuit of science in challenging the "space frontier." But veteran space scientist James Van Allen (discoverer of the radiation belt around earth named after him) knew the real truth:

> "For those of us who remember the national trauma following the successful launching of the first Soviet satellite in October, 1957, there is little doubt that the military uses of space have provided the most powerful incentives for our subsequent effort. Indeed, President Lyndon Johnson once said that the benefits of the U.S. system of satellites for military reconnaissance had more than paid for the entire national program in space."
>
> —"Space Science, Space Technology and the Space Station," *Scientific American*, January 1986

In short, the space program has always been propelled fundamentally by imperialist—more specifically, anti-Soviet—military considerations. Any scientific benefits have been secondary by-products, while the expensive manned vehicles helped sell the program to the public.

This is particularly true of the space shuttle, authorized by Nixon in 1972, in the waning days of the Vietnam War when NASA's civilian budget was being squeezed by the military. As the *New York Times* (21 December 1984) revealed: "By the mid-1970s, with Apollo winding down, NASA wooed the Air Force into the shuttle project by promising to build a launching vehicle whose design would be dictated by military missions of the future." In 1980 NASA and the Defense Department signed a deal giving the military priority in getting on board the shuttle, and in the Reagan years the Pentagon has virtually taken it over. According to a February 1985 Reagan directive, at least eight shuttle launchings a year are to be devoted to military missions. The Pentagon has built its own shuttle launch facility at Vandenberg Air Force Base.

More than anything else, the manned shuttle is slated to play a key role in Reagan's first-strike "Star Wars" scheme. In this fantasy, every white middle-class American is to be shielded against global nuclear war by a "layered" defense of high-tech weapons in space—nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers, kinetic energy rail guns, particle beams, etc. Testing and deploying such vast systems would be facilitated by having quick, easy access to space, and that's where the reusable shuttle comes in. In mid-1987 the shuttle is scheduled to test the pointing and tracking ability of a laser weapon: "the shuttle has the advantage of allowing the laser systems to be controlled, adjusted and repaired if necessary by a human crewman" (*Aviation Week*, 19 August 1985). The shuttles were also conceived as "service vehicles for the space station," notes scientist Van Allen, and the shuttle itself is potentially a powerful anti-satellite weapon.

NASA Cover-Up

Ironically, imperialist plans for the shuttle were undermined by the very system of "free enterprise" which it was supposed to promote. The investigations into the Challenger disaster read like Federal Aviation Agency post-mortems of the skyrocketing number of plane crashes since airline deregulation went into effect. Except instead of squeezing in more seats in front of emergency exits in the scramble for profits, NASA was trying to squeeze in larger spy satellite payloads to the detriment of safety considerations. (A few weeks ago the head of NASA, James Beggs, was forced to step down after being indicted on charges of defrauding the army on a weapons contract years ago.) In the past week it has been revealed that:

- the original shuttle Columbia had ejection seats and many more sensors for detecting troubles, but these were removed on Challenger to save weight for the big payloads;
- the Lockheed company has been speeding up the ground crews to meet the accelerated schedules—up from four missions in 1983 to *15* this year—resulting in many more safety violations and accidents;
- seeing pictures of ice on the launching pad, Rockwell International, the prime shuttle contractor, called up NASA minutes before liftoff to request the launch be aborted because of potential danger to heat-shield tiles from icicles;
- it was known all along that the solid fuel rocket boosters (SRBs) fuel core could crack in cold temperatures below 40 degrees, leading to flames cutting through the 3/8 inch side of the SRB (on the morning of the launch the temperature dipped to 28 degrees);
- the solid fuel rocket boosters now suspected of being the source of the disaster were considered "not susceptible to failure," according to NASA's acting administrator William Graham, and so they had no sensors.

NASA has attempted to clamp a lid on public information during the inquiry, but the *New York Times* (9 February) published a damning exposé based on internal space agency documents. One memo, dated 23 July 1985, warned NASA higher-ups of the "charring of seals" at a joint near the booster rocket nozzle, the precise area where the plume of flame appeared on Challenger's right-hand booster moments before the explosion. The memo, by Richard C. Cook, prophetically warned that "failure [of the seal] during launch would certainly be catastrophic." The issue was discussed as early as 1982 and repeatedly from July to December 1985, but nothing was done except to note the problem was a "budget threat" because it would be expensive to correct!

AP

Teacher Christa McAuliffe, victim of Reagan's Star Wars mania.

We are inevitably reminded of astronaut Gus Grissom's half-joking comment about his worries at takeoff time, namely that the whole thing was put together by "a crowd of lowest bidders." (Grissom died in 1967 with two other astronauts when a flash fire broke out in an Apollo capsule on the launch pad.) These are the guys who would build and maintain the incredibly complex "Star Wars" weapons system. And they are moving toward ever more deadly games in their global anti-Communist mission. The real horror is that if Reagan gets his way, the image of that fireball on TV will become a preview of mankind's last moment. ■

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Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

imperialist centers. It must be led by a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, whose potential cadres are to be found among the tens of thousands of Haitian proletarians in the diaspora, notably New York and Montreal.

Mass Revolt Sweeps Haiti

The latest round of the Haitian revolt began ten days before Duvalier's fall, when at the end of a Sunday mass in the northern town of Cap Haitien a lone voice cried out "*A bas Duvalier!*" The cry was taken up by the congregation, and soon 30,000 people took to the streets. The national highway from Port-au-Prince to Cap Haitien, where Baby Doc used to race his sports cars, was repeatedly blocked by the angry masses. But the demonstrators exhibited a dangerously misplaced faith in U.S. imperialism, the army and the Catholic church. Demonstrators frequently carried American flags and chanted "*Viv lamè Dayiti*" (Long live the Haitian army)—in effect calling on the army and Reagan to stage a coup, which they did. (The same call was made by Christian

AP

After Duvalier's fall, many Haitians look to Yankee "democracy." Remember Reagan's rape of Grenada!

Democratic politicians Hubert de Ronceray and Grégoire Eugène.) And while Catholic radio stations and priests have sparked protests, with Duvalier gone, Archbishop Ligonde is now warning the masses to beware of the "communist danger."

Duvalier's response to Washington's premature announcement of his flight was to tour the capital. "We are here, strong, firm as a monkey's tail" (*Nou kanpè rèd tankou you ké makak!*), he declared, using a Creole expression. He ordered a crackdown by his Macoute hullies, whose initials in French (VSN) are said to stand for "vagabonds without a country." More than 50 were killed in the first day alone in Port-au-Prince, but this only provoked further protests. On Monday and Tuesday, businesses closed in response to a call for a general strike. In the north, starving crowds sacked CARE warehouses looking for food supplies. And while beatings and shootings by the VSN thugs restored a temporary "calm" in the capital, everyone could read the writing on the wall.

So when he got his signal from Washington, Baby Doc was already packing his bags. His wife, Michèle Bennett, dressed for the occasion in an elegant white turban and black cocktail dress, as their Gucci and Louis Vuitton luggage was loaded onto the U.S. Air Force Starlifter which would ferry them to a gilded exile. Ostensibly granted an eight-day visa, Duvalier joins ex-emperor Bokassa of the Central African Republic whose gifts of diamonds to former French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing bought him an "eight-day" visa over two years ago. Duvalier took his family with him: from his father's coffin to father-in-law Ernest Bennett, who is wanted by Interpol and the U.S. on charges of cocaine smuggling.

"Human Rights Coup" Means Mass Slaughter

Having supported Duvalier father and son for nearly three decades, the U.S. is now hailing the commitment of its "human rights junta" to establishing "democratic" law and order. Similarly, in 1979 in El Salvador, the U.S. sponsored a "human rights coup" to oust the hated General Romero, giving rise to a military-civilian "revolutionary junta"...which promptly carried out mass shootings in the working-class districts of San Salvador. This reign of terror set the stage for the bloody civil war which continues to ravage the tiny Central American country to this day. The U.S. will tolerate "reform" juntas only so long as they safeguard U.S. interests. Only a revolutionary workers and peasants government can carry out even the most elementary of democratic reforms. This is the lesson of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution.

The history of Haiti offers a classic proof of the danger of leftist support for "progressive" coups. In the revolutionary upsurge which followed the end of World War II, government attempts at repression sparked student demonstrations in January 1946, developing into a general strike which led to the fall of the U.S.-sponsored Lescot regime. The Haitian Communist Party (PCH) formed a bloc with bourgeois elements under the name of the United Democratic Front. The Popular Socialist Party (PSP), another pro-Moscow Stalinist formation, split away denouncing the Front's "class collaboration" with the mulatto oligarchy. But both the PCH and the PSP supported the regime of Dumarsais Estimé which came to power in the wake of the coup. With the onset of the Cold War, Estimé passed anti-Communist legislation and massively repressed the unions. But this was not enough for the bourgeoisie. In 1950 Estimé was overthrown in a coup by General Magloire, who in turn was replaced by...François Duvalier.

The slogan "No to Another 1946" raised by some Haitian groups means nothing if it is not generalized into a program of "No to class collaborationism, no to the popular front." Yet today the Parti Unifié Communiste Haïtien (PUCH), successor to the PSP and PCH, trots out the tired rhetoric of alliance between the working class and the "progressive" bourgeoisie, calling for "a minimum program which should make it possible to bring together the broadest possible patriotic and democratic forces truly interested in improving the national situation" (*Haïti Progrès*, 5 February). The country is in turmoil, the masses are in the streets and the PUCH calls for a "minimum program" that is little different from the U.S. State Department's—"Duvalierism without Duvalier"—protecting the interests of the bourgeoisie. Some "communists"!

For Haitian Trotskyism!

The struggle for the class independence of the laboring masses is necessarily international, and this is doubly true in Haiti. The fight against IMF-imposed austerity means confronting the U.S. imperialist banks *and their domestic capitalist allies*, not merely the Duvalier clan but the "social-democratic" liberal bourgeois PRD regime next door in Santo Domingo. As a Spartacist sign at the February 8 Brooklyn demonstration declared, "Haitian, Dominican Workers—Smash the IMF, For Workers Revolution!" Yet the Haitian Stalinists claim that IMF austerity also oppresses "a good fraction of the bourgeoisie," whom they classify as "patriotic and democratic forces." A Haitian revolutionary party can be built only in close alliance with the highly politicized Dominican workers in the other half of the island of Hispaniola, and with the overwhelming bulk of the Haitian proletariat in the diaspora.

In the United States, Haitian refugees are held behind chain-link fences in Reagan's concentration camps, at Miami's sweltering Krome Avenue detention center and the frozen Lake Placid Olympic village. The Spartacist League fights for "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers." The persecution of Haitian refugees is not only an expression of visceral Reagan racism, but a reflection of the U.S. obsession with the "Communist threat" in the Caribbean. When Haitian demonstrators raise the slogan "Môle St. Nicolas Is Not For Sale" they grasp a key element of Reagan's anti-Soviet, anti-Cuban war drive. This harbor is located just across from the U.S. base at Guantánamo, Cuba, and for the U.S. control of the strategic Windward Passage poses the fundamental "Russian question,"

Daniel Lainé

Hated Tontons Macoutes now face vengeance of their victims.

the question of international socialist revolution.

At the time of the Haitian Revolution of 1793-1804, which established the first black republic in history, the freeing of the slaves by the great Haitian revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture sent shock waves through the Caribbean, inspiring slave revolts in Jamaica, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Grenada, Dominica and Curaçao as well as the American South. Today, the Haitian masses, beset by decades of U.S.-imposed dictatorship and IMF-dictated starvation, can spark a revolt against capitalist wage slavery, for workers revolution throughout the region. This is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, the program of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

Spy Shcharansky Is Guilty as Hell!

FEBRUARY 11—Today Anatoly Shcharansky was released by the Soviet government in exchange for five captured Soviet bloc agents (three Germans, a Pole and a Russian) held by the West. The trade took place at Glienicke Bridge between West Berlin and Potsdam, dubbed the "bridge of spies" for the number of intelligence operatives exchanged there over the years.

Ever since Shcharansky was convicted of spying for the U.S. in 1978, he has been a Cold War cause célèbre. That cause has been fulsomely embraced by Reagan, Israeli Zionists and South Africa's white racist rulers. Apartheid butcher No. 1, P.W. Botha, recently offered to free heroic black leader Nelson Mandela in exchange for Shcharansky (along with Andrei Sakharov). And for years, Shcharansky has been the symbol of the Zionists' campaign to "free Soviet Jewry." His wife Avital now lives in Israel where she is closely associated with the fascistic Gush Emunim.

Shcharansky was not imprisoned for his *beliefs*, his repulsively anti-Communist and Zionist politics. The *New York Times* (11 February) observed: "Mr. Shcharansky is the only major dissident ever charged with espionage since the days of Stalin, instead of the usual charge of anti-Soviet agitation." That's because he was not simply a pro-imperialist "dissident" but someone who betrayed military secrets to his country's imperialist enemies. Our front-page headline at the time, over seven years ago, said "Shcharansky Is Guilty as Hell!" (*WV* No. 212, 28 July 1978).

This was not a Stalinist frame-up. Shcharansky passed on to an American "journalist" in Moscow, one Robert Toth, the names of Jews who were refused exit visas because they were working or had worked in secret defense establishments. Toth then published an article entitled "Clues in Denials of Jewish Visas: Russ Indirectly Reveals 'State Secrets'" (*Los Angeles Times*, 22 November 1976). Furthermore, there is hard evidence linking Toth to the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency. As one State Department official told *Newsweek* (24 July 1978): "What Shcharansky did, in effect, was give Toth a list of secret defense plants.... In Soviet eyes, Shcharansky is guilty as hell."

In 1978 we wrote: "Anatoly Shcharansky is *guilty* of a crime against the world proletariat—transmitting military secrets of the USSR, a degenerated workers state, to the imperialists." Now, the Soviet Union has gotten something for this imperialist link by exchanging him to secure freedom for five men and women in the front line of defending the Soviet Union against those who threaten to annihilate the homeland of the October Revolution.

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How Revisionists Betray The Struggle Against Apartheid

"South Africa is a capitalist country, and that has oppressed us," said "Comrade Lucas," a 14-year-old black militant in the eastern Cape Province, to an American reporter. "So now, all of us, in Cradock, are Communists." Last summer in Cradock the red flag with hammer and sickle of the Soviet Union and the banner of the outlawed South African Communist Party were displayed at a funeral for martyred black leaders. Lucas and his comrades may only vaguely understand what communism is about, but they know what apartheid capitalism means and they hate it. For them communism symbolizes total opposition to their oppression. As another young black militant declared: "Capitalism has no future in this country. Look where it has gotten us. There must be an equalization of wealth, a socialist state" (*Newsweek*, 16 September 1985).

But according to Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leader Jack Barnes, there is a bright future for capitalism in South Africa, and anyone who talks of socialist revolution is an "ultraleft sectarian." In a report adopted by the SWP last summer, he claimed:

> "...a mass revolutionary movement in South Africa today cannot and will not be built around a socialist program ... A communist movement in South Africa would be smashed on the rocks if it tried to impose its full, socialist program on the national, democratic revolution that is on the agenda in South Africa today."
>
> —"The Coming Revolution in South Africa," *New International*, Fall 1985

Echoing the social-democratic reformists that the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky fought against, Barnes declares that the "Freedom Charter" of the African National Congress (ANC) is "the minimum program" for bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Culminating more than two decades of revisionism and political degeneration of the SWP, a couple of years ago Jack Barnes publicly renounced and denounced the Trotskyist perspective of *permanent revolution*. Based on the experience of the 1905 and 1917 Russian Revolutions, Leon Trotsky held that in countries of belated capitalist development, notably colonial and semi-colonial countries, the historic achievements of the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be realized only under the rule of the proletariat, at the head of all the oppressed. Nowhere is this clearer than in South Africa, where the capitalist class is white and the working class non-white and completely disenfranchised. Therefore the most elementary democratic demand such as "one man, one vote" not only strikes at the very heart of apartheid, but directly poses the question of which class shall rule.

AP

South African black militants carry red flag of Soviet Union at funeral near Pretoria last fall.

In contrast, the SWP honcho openly embraces the Mensbevik/Stalinist doctrine of "two-stage" revolution: bourgeois-democratic revolution now, and proletarian revolution later—i.e., never. (See Spartacist pamphlet, *The Socialist Workers Party: An Obituary* [1984].) Now over South Africa Barnes is dotting the i's and crossing the t's, insisting: "What is on the agenda in South Africa is a bourgeois-democratic revolution, *not* the democratic stage of the socialist revolution." He goes even further, declaring "these are not merely stages of a single revolution; *they are two revolutions*" (our emphasis).

The essence of this program was captured in a crude cartoon put out last fall by a lash-up of social democrats (International Socialists, Workers Power, Socialist Unity). Two black miners are digging a grave marked apartheid and turn to the white mine owner, saying: "No gold today—we've got to finish this job first." Supposedly, then, after apartheid is overthrown South Africa's black toilers will continue to be superexploited by the Randlords and their partners on Wall Street and in the City of London!

Barnes is constantly denouncing "ultraleft sectarians," who in his world exist in dizzying profusion. However, the SWP line on South Africa is not only blatantly rightist, it is in the truest sense sectarian. This dogma is opposed to the revolutionary aspirations of the most militant black toilers in South Africa. Black and coloured (mixed-race) workers and radical student youth are certainly *not* striving for "democratic, non-racist" capitalism like Reagan's America or Thatcher's Britain.

Interestingly, while Barnes categorically rejects any hint of socialist revolution, the reformist South African Communist Party fudges the question. Thus the SACP's new constitution calls for "the establishment of one united state of People's Power in which the working class will be the dominant force and which will move uninterruptedly towards social emancipation and the total abolition of the exploitation of man by man" (*African Communist*, Third Quarter 1985). It may seem paradoxical that the ex- and now virulently anti-Trotskyist SWP insists on bourgeois-democratic revolution while the South African Stalinists put on "socialist" airs. The SACP, you see, has to address the South African masses, seething with revolutionary fervor, while for Barnes the black upsurge in South Africa is above all an opportunity to embrace the American liberal and not-so-liberal bourgeoisie in the name of fighting apartheid.

The SWP not only proclaims the African National Congress the vanguard of anti-apartheid struggle; in this country they hail Nobel Prize winner Tutu, urging American students to sign a "Freedom Letter" to the anti-communist bishop (*Young Socialist*, November 1985). And Barnes waxes ecstatic that "a bipartisan group of capitalist politicians" raised money to rebuild the firebombed home of Winnie Mandela, wife of the long-imprisoned and revered ANC leader, Nelson Mandela. "That's not a problem. Not for us. Not for Winnie Mandela. It is an opportunity." Who the SWP opportunists are really chasing after is not Mandela nor even Tutu, but Teddy Kennedy and his colleagues. And their "opportunity" to make common cause with the Democratic liberals depends on the assurance that "the coming revolution in South Africa" won't touch capitalist property. Barnes warns:

> "One of the obstacles to doing this is the sectarian lie of thinking that our contribution to this struggle is to explain that if the revolution really gets rolling in South Africa, then a lot of capitalist property is going to be taken over and we will all be fighting for socialism. No. Let the rightwingers and friends of apartheid in Washington keep trying to make that the issue."

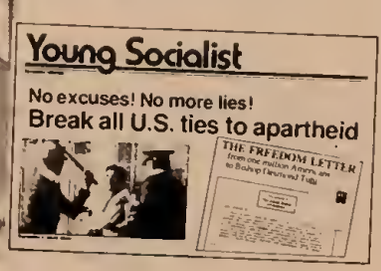
Today Barnes & Co. are a rather shoddy outfit, with little chance of becoming the "best builders" of a liberal anti-apartheid movement in the U.S.: the DSA social democrats and CP Stalinists are far better placed for this job. So in recent months, much of the SWP's energies have been thrown into building solidarity with... Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta). Here Barnes & Co. have the distinct advantage of being the sole bidder for the Ouagadougou franchise. To atone for his "ultraleftist" sin of criticizing the ANC's Freedom Charter in a 1980 pamphlet, SWP Africa expert Ernest Harsch is now polishing the "anti-imperialist" credentials of the captains in power in Ouagadougou (and defending them against neighboring Mali in the recent border war). Even Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings of Ghana comes in for praise as a "revolutionary" officer! But the South African masses are not struggling to replace apartheid slavery with the threadbare military regimes that are the scourge of independent black Africa.

FOSATU

Formation of black "super-union" COSATU last December.

UPI/Bettmann

Pushing "Freedom Letter," SWP's Young Socialist talls "liberal" imperialist Teddy Kennedy and his anti-communist South African cohort Bishop Tutu.



Anti-Trotskyists and Pseudo-Trotskyists

Barnes's denunciation of the theory of permanent revolution makes it easy for various revisionists to posture as upholders of orthodox Trotskyism, using the SWP as a foil. Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) declared in a 1983 resolution that the South African

continued on page 9

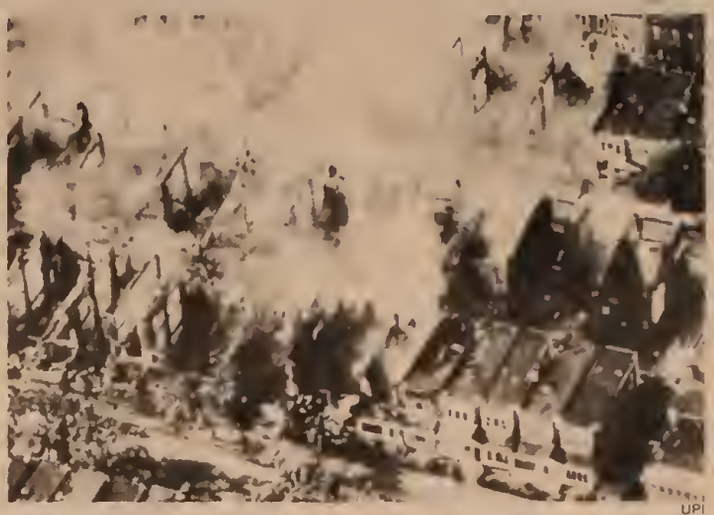
American Workers Revolution Will Avenge MOVE Martyrs!

The bombing of black Philadelphia last May 13—burning alive eleven members of the back-to-nature MOVE commune, including five children, burning down 61 houses and leaving 300 black residents homeless—was one of the most grotesque racist atrocities in the history of this deeply racist country. It was a coldly calculated conspiracy to commit racist state terror, organized from the city hall of black Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode right up to the White House of Klan-endorsed Ronald Reagan and his top cop, Edwin Meese. This fact was only underlined by Goode's hand-picked "commission of inquiry" last October. Convened to provide a cover-up, the commission, try as it might, could not conceal the deep involvement of the feds who participated in the planning and provided the heavy arms and high explosives used in this grisly massacre.

The hideous Philadelphia inferno inflamed racist reaction across the country. Rampaging racist mobs chanted "MOVE! MOVE!" at black and interracial couples who had recently bought homes in Jim Crow southwest Philly. Last November, Timothy Lee, a black youth, was actually lynched—not in the Deep South, but the San Francisco Bay Area. Everyone from Meese and L.A. police chief "Choke Hold" Gates to Goode's black Democratic colleagues rushed to praise the man whom the kin of MOVE victims aptly called the "Mayor of Murder." The MOVE massacre was meant to send a message to all black people and anyone else who might "get out of line" in Reagan's America. *watch your ass, you could be next!*

The bourgeois press got the message as did even some black press like "Uncle Tom" Tatum's *Amsterdam News*. To alibi racist murder of the MOVE group, which had attacked no one, Goode exclaimed: "We cannot permit any terrorist or any revolutionary group... to hold a whole neighborhood or a whole city hostage." Goode was only replaying Reagan/Meese's murderous "terror" scare tactics of smearing perceived political opponents as "terrorists" and "outlaws" in order to commit real state terrorism against them. And the bourgeois media, black as well as white, picked up this refrain. MOVE was portrayed as wild-eyed, violence-prone crazies who presumably "provoked" and "assaulted" the massively armed Philadelphia police force as these murderous cops poured more than 10,000 light and heavy calibre rounds into 6221 Osage Avenue and twice tried to blow the MOVE home off the ground before they dropped the high-explosive bomb.

Now, nine months after this unspeakable racist atrocity, a lash-up of leading Democratic Party "black elected officials," liberals and their reformist left tailists have called a "March Against Racism" in Philadelphia February 15. It is no accident that the official call for the march, issued by the "National Mobilization Against Racism," while alluding to "the police bombing of West Philadelphia," *does not mention MOVE*. They refuse the slightest degree of solidarity with the martyred dead of the Philly massacre. The name Wilson Goode does not appear, nor the slightest criticism of the mayor who admits he gave the green light to the bombing and vowed, "I would do it again"! Nowhere in all the march propaganda will you find the elementary demand for freedom for Ramona Africa and the other MOVE prisoners. Nor the call for working-class justice for Goode, his cops and his bosses in Washington for the racist murder they committed on Osage Avenue! In fact, there are no demands at all.



UPI

May 1985 Philly holocaust: eleven people of the black commune MOVE died when Democratic mayor Goode and the White House/FBI firebombed them.

The Philly "March Against Racism" is worse than the usual attempt at an implicit pro-Democratic Party popular front—it is an *explicit* bloc with the capitalist Democrats. Endorsers include black Democratic Congressmen John Conyers and George Crockett, New York State assemblyman Roger Green, Boston black politico Mel King, Pennsylvania state representative Dave Richardson, and others. The march call states the obvious, that "The Philadelphia outrages flow from the national climate of racism promoted by the Reagan Administration." But it is the *Democratic*-controlled Congress which has rammed through Reagan's budget cuts; it is the Democratic Party big city mayors from Chicago to Philly who are the black front men for Reagan reaction—breaking strikes of black municipal workers, policing the ghetto, and giving the go-ahead for the bombing of black America! Any fight for black freedom requires a *break* from the Democrats and Republicans, partner parties of racist American capitalism.

The February 15 march is being organized and built by the Workers World Party and its myriad front groups including the "All-Peoples Congress" and "People's Anti-War Mobilization," the *Guardian*, as well as prominent supporters of the Communist Party. For these outfits, the continuing cover-up of Wilson Goode's crimes flows logically from their whole "Rainbow Coalition" strategy of getting Reagan's black hatchet men elected in the first place. The anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is also supporting the march, and continuing the whitewash they began last May when they sympathetically reported Wilson Goode's keynote speech at the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights conference in Philadelphia—with the blood of the MOVE martyrs still fresh on his hands!

Last May, a similar lash-up which included the SWP, the Consumer Party and others called a May 30 "protest" of the bombing. During the planning meetings they had the gall to *debate* whether they would permit the MOVE survivors to speak, and if so what they would be allowed to say! Confronted with this obscene "debate," MOVE pulled out. The Spartacist League withdrew in solidarity with them, although we had called a full mobilization for Philadelphia and were working to draw in other organized forces as well.

Why They Sound Like Racists

Wilson Goode is in plenty of trouble, and the reformists are out to give him a hand, to reinforce suicidal illusions in "progressive" Democrats. In the aftermath of the Philly inferno, the same groups who today can scarcely bring themselves to utter the word MOVE were churning out apologies for Goode. The cravenly reformist Communist Party, in order to defend the political career of a black Democrat, blamed the MOVE victims for Reagan/Goode's crime: the CP's *Daily World* (16 May 1985) wrote, "Many residents in the area concur that the group, called MOVE, was an anti-social nuisance and wanted it out of the neighborhood." They demanded the resignation of everyone responsible for the Osage Avenue holocaust...except Goode. Likewise, Workers World Party guru Sam Marcy rushed to assure everyone that "Mayor Goode was merely informed of the planned assault and was not a participant in the plans" (*Workers World*, 30 May 1985). The *Guardian* (29 May 1985) wrote, "Neither Fire Commissioner William Richmond nor the mayor knew the contents of the explosive, nor did they seriously consider the possibility of fire."

The MOVE massacre was an acid test for the left. Most failed miserably, not least the myriad of little sects who posture verbally to the left of the mainstream pro-Democratic Party popular front while in practice capitulating to it. The minuscule League for a Revolutionary Party (LRP), the bastard grandchildren of Max Shachtman (who abandoned defense of the Soviet Union on the eve of the Nazi invasion), also blamed the victims for the slaughter:

> "When MOVE set up quarters in West Philadelphia, its lifestyle understandably alienated many neighbors. In addition, MOVE reportedly used loudspeakers to blare obscenities at neighbors as well as cops and had several scraps with community people. In fact, the immediate excuse for police intervention was complaints by local residents. MOVE's isolation opened it up for a police siege."
>
> —*Proletarian Revolution*, Summer 1985

Lifestyle? Loudspeakers? Blaring obscenities at *cops*?!! For the LRP these "crimes" are reasons to *excuse* the

continued on page 8

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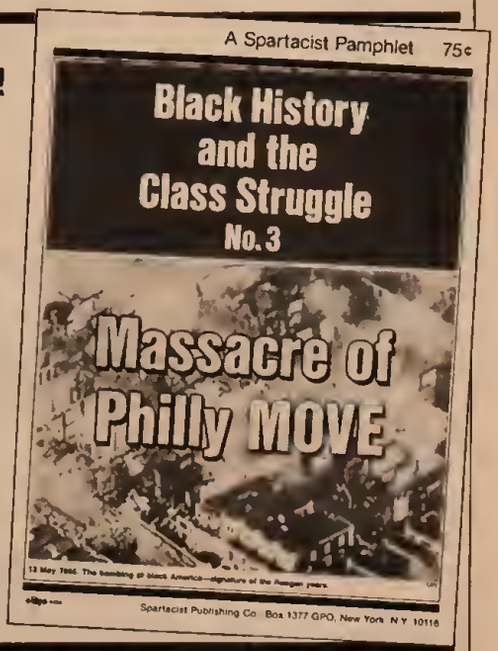

Free All MOVE Prisoners!

Ramona Africa Convicted for Surviving Philly Holocaust

After a five-week trial in an ornate Philadelphia courtroom, Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the hideous MOVE massacre, was convicted February 9 of "criminal conspiracy" and "riot" and now faces up to 14 years in prison. She was acquitted on ten other counts of "aggravated assault," "simple assault," "reckless endangerment" of a cop and "resisting arrest."

There was a criminal conspiracy, all right—an official conspiracy to commit racist murder. It went from black Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode and his former police commissioner Gregore Sambor right up to Ronald Reagan and his top cop, Edwin Meese. And there was a riot—a police riot, with .50 calibre machine guns and military explosives supplied by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and Meese's FBI. Serving as her own defense counsel, Ramona stated the bitter truth: "The only thing I'm guilty of is hiding in the basement, trying to protect my children, MOVE children. Nobody was supposed to survive."

The purpose of the trial was to "prove" that the MOVE victims were guilty of the massacre—one of the most grotesque racist atrocities in the history of this deeply racist country. According to Goode and Sambor, the police fired 10,000 rounds into the MOVE house, twice tried to blow away its walls with explosives, and finally dropped a powerful bomb, creating a firestorm that was allowed to burn out of control for over an hour, consuming 61 homes in this black neighborhood, because MOVE was supposedly "assaulting the police."

But as Ramona Africa, deeply scarred from burns over her arms, legs and back, said in her opening statement, "It seems that every charge against me fits the police." She called a parade of witnesses to prove her case, including Sambor and Goode. She also called Officer William Klein who built the bomb, and Lt. Frank Powell who dropped it, but they refused to testify on grounds of self-incrimination, realizing that they could end up on homicide charges.

Had she been convicted on all charges, this brave black woman would have faced 55 years in prison. But the jury of seven whites and five blacks, after 13 hours of deliberation over three days, acquitted her of all the charges alleging specific crimes. It is a testament to the Reagan/Meese years that sweeping "conspiracy" charges can be imposed even where the alleged specific crimes are never proved. At the same time, the cops were not able to make their story stick and ram through a verdict to "justify" racist state terror. Ramona Africa's backup attorney, public defender Daniel Stevenson said the verdict showed "the police were down there to kill" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 February).

The cops wanted MOVE dead in a vendetta that went back at least to 1978 when one of the cop gunmen was killed during a 600-strong police onslaught on another MOVE house in Philadelphia. For defending themselves at that time, nine MOVE people are languishing behind bars on 30 to 50 year sentences. Sue Africa, who lost a son, Tomasa, in the May 13 massacre, is in prison from a 1977 cop frame-up. Called to testify by Ramona, she told the judge: "The whole city of Philadelphia is trying to wash the blood of MOVE people off their hands and they're using you as the water."

Costello/Philadelphia Inquirer

Free Ramona Africa, sole adult survivor of MOVE massacre!

Ramona Africa is facing the prospect of the next 14 years of her life in a jail cell. Today, every MOVE member is either behind bars or dead. The freedom of all MOVE prisoners must be made labor's cause. The future American workers government will avenge the martyrs of May 13. ■

MOVE...

(continued from page 7)

burning alive of eleven men, women and children. A Spartacist forum in New York last July 11 was a Leninist "tribune of the people," as MOVE family members LaVerne Sims and Louise James spoke of their rage and their pain in a powerful indictment of the "mayor of murder." It was here that the LRP took the floor to attack the SL for providing this platform for MOVE, denouncing us for being insufficiently polemical toward the speakers at a public meeting specifically called to honor the memory of the MOVE martyrs (see the Spartacist pamphlet, "Massacre of Philly MOVE").

For months an embittered coterie of ex-Spartacists who quit during the Reagan years (formerly the "External Tendency," now calling themselves the "Bolshevik Tendency") were mute on the MOVE massacre. Now they have gone into print *not* to denounce the bombing, *not* to defend Ramona Africa, but to intimate that these victims of racist cop terror are supposedly in collusion with the cops! "SL's Cop-Baiting Celebrity—'Powerful Testimony'...to the Police" is the headline of their despicable article on our July forum. (This piece was published in the ET/BT's *1917*, available as No. 4 of our series "Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League.")

WV Photo

For mass labor/black action to smash racist terrorism! 1982 Spartacist-initiated mobilization kept KKK off streets of Washington, D.C.

So one of these rat groups says MOVE is an anti-social nuisance, another implies they're finks for the cops...and yet another "left" outfit says MOVE ought to be treated like fascists and put out of commission by workers' defense guards! This piece of filth comes from the tiny Ann Arbor, Michigan-based sect of Peter Sollenberger, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), which offered itself up to do the racist capitalist state's dirty work:

> "The MOVE supporters lived in a black neighborhood and apparently caused real problems for their neighbors. They violated numerous health and building codes and harassed people repeatedly. "If there had been organized black self-defense in Philadelphia, this would have been an easy problem to deal with. The defense units could have told MOVE that its anti-racist rhetoric did not justify its harmful behavior toward the black community. If persuasion failed, the defense units, backed up by the entire community, could have intercepted MOVE members on the street and administered some more powerful forms of persuasion."
>
> —*Fighting Worker*, June 1985

Faced with the elementary duty to come to the defense of the MOVE victims against the state, the RWL obscenely perverts the revolutionary call for labor/black defense against racist terror into a call for *racist vigilante squads* in the service of the capitalist state.

Regular readers of *Workers Vanguard* will remember that the Sollenbergerites reacted to the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in 1982 by attacking the Spartacist League as "Carpetbaggers on the Prowl." In despicably utilizing the language of the Southern racists against those who fought for Black Reconstruction after the Civil War, the RWL betrayed its utter hostility to the fight for black liberation in this country, the key question of the American revolution.

The 5,000-strong 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization was organized *against* the reformists and black Democrats. Black mayor Marion Barry's cops threatened to seal us off down at the Capitol, while Walter Fauntroy, head of the Congressional Black Caucus tried to divert protest with free food handouts at a distant site. And while black Washington was marching triumphantly down the same route the Klan had sworn to march, the Marcyite goons were miles away at a Democratic Party gala fest in McPherson Square, linking arms trying to prevent black militants from joining the battle! Demonstrators got a taste of power that day—the labor/black power that can stop the white sheet, the burning cross, the high-explosive bombs and the whole arsenal of the racist terrorists in this country.

In deeply racist America when you touch the black question, you touch the Achilles' heel of capitalist oppression. The grotesque response of these creeps to the MOVE massacre is their guarantee to the popular front reformists and their Democratic Party masters that "you have nothing to worry about from us." Philadelphia blacks and unionists: don't let the class traitors of "March Against Racism" shackle your power to those who have massacred your brothers and sisters. We communists of the Spartacist League offer another road: revolutionary struggle based on the independent mobilization of the exploited and oppressed against all wings of the racist rulers to avenge the MOVE martyrs and win black freedom. Forge the multiracial revolutionary workers party! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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NYC Transit Workers Turn Out to Defend James Grimes

WV Photo

FEBRUARY 10—"Drop the charges against brother Grimes! It's the TA which commits the crimes!" Some 40 New York City transit workers demonstrated today outside Brooklyn criminal court and Transit Authority headquarters demanding a halt to the railroading of fellow worker James Grimes. It was the second time in little over two weeks that many had come out to defend their courageous union brother. Grimes, a black token clerk with 17 years seniority, is facing criminal charges and possible TA discipline, including firing, for an act of elementary self-defense.

Last month, while transporting $1,490 in TA cash from his subway booth late at night, Grimes shot one of three attackers who jumped him. The wounded mugger died on the eve of Grimes's first scheduled hearing January 23, which was adjourned until February 10. At today's hearing the prosecutors were granted another postponement, to March 17, to take Grimes's case before a grand jury where they are likely to seek heavier felony charges.

The Transit Authority and Brooklyn district attorney hope to dissipate the widespread support for Grimes and the determination of his coworkers to defend him. Transit workers who turned out today, many of them token clerks who face the same dangerous conditions on the job, vowed to return March 17. But the entire 33,000-member Transport Workers Union Local 100, the powerhouse of New York City labor, must be mobilized to defend brother Grimes.

Drop the charges against James Grimes! No TA discipline! For the right of armed self-defense!

Apartheid...

(continued from page 6)

revolution "will take the form of a *process of permanent revolution*." Yet these fake-Trotskyists are just as hostile to the program of proletarian revolution in South Africa. And while they denounce Barnes's blatant enthusing over the liberal nationalist African National Congress, they all support the ANC's line of pressuring Western imperialism to put the squeeze on the apartheid state (sanctions, divestment, etc.). Thus the USec—to which the American SWP is still "fraternally" related—is divided between cheerleaders for radical petty-bourgeois nationalism and social-democratic tailists of the labor bureaucracy.

Social democrats' cartoon presents reformist program for capitalism without apartheid.

One section of the Mandelites favors the narrow black nationalism of the Azanian People's Organisation and the AZAPO-led National Forum. An article in the USec's English-language organ, *International Viewpoint* (30 September 1985), states that "this current carries on general propaganda for socialism, and seems to suggest in some of its documents that the road to resolving the democratic tasks involves the fight for socialism." Yes, unlike the ANC, which looks to liberal imperialist Kennedy and bargains with South African mining magnates, these heirs of the Black Consciousness Movement talk of a "socialist Azania." But what they mean is "African socialism," the ideological cover of bourgeois nationalist despots who rule the impoverished states of neocolonial black Africa.

In his address to the founding conference of the National Forum in mid-1983, Neville Alexander held up Samora Machel's Mozambique as a model for the South African revolution. Yet six months later Machel signed an agreement, the Nkomati Accords, with apartheid butcher P.W. Botha to suppress all ANC military activity on Mozambican territory! Significantly, the same *International Viewpoint* printed a shortened version of Alexander's speech minus all his laudatory references to Machel. As for AZAPO, its official publication, *Frank Talk* (November-December 1984), printed a speech by Zimbabwe's top cop under the title, "Zimbabwe. Problems and Prospects of Socialist Development." Robert Mugabe's neocolonial regime has carried out tribalist terror against the minority Matabele people and imposed slave labor legislation on Zimbabwean workers in the interests of imperialist investors and domestic (white) capitalists.

While one section of the Mandelites look to the aspiring Machels and Mugabes, other elements of the notoriously *dis*-United Secretariat are looking for a South African Lech Walesa. The American Socialist Action group is enamored of Polish Solidarność, the militantly anti-Communist "free trade union" beloved of Ronald Reagan, the Vatican and Frankfurt bankers. Indeed, the *Socialist Action* masthead is modeled on the Solidarność logo. Interestingly, when this yellow union's bid for power was spiked in December 1981, many of its supporters emigrated to the apartheid state to enjoy the privileges of the white caste there. The Tory London *Economist* (7 January 1982) commented:

> "Polish refugees have escaped with little more than their skins, but those skins are white. As a result, hundreds of them are already on their way to South Africa, where they may help ease the shortage of skilled labour."

Socialist Action's line on South Africa is to *counterpose* the black trade-union movement to the ANC and its Stalinist backers, writing that "A significant number of South African trade unionists, in fact, have spoken of the need to fight for workers' power" (*Socialist Action*, January 1986). In particular, they laud the FOSATU labor federation which recently merged into the new, broader Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Socialist Action portrays FOSATU in its own social-democratic coloration, claiming that "FOSATU has made clear its support for Solidarnosc" and has "published articles supporting the Brazilian Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores/PT)." But the PT is a *reformist* labor party, now affiliated to the Second International, and the FOSATU leadership has no serious interest in building any kind of workers party.

In the past FOSATU argued strongly for independence of the black trade unions from the ANC. This position, however, was used to justify a narrow shopfloor economism. During the past year and a half of massive black revolt in the segregated townships, FOSATU and the other black unions have been kept on the sidelines by their leaders. One result has been a marked increase in the authority of the ANC, including among black workers. Thus the top leadership of the new COSATU is close to ANC-style nationalism, and its president, Elijah Barayi, is himself an old ANC activist from the 1950s. Socialist Action uncritically hails the formation of the new "super-union," while covering up the danger that the black and coloured proletariat will be used, as we have put it, as "cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism."

For South African Trotskyism

To be sure, COSATU is not now subordinate to the ANC. Rather, its leadership combines trade-union economism with passive support to petty-bourgeois nationalism. COSATU leaders, like the ambitious head of the National Union of Mineworkers, Cyril Ramaphosa, want to carve out room to maneuver between the white ruling class and the ANC. In his keynote speech at the founding of the new labor federation, Ramaphosa stated: "It is important for us to work in alliance with other classes in society. But if we are to get into alliances with other progressive organisations, it must be on terms that are favourable to us as workers" (*Congress News* [undated]).

But what is needed in South Africa is not greater trade-union participation in a popular front of "progressive organizations" under the leadership of the ANC nationalists. What is urgently needed by South Africa's workers is a racially integrated *communist vanguard party* capable of taking power in the name of the proletariat, leading behind it the oppressed black African, coloured and Indian masses. Such a party can be built only through political opposition to all forms of petty-bourgeois nationalism. What Trotsky wrote to his South African followers in 1935 is, if anything, even more acutely true today:

> "The Bolshevik-Leninists unmask before the native masses the inability of the [African National] Congress to achieve the realization of even its own demands, because of its superficial, conciliatory policy. In contradistinction to the Congress, the Bolshevik-Leninists develop a program of revolutionary class struggle."
>
> —*Writings of Leon Trotsky (1934-35)*

Trotsky also explained how a Leninist party had to be built in South Africa, noting that "in the conditions of an approaching political crisis, there must be created special illegal nuclei of the party apparatus, which will develop as the need arises." He further stated, "...for the given period, the most important part of the illegal and semilegal work of revolutionaries is the work in mass organizations, particularly in the trade unions." For the oppressed to triumph in the inevitable civil war in South Africa, the key is the leadership and organization of a class-conscious vanguard infused with the conviction that those who labor must rule. ■

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Class War in "Hormel Town"

AUSTIN, Minnesota—After six bitter months, the strike at the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. meatpacking plant by Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) has turned this company town inside out. Strikers wear buttons and sport bumper stickers with the slogan "P-9 Proud." Picketing is a family affair, often with three generations on the line. Scabs cringe in their cars as they cross the picket lines—but they are crossing, by the hundreds. P-9 is up against it, facing a hard-nosed company, scab-herding National Guard and city cops, and also vicious backstabbing from the International union. The first thing you see as you pull off Interstate 90 at the Austin plant is a sign, "UFCW International Sucks." Yet the Austin strikers are not alone. Labor militants around the country are looking to the Hormel strike as the spearhead of union resistance to the bosses' takeback offensive.

After hundreds of pickets surrounded the Hormel plant January 20, Democratic governor Perpich ordered in the National Guard to "maintain law and order." On January 31, some 400-500 unionists from around Minnesota and neighboring states drove to Austin to protest the Guard strikebreaking. For the last two weeks, all access to the plant was sealed off except by the north gate where scabs entered through a corridor of Guardsmen. But fearing a confrontation, and trying to force the union into a sellout "deal," Perpich pulled back the Guard for a few days. On Friday morning, while the legal limit of three pickets stood by a flaming oil drum at the gate, a couple hundred supporters gathered across the street. Legal niceties were abandoned when the first scabs arrived. Within minutes several strikers' cars broke down right in front of the entrance, as the crowd surrounded scabs. The road belonged to P-9.

When the scabs tried to circumvent the pickets by heading for another gate, the line moved to the end of the I-90 exit ramp. For more than three hours pickets formed a militant, shouting gauntlet, turning all cars back onto the highway. The scabs just didn't make it to work Friday. Meanwhile, just across the road, a group of women blockaded the gate to Hormel's corporate headquarters, locking the staff in with a company padlock and eventually forcing them to evacuate. This sent the bosses into conniptions. A Hormel spokesman declared, "It seems that law and order means something everywhere in America except in Minnesota" (*Austin Daily Herald*, 31 January). Mower County sheriff Wayne Goodnature said a state of "mob rule" existed outside the plant and called on the governor to bring back the Guard.

The biggest turnout Friday was from the Twin Cities and Duluth building trades, with busloads of IBEW members, carpenters, iron workers and laborers. UE members drove in from Sioux Falls, South Dakota and hospital workers from Cambridge, Minnesota.

WV Photo

Victory to the Hormel strike! Five hundred unionists and others at P-9 solidarity rally in St. Paul, January 19.

A member of the Marine Engineers from Two Harbors, north of Duluth, told *WV* he had been on strike himself since August against a $3/hour wage cut and came to Austin "to shut the damn place down and keep the scabs out!" What *didn't* show was the muscle of the industrial unions from Minneapolis and St. Paul, even though leaders of the UAW (auto workers) and USWA (steel workers) formed the National Rank and File Against Concessions and the Twin Cities P-9 Support Committee. Hormel strikers were glad to see their brothers and sisters from the Upper Midwest, but *there should have been ten times as many there.*

That evening almost 500 P-9 members and their families gathered in their union hall in the Austin Labor Center for their nightly mass meeting. People were eager to hear reports from the teams of roving pickets the union had dispatched to other Hormel plants around the country. They were enthusiastic, giving a standing ovation to any militant speech. But there was little speechifying. One after another the picketers came to the mike and in plain talk said they had accomplished a lot, but they had to do much more in order to win. One striker toward the end of the meeting summed it up: holding his thumb and forefinger an inch apart, he said, "We're either this far from winning, or this far from losing."

The meeting began with cheers for the "A Team," which had returned for the weekend from successfully picketing out Hormel's plant at Ottumwa, Iowa. The picket captain led off the two dozen pickets, telling about a friend who broke down and cried on the way back, knowing that they had totally shut down the Ottumwa plant (Hormel retaliated by firing almost 500 workers), while back in Austin former union members were scabbing. He reported one Ottumwa worker's comment—"life didn't begin with Hormel"—and emphasized the P-9ers' heavy responsibility to keep fighting until everyone gets their job back. Another P-9er reported that in Ottumwa "people talk about losing their jobs. But if you lose your future, you'll never get it back."

Next up were the picketers who had been sent to Fremont, Nebraska. They had a tougher time of it: starting times at the plant are staggered and workers milled around the UFCW Local 22 hall not knowing what to do. The tide turned against the P-9ers when a union vice president and exec board member headed for the plant; only about 65 stayed out. One picket said what Fremont needed was an "educational process": "First we'll show them what a union hall is. Then we'll take 'em to a meeting. Then we'll tell 'em the truth—then we've got them!"

At the FDL packinghouse in Dubuque, Iowa the local president was out at the plant gate herding workers through the picket lines, and the whole time the P-9 team was there they were followed around by a squad car. They had trouble getting a place to hold a meeting, and finally had to hold it clandestinely in the parking lot of a shopping mall, but scores of workers came. Finding that many low-paid younger workers had little union consciousness, one picket said he told them: "Hey, kid, want to earn $10.69 an hour? Just come over here and stand on this side of the sign instead of that side."

In Atlanta, Georgia the roving pickets didn't try to shut down the plant, discovering that the Hormel operation there was only half-organized and by setting up lines they would only get the union members fired. The mere presence of the P-9ers was enough for the local authorities to mobilize a SWAT team of 50 cops and paddy wagons. The squad discovered that many of the workers had dropped out of the union, which only met once every four months at a union hall 40 miles out of town. P-9ers told them, get in the union and we'll take care of the International. They signed up 35 new union members and vowed to come back.

Another team was just back from Texas, and there was a report from the West Coast that workers at a Hormel plant in Stockton, California had just signed a contract for $13.50 an hour and improved pensions. But they were represented by the Teamsters, not the UFCW, which a bitter sign in the Austin Labor Center said means "United Front for Cutting Wages."

A high point of the meeting was the report from the women who had shut down the corporate headquarters. And there were many thanks for the support of out-of-town unionists whose caravan had shut down the Austin plant that morning. But what about Saturday, when Hormel's was rumored to be bringing in a cleaning crew? The women suggested they should link arms and form a chain in front of the north gate. Ray Rogers, a labor consultant whose "Corporate Campaign, Inc." was hired to help plan strategy for the fight against Hormel, worried that things could get out of hand, explaining how he had asked the cops for permission to cool things out on Friday. But the proposal was adopted, and people vowed to be out on the line at 4:30 a.m.

The next morning there were only about 125 people on the line. Even so, they were inspired by Friday's success and as soon as the first scabs showed up a pitched battle ensued. Strikers managed to turn several cars away before the cops mobilized. In one case they fought a determined scab for three or four minutes. Pickets surrounded his car. One woman pounded on the hood, yelling, "What's the matter with you? You're taking food away from my kids." While the scab kept gunning his motor, people in back lifted up the rear wheels while those in front pushed him sideways on the icy road until he was pointed away from the plant and finally gave up. But after this had gone on for a while, Rogers showed up to call the pickets off, warning that if they kept it up the Guard would be called back. Wrong. It was the threat of militant mass picketing that convinced Perpich to pull the Guard out, not "good behavior" by strikers following the bosses' rules.

By constantly preaching "nonviolence" (at most turning a blind eye to a little early morning "rock-and-roll" with the scabs' cars), Rogers and the P-9 leadership accept the bosses' lie that defending picket lines from scabs trying to run down strikers and cops trying to beat them up is "violence." For the most part the scabs go in unmolested, which demoralizes the pickets and helps explain why the numbers on the line are dwindling. Only twice have they been stopped, both times when union contingents from the Twin Cities and other areas showed up and the crowd broke out of the legalistic straitjacket that has been placed on them. At any point on Saturday they could have shut the plant down tight, but that would "violate the injunction," as the leaders kept repeating. The company, cops and courts would also claim it's against the law if several hundred strikers had rushed the plant, kicking out the scabs and management personnel and sealing it off with *a sit-down strike*. Such a bold tactic, which won the 1933 Hormel strike, could have been easily accomplished and would have dramatically reversed the fortunes of the strike.

In spite of all the pressures on the P-9 strikers, they are still proud and determined. On Saturday night, about 1,000 union members met in the Austin high school in response to the report by the governor's "fact-finder," which simply repeated a mediator's proposal which had been twice turned down. Recognizing that a vote on that takeaway "offer," even if it were turned down by a narrow margin, could weaken the strike, the strikers vowed "no third vote" and decided to hang tough. P-9 president Jim Guyette told the media after the vote that "the strength of any union is to honor picket lines, especially their own." But when asked about the militancy on the lines that morning, he promised to "get it back under control." On Monday, the Guard was back, and through the week hundreds of scabs rolled into the plant unimpeded. Every union member in Austin has to be asking himself what they will do when the company tries to start up the hog kill again.

The Hormel strike hangs in the balance. What will determine the outcome is if the strikers allow themselves to be straitjacketed by the bosses' rules, or instead fight to win. Everyone senses that a victory here could unleash a wave of struggles. The whole country is watching. Will Austin, Minnesota be Hormel town or a union town? ■

WV Photo

Women strikers and supporters defiantly form human chain to stop scabs, January 31.

How They Did It in '33

When Hormel workers shut down the company's Austin packinghouse in November 1933, they struck like lightning. Led by experienced union militants of the Industrial Workers of the World, they seized the plant and held it hostage, along with its $500,000 cooling system and 20 million pounds of meat. This was one of the first sit-down strikes of the 1930s. Jumping to the defense of Hormel's capitalist property rights, Minnesota's Farmer-Labor Party governor Floyd Olson complained to the strikers, "You were in illegal possession of the plant." Nevertheless, within four days the strike was won, establishing the Independent Union of All Workers, forerunner to Local P-9, and spurring industrial unionization throughout the Midwest. Here's how they did it.

The strikers picketed peacefully until late Saturday morning. Then at 11:00 a.m. word spread along the picket lines that non-union workers were still inside the plant slaughtering sheep. These rumors both alarmed and enraged the pickets, and while several were confused as to what action should be taken, others decided to use force to stop all further activity inside the plant. Within a few minutes, parts of the picket lines menacingly advanced toward the plant doors behind a few shouting leaders.... Four hundred men, many of them armed with clubs, sticks, and rocks, crashed through the plant entrance, shattering the glass doors and sweeping the plant guards before them. The strikers quickly ran throughout the plant to chase out non-union workers. One emboldened group crashed through the doors of a conference chamber where Jay Hormel and five company executives were meeting and declared, "We're taking possession here. SO MOVE OUT!"...

One hour later a dull quiet closed over the entire scene.... Ropes were stretched across all routes into the plant and squads of militant strikers were detailed to guard them. The atmosphere was tense but control had been re-established among the pickets. The principal difference was that now company officers and non-union workers were on the outside looking in!

—from Larry D. Engelmann, "'We Were the Poor People'—The Hormel Strike of 1933," *Labor History*, Fall 1974

Hormel Strike...

(continued from page 12)

worries that "The Austin workers' battle is only the most vocal and volatile of many union disputes nationwide that portend a new wave of labor problems" in the meatpacking industry. In particular this mouthpiece for finance capital is concerned that "the backlash has spelled doom for leaders of union locals who went along with wage and benefit concessions." By far the most treacherous of the capitalists' agents within "the house of labor" are the national union tops, in this case the UFCW International leadership of President William Wynn.

Over the last several years Wynn & Co. have relentlessly forced pay cuts down the throats of packinghouse workers across the country. From John Morrell & Co. in Sioux Falls, South Dakota to Oscar Mayer in Nashville and now the Thorn Apple Valley plant in Detroit, meatpackers have struck against the massive concessions jointly engineered by the industry and their loyal UFCW henchmen. Dumping local "giveback" misleaders and using roving pickets and mass picketing, UFCW workers throughout the industry are fighting hard to defend union wages and working conditions. Coordinated national strike action, led by a democratically elected strike committee and not the traitorous Wynn bureaucracy, can smash the meatpacker bosses' offensive.

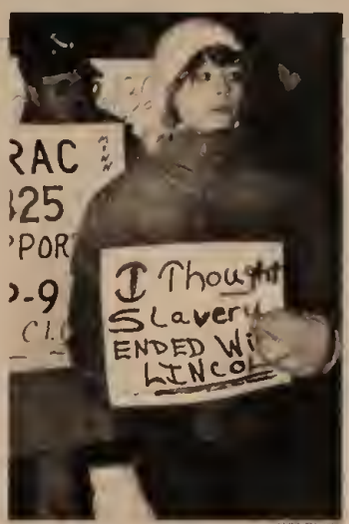
In the fall of 1984 Hormel unilaterally cut wages at its Austin plant to $8.25 from $10.69 per hour. When the local finally struck after its contract expired last August, the UFCW tops tried to get P-9 to accept Hormel's "final offer." Besides leaving wages far behind the pre-1985 level, this would have imposed a draconian no-strike clause, different expiration dates within the Hormel chain (enabling the company to whipsaw union locals) and a company reign of terror on the shopfloor. By the time P-9's roving picket lines went out in mid-January, valuable months had been lost to Wynn's bureaucratic maneuvering. But the pickets were dispatched, and the effect on the Austin strikers was electrifying.

Having sampled the power of labor solidarity, P-9 members can see victory almost within reach. Yet it is clear to all that the situation in their home plant increasingly threatens to undermine and defeat the strike. Roughly a third of the membership have quit the union and are now crossing the lines. Meanwhile, the intervention of the bosses' government has transformed the struggle into a bare-knuckle political battle between labor and capital. Although local union leaders in the Twin Cities have mobilized hundreds of workers to Austin to support the strike, this is far from sufficient to stop the scabbing, especially with the Guard now firmly in place. It won't be long before Hormel tries to resume its slaughtering operations. *The hard truth is that the Austin plant must be shut down, and soon, or the strike will lose.*

P-9 is now getting much bigger turnouts at its meetings than on the picket lines, indicating that a section of the local has stepped back to become passive observers rather than union fighters. This is partly due to a lack of clear direction on the picket lines. Even when the relationship of forces at the plant gate has favored the union against the scabs, "Corporate Campaign, Inc." consultant Ray Rogers has been harping incessantly on the necessity for Martin Luther King-style nonviolence. Rogers & Co. push nonviolence as a way to garner public support in order to pressure Hormel. But "civil disobedience" only produces arrests without stopping the scabs. *Hormel workers don't need pressure, they need power.* Public opinion won't sway Hormel; mass labor action that shuts down the company and cuts off its profits will. Right now the pacifism of the strike leadership is a roadblock to the strike's success.

Oust the Labor Traitors! For a Workers Party!

The National Guard *can* be beaten; it *has* been beaten. In 1934, in addition to the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamster strike and the Stalinist-led San Francisco dock strike, there was a third ferocious labor battle: the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, led by the American Workers Party, which fused with the Trotskyists at the end of that year. In Toledo the Guard tried to smash the workers' mass picket lines—and lost! Strikers first harangued the troops, explaining the issues in their strike; some Guardsmen were induced to quit on the spot and go home. When the Guard fired on the strikers the next day, killing two, 6,000 enraged workers returned to battle the troops. This militant struggle forced the Guard's withdrawal as local unions voted for a general strike. A few days later the company capitulated, recognizing the union. This laid the basis for organizing the entire auto industry, from Toledo to Detroit and Flint.



WV Photo

Hormel: A battle labor must win.

Austin should be swamped with trade unionists—not hundreds but thousands and tens of thousands; not to hold a vigil but to shut Hormel down tight! The strike leaders' pressure tactics ultimately rely on the capitalist state to salvage the situation for the workers, whether in the guise of Austin mayor Tom Kough (a striking P-9 member) or DFL governor Perpich. In recent years National Guard troops have been mobilized to break three significant strikes: Iowa Beef Packing in Nebraska, Phelps-Dodge copper miners in Arizona, and Hormel meatpackers. In every case it was a Democratic governor who ordered these professional strikebreakers into action. Ever since Reagan crushed the nationwide air controllers union, the Democrats have been smashing local PATCOs all over the country. *Labor's ties to the Democrats are a noose around P-9's neck.*

The mass labor action needed now to defend P-9 runs straight up against that alliance with the bosses' Democratic Party. Take for example the Twin Cities P-9 Support Committee, dominated by leaders of the National Rank and File Against Concessions. NRFAC leaders head some of the most powerful union locals in Minnesota, including iron miners, auto workers and steel workers. A political strike by any one of these locals demanding removal of the National Guard would electrify the labor movement and shift the scales dramatically to P-9's side. Yet the best the P-9 Support Committee could do was to offer a resolution demanding "that the National Guard stop being used to break the P-9 strike"!

This oh-so-polite resolution, designed to put minimum pressure on Perpich, *doesn't even demand the Guard's removal.* The resolution was uncritically reprinted in a *Socialist Action* supplement on the Hormel strike, which also failed to call for the National Guard out of Austin. That's nothing new for these fake-Trotskyists, who see their role as "socialist" waterboys for the machinations of liberal union bureaucrats. A couple of years ago in San Francisco, Socialist Action leader Nat Weinstein helped ATU bureaucrats sell out the Greyhound strikers by organizing a goon squad to *prevent* militant workers from shutting down the bus terminal during a mass rally.

But where Socialist Action tails "progressive" bureaucrats, the *Bulletin*, newspaper of the recently ex-Healyite Workers League, seems to prefer old-fashioned Cold War labor traitors. David North's WL calls on William Wynn to defend P-9 by organizing a nationwide meatpacking strike. That's like asking a rattlesnake to suck the venom out of your wounded leg! Similarly, last year the WL's then-godfather Gerry Healy in Britain called on the Trades Union Congress to wage a general strike in defense of striking coal miners—at the very moment the TUC tops were actively trying to *break* the mine strike! The *Bulletin* also calls on the AFL-CIO tops to organize a "labor party." If the CIA's top labor lieutenant Lane Kirkland, William "Rattlesnake" Wynn and their ilk ever did anything of the sort, such a racist, giveback "labor party" would be another weapon for the bosses to break militant struggles like the Hormel strike.

Referring to the 1934 Minneapolis strike, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said:

> "All modern strikes require political direction.... Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board, they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal 'friend of labor' president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at that time in Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of the workers.
>
> "Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity."
>
> —James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

Against the political power of the capitalist state the working class must organize its own political power, a workers party committed to the fight for a workers government. Such a party won't try to put bandaids on the profit system but will stand for the revolutionary expropriation of industry to lay the basis for a rationally planned economy. A class-struggle workers party must fight for *all* the oppressed, mobilizing unemployed workers to help win strikes through mass picketing, organizing union-based integrated defense squads to defend minorities from racist attacks. But Lane Kirkland and the other labor lieutenants of capital will never build such a party. A workers party will be constructed by labor militants as part of the fight to oust the backstabbing bureaucrats from the unions. *Victory to the Hormel strike!*■

Special Sub Rate for Hormel Strikers

At the February 8 labor march in Ottumwa, Iowa more than 100 copies of *Workers Vanguard* were sold and over 1,000 *WV* supplements "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" were distributed to the crowd of 2,000 workers and farmers. Over the past month Hormel strikers and strike supporters have eagerly snapped up and read more than 300 copies of *WV*. You can continue to receive the paper that fights for the working people, with a special introductory subscription for strikers of $1 for ten issues. Arm yourself with a program for victory!

WORKERS VANGUARD

WV Photos

Striking meatpackers and supporters turn out to stop scabs, but P-9 leaders are still playing by bosses' rules. Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

All Out for Meatpackers Strike!

Hormel: Mobilize Labor—Drive Out National Guard!

AUSTIN, Minnesota—The militant strike here by Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) has become the front line of labor's fight to beat back the bosses' war on the working class. Since 1981, when the AFL-CIO tops criminally let the PATCO air controllers go down, working people have suffered one defeat after another. But after taking it on the chin for several years, in the last few months there have been a series of drawn-out strikes against company "takebacks." From Massey coal miners in West Virginia to Watsonville cannery workers in California, isolated groups of workers have fought hard, often in the face of sabotage by their own national union leaders. Hormel is one of those strikes, with one crucial distinction: they are trying to spark a national labor fightback.

Using a class-struggle tactic practically unheard of in recent years outside the Mine Workers, P-9 has dispatched roving pickets to Hormel facilities from Georgia to California. But here in "Hormel, Minnesota" strikers face a massive scabherding operation by National Guardsmen along with state and local police. Last week the P-9 rank and file overwhelmingly refused to vote on a report by the governor's "fact-finder," who simply repeated a mediator's proposal twice rejected by the local membership. Thereupon an additional 500 Guardsmen were dispatched to Austin, and several hundred deployed around the plant. Scores of strikers were arrested as they tried to approach the gates, and a local D.A. charged union leader Jim Guyette and labor consultant Ray Rogers under "criminal syndicalism" laws left over from days when unions were tried for sedition.

After nearly six months on the picket lines, the Hormel strike has reached a showdown. P-9 *can* win, and P-9 *must* win! The local's roving pickets have effectively shut down Hormel's Ottumwa, Iowa plant, which normally accounts for 16-18 percent of the company's production. Pickets have also made inroads at the Fremont, Nebraska facility. But hundreds of scabs are streaming into the main Austin plant, responsible for more than half of Hormel's meat products. *This crucial plant must be shut down!* Saturday speechifying won't save the strike! Union leaders who say wait till November and vote Democratic are already writing P-9's epitaph. The labor movement must mobilize *now* to get the Guard out of Austin and shut down Hormel!

So far the best response has come from Ottumwa, Iowa, where Local P-1 of the United Packinghouse Workers was formed back in the '30s. When P-9 pickets arrived from Austin, they virtually shut the Ottumwa plant down. On Saturday, January 25, there was a mass labor march, filling the road "ditch to ditch" with unionists as one Austin picketer put it. The company responded by firing 478 members of the UFCW Local 431 for refusing to cross picket lines. So on February 8, some 2,000 unionists, their families and friends again rallied in Ottumwa, including dozens of UAW members from the local John Deere plant and the Maytag plant in Newton, Teamsters and packinghouse workers. The mayor of this staunchly labor town drew hearty applause when he declared, "you've got a right not to cross that picket line." Even the Catholic priest, Father James Grubb, showed more consciousness than many union misleaders, putting up P-9 picketers in the church and telling CBS-TV News (9 February):

> "... ever since the air controllers strike there has been almost a concerted effort throughout the United States to break the unions. And an easy way to do it is one at a time."

From throughout the Midwest, unions should be sending large contingents into Austin—flood the city with strike supporters and send the scabs packing! Minnesota labor must undertake political strike action demanding that Democratic "Farmer-Labor" governor Rudy Perpich demobilize the Guard. A big victory against Hormel could ignite a long overdue labor offensive, from Eastern Airlines to U.S. Steel, auto workers and phone workers.

Levison/Minneapolis Star and Tribune

Bosses' state in action: National Guard called out by Minnesota Democratic governor Perpich to break Hormel strike

Shut Down Hormel!

The capitalist rulers recognize the importance of the Hormel strike, and they're going all out to defeat it. The DFL governor poses as a "friend of labor" but calls out the National Guard to disperse the picket lines. The bosses' press crows that the strike is losing, yet the *Wall Street Journal* (5 February)

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 398 28 February 1986

Philippines: Aquino Government Made in U.S.A.

Reagan Pulls Plug On Marcos

U.S. Bases Out!

FEBRUARY 25—Now that deposed Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos has been shipped off to Guam on a stretcher, and Corazon Aquino is sworn in as head of a provisional government, Ronald Reagan is trumpeting a triumph for "free world democracy"...and breathing a sigh of relief for the strategic U.S. naval and air force bases in the Pacific island nation of 50 million. Liberal Democrats are joining in the chorus, proclaiming yesterday's military butchers today's "democratic" saviors. But for the Filipino people, the replacement of the corrupt, brutal Marcos dictatorship with the "clean team" of Aquino and Salvador Laurel will mean the substitution of one set of American lackeys for another. Marxists say: beware of coups "Made in U.S.A."

Beginning now, attempts by the Filipino masses to fight against IMF starvation policies imposed by international bankers and their handmaiden in Manila will be suppressed in the name of "democracy." More ominously, the Reagan administration is on a roll, having extracted itself from potential disasters in Haiti and the Philippines. But a more "democratic" oligarchic regime can't even begin to deal with the bankruptcy of Philippines capitalism, which has fueled widespread worker and peasant unrest and a deep-rooted popular insurgency. And the new regime's attempts at "reconciliation" to preserve the bloody repressive apparatus will run head-on into the burning desire to avenge the brutal crimes of the Marcos regime.

Reuters

Before the fall: Philippine masses block pro-Marcos forces in streets of Manila.

On Saturday, two top Philippine military officials declared themselves in rebellion against the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos, swinging their support to his rivals Aquino and Laurel, who were denied victory in fraud- and violence-ridden elections February 7. Defense Minister Ponce Enrile and Deputy Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos switched their allegiance after informing the American ambassador and within one hour of the departure of Ronald Reagan's plenipotentiary envoy Philip Habib, on a "fact-finding" mission to Manila. The Filipino masses, sick of two decades of corrupt and brutal tyranny, poured into the streets to form a human wall protecting the rebel headquarters from tank assault by Marcos-loyal troops.

The scene was elaborately choreographed by the bourgeois opposition and their supporters in the Catholic church hierarchy headed by Jaime Cardinal Sin. The Catholic radio Veritas functioned as a command center, calling the masses to come out in support of the military rebellion. While nuns paraded in front of pro-Marcos troops with crucifixes, priests handed out communion wafers. (Cory Aquino appeared briefly outside the Defense Ministry to sing "Ave Maria.") Demonstrators put daisies in the gun barrels and McDonald's burgers in the soldiers' hands. Marcos knew he was finished when the "people's inauguration" of Aquino was broadcast over the formerly government TV channel, while his own "official" inauguration was blacked out. The "nonviolence" of the whole affair was an expression of the degree to which the mass outpouring has been kept safely within the bounds of bourgeois rule.

As they gathered with their supporters in the Defense Ministry on the capital's outskirts, Ramos and Enrile

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Black Masses Jeer Bishop Tutu, Demand Power

South Africa: Workers Must Rule!

On February 21, an angry crowd of 40,000 blacks in the rebellious South African township of Alexandra told Nobel "Peace" Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, the liberal imperialists' favorite anti-apartheid cleric, where to stick his message of "nonviolence." When Tutu tried to lull the throng with promises that blacks "are going to be rulers in this land," the seething multitude shouted back, "When? When?" (*New York Times*, 22 February). After a year and a half of continuous revolt, the black masses will not be fobbed off with empty talk of freedom in the sweet by and by. The issue is *power:* who shall rule, the arrogant white *baas* or the millions of toilers who make the wheels of apartheid slavery turn? What's urgently needed is a proletarian vanguard to lead a struggle for socialist revolution.

A squalid slum surrounded by some of Johannesburg's fanciest white suburbs, Alexandra exploded on the 15th, when police fired on protesters attacking the homes of black cops and officials of the racist regime after a funeral for two anti-apartheid activists. As they have done countless times around the country, black youth went up against the heavily armed police and army with stones and Molotov cocktails. The official death toll is 23—the real figure may be as high as 80, with hundreds of wounded. But it seems that this time the black victims struck back: police acknowledged that a cop was shot dead. Witnesses say four other cops and soldiers, three of them whites, were shot, an armored vehicle was gasoline-bombed and two automatic rifles stolen.

When the rage of South African blacks reaches fever pitch, Tutu's job has been to step in and defuse it. On previous occasions he has intervened in the townships to save police informers from the wrath of the people. On February 18, he sweet-talked 30,000 protesters into calling off their

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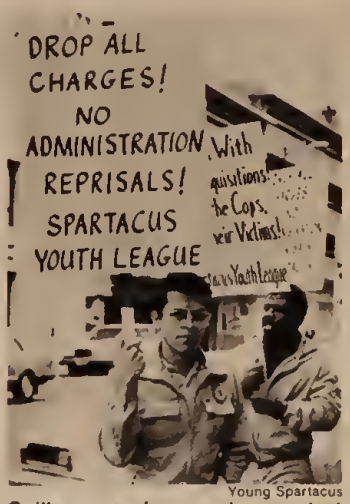
Berkeley Anti-Imperialist Protest Case

Hung Jury Blocks Frame-Up Of Guillermo Bermúdez

BERKELEY—The administration of the University of California at Berkeley has been handed a stinging setback in its attempt to railroad Spartacus Youth League member Guillermo Bermúdez. On February 14, a hung jury refused to buy the prosecutor's frame-up, voting 11 to 1 for acquittal on the trumped-up charge that Guillermo had "assaulted" the cops who brutalized him at a campus protest against Marine recruiters. Also, two jurors voted against conviction on the equally bogus charge of "resisting arrest."

As student protest against U.S. support to South Africa's apartheid butchers swept universities and colleges last spring, Berkeley again became a hotbed of campus radicalism. It reached the point that when the UC Board of Regents held a meeting in the hills above the seething campus, they had to be ferried in by helicopter. While thousands turned out in Sproul Plaza day after day, the administration counter-attacked with a combination of co-option and brute force. But the concerted effort to create a climate of fear and intimidation through use of police, courts and campus disciplinary measures has not been successful in quashing campus protest.

So far, UC Berkeley has been unable to obtain a single criminal conviction at trial against student activists. The verdict in Guillermo's case is significant for all who would protest U.S. imperialism's policies on campus.



Guillermo and supporters protest UCB frame-up, February 11.

While leading a militant protest against Marine recruiters in January 1985, 5'4" Bermúdez was seized in a deadly choke hold by 6'4" UC cop Joseph Johnson (known by students since then as "Choke Hold" Johnson). After being held in this potentially lethal choke hold and suffering a fractured arm, Guillermo was charged with "assault" on Johnson—and faced nearly *three years* in jail. Prior to the trial, Guillermo was hauled before a university kangaroo court on January 30. So were five students who protested ROTC last August; their "disciplinary hearing" was protested by some 200 on February 6. On February 13, another hearing was held against the anti-ROTC protesters—over 100 student supporters, including SYL militants, attended. In the face of administration/cop repression, leftist students at Berkeley have demonstrated an admirable ability to unite in action despite divergent political programs. As noted civil rights attorney Howard Moore—Guillermo's counsel—said of the hung jury verdict: "It represents the collective efforts of the SYL, supporters and sympathetic students."

Testifying on Guillermo's behalf were anti-apartheid student activists who have been subjected to UCPD terror tactics and frame-up charges as well; among them were Kyle Reniche, Robert Franklin, Michel Brode as well as Campaign Against Apartheid member Oliver Nicholson. Redbaiting harassment by the prosecution did not dissuade these students from telling the truth about what they saw the day comrade Guillermo was assaulted, and assisting in the necessary defense effort against the UCPD thugs run amok. Frank Saunders, a retired Santa Monica police officer who is now a consultant on police practices, also testified for the defense. Saunders noted that the now-infamous photo of Johnson choking Bermúdez showed the burly cop using a "bar-arm control" or "trachea hold," even more deadly than the often-used "carotid hold."

The prosecution offered three allegedly "unbiased" witnesses to back up Johnson's incredible claim that he had used no choke hold while arresting Guillermo. Under cross-examination, one of these supposedly "unbiased" students—one Bryan Bloom—admitted that he was the author of a letter to the ultrarightist *California Review* in which he vowed to "exterminate the parasitic dredge of the earth: liberals." The defense produced a photograph of another "neutral" witness, Anthony Argyriou, standing with Berkeley College Republicans, holding a picket sign saying communism equals the Nazi swastika; others in the photo are holding signs reading "Hang Guillermo." And the third witness, as inexorably discredited as the two before him, was one Kevin Southerland, quoted in the *Daily Californian* on the day after Guillermo's arrest as saying that the protesters were "hiting the hand that feeds them" and "I think there are a lot of people who don't realize the opportunities and freedoms of this country." The UCPD could not dredge up a single witness who would or could corroborate Johnson's claim that he had been "kicked" by Guillermo.

One of the supposedly inviolate rights in this country is a trial by jury, based on the presumption of innocence in which the burden of proof is on the prosecution. If he had his way, Ronald Reagan's attorney general Edwin Meese would do away with these "niceties." And it is no accident that UC Berkeley has been the scene for over a year of some of the most brutal police terror on any campus—so pronounced that the Berkeley City Council's Police Review Commission felt compelled to hold public hearings last spring on the rampaging UCPD. (The U.S. State Department was even obliged to publicly apologize to the People's Republic of China after a visiting Chinese scholar was arrested and mauled by the UCPD!)

For former California governor Reagan and Meese, who used to work in the Alameda County District Attorney's office, Berkeley has long been viewed as "enemy territory," a haven for "subversives" and a target for repression. During the 1960s Free Speech Movement and antiwar protests, massive police occupations of the whole UC Berkeley area occurred repeatedly. During the 1969 "People's Park" protest, students were shot at and one young man killed, and Reagan sent in the National Guard. Discussing this later, Meese openly declared that anyone attending a political demonstration deserved to be shot.

Jane Scherr

UCPD's Joseph "Choke Hold" Johnson applies potentially lethal hold in brutal assault on Guillermo Bermúdez, January 1985.

If they can get away with it at Berkeley, the ruling class figures they can get away elsewhere with police-state techniques against even the tamest campus protests. The jury's refusal to buy UCB's frame-up of Guillermo and the refusal of Berkeley students to be cowed into submission is a thorn in their side. U.S. anti-Soviet war aims abroad—from Central America to

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The Revolutionary Party: Key to Class-Struggle Leadership

TROTSKY

LENIN

In January 1953, at the height of McCarthyite social reaction, James P. Cannon, veteran communist and the founding leader of American Trotskyism, stressed the decisive role of the revolutionary Marxist party in forging a class-struggle leadership of labor. His remarks retain special relevance for this period of hard-fought defensive strike battles.

These labor "statesmen" will not be fit for leadership in the new situation, any more than the old AFL skates were fit for the leadership of the insurgent movement of the workers in the mass production industries in the sit-down strikes of the thirties. There will be no bargaining tables. No government boards to settle things amicably, recognize the union and give the workers a few more cents. That's not going to be the bosses' program at all. They don't want to give a few more cents; they don't want to recognize unions. They want to knock the hell out of the unions, so the workers will have no means of defense against the cutting of wages and living standards. That's what is in the cards. No friendly compromises at the bargaining tables, but only mass battles and mass tests of strength.

The workers, under such conditions, must and will turn to militancy and throw up leaders of a new mold, just as the workers in the thirties threw up new trade-union leaders out of the ranks. And it is in just such a situation, when class collaboration is out the window and the class struggle is on the agenda, that the supreme expression of the class struggle, the revolutionary Marxist party, will get a hearing and become the mentor of the militant new staff of leaders arising out of the shops and the factories.

—James P. Cannon, "The Coming Struggle for Power,"
America's Road to Socialism (1953)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Kim Kilmer Remembered

On February 16, a memorial meeting was held in San Francisco for our comrade Kim Kilmer, who died tragically on 24 January 1986, at the age of 32. Some 120 people attended, including Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League comrades from the West Coast and around the country; members of the Labor Black League for Social Defense with whom Kim worked closely; campus activists and members of the phone workers' Militant Action Caucus, among others.

Kim was a victim of "landlord murder," by carbon monoxide poisoning from a faulty gas oven in her San Francisco home. Her companion Paul Costan, a phone worker and active trade unionist, was also overcome by the fumes; he has since recovered. Kim was a socialist all her adult life. She joined the SYL in 1975, and the SL two years later, and worked in the party branches in Detroit, Boston, New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

The meeting room at the Holiday Inn was lined by photo displays documenting the years of Kim's work in our movement. They stood as a testament of her commitment to the cause of proletarian revolution and black liberation. We print below excerpts from the five speakers, who had worked closely with Kim over the years. The meeting was chaired by comrade Joan Parker, and ended with the singing of the *Internationale*.

Larry Cooper

San Francisco branch organizer

Kim was born in Detroit on June 17, 1953. When she was four years old, her family moved to Farmington Hills, a white middle-class suburb on the northwest side of Detroit. Kim's father, Joe Kilmer, is a retired Ford Motor Company executive. Her mother, June Kilmer, also briefly worked for Ford. Kim was very proud of the fact that after raising the children her mother returned to college, and now works as a teacher. Kim had traveled to Brazil as a high school exchange student. According to her father she spent very little time with the middle-class family she was supposed to live with; rather, she explored Rio de Janeiro. Kim was a pre-med student at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and although she chose not to finish, she worked all of her life in various aspects of the medical profession. You have to understand that Kim came from and could have very easily continued a very comfortable petty-bourgeois existence. But as a very young woman she developed a sense of outrage over the oppression and injustice that she saw, from the slums of Rio to the factories of Detroit.

I first met Kim eleven years ago, in Ann Arbor in the winter of 1975. I was the Spartacus Youth League organizer for the Detroit area. That winter the graduate student employees struck the campus, and we led the organizing of student support. We intervened and participated in actions by black students seizing the administration [building], protesting discrimination and racism at the University of Michigan. In the last months of the Vietnamese civil war, we fought for "All Indochina Must Go Communist" and "Labor Strikes Against U.S. Imperialism's War" on the Indochinese workers and peasants. We fought to win the best elements from those struggles, and Kim was one of these. She began to seriously study Marxism, and joining the SYL was her apprenticeship to the task of building an international party of the working class.

We were in different cities until a year and a half ago. But when I became San Francisco organizer 15 months ago, Kim had already put in those many years of hard work that it takes to develop and mature as a professional revolutionary, with all its ups and downs, and its defeats and victories. She never hesitated to do whatever work was necessary. Kim could write and speak well, and she was an organizer and a teacher. And she had a tremendous capacity for work, which is another way of saying that she drove herself very hard.

Kim and I worked very closely over the last year. And since I tend myself to be a bit stubborn, she and I happened to lock horns a few times. She never hesitated to argue to me, or with anyone, when she saw shortcomings or differences she felt were critical to our work. She wasn't always right—none of us is—but on more than one occasion, she quite correctly took her arguments to others in the branch leadership, if she felt she got no satisfaction from me. If she felt a difference was less important or subordinate to the work at hand, then she simply put it aside and continued on with that work. She had many fine qualities that I know that other comrades will speak of today. But I know of no better thing to say about Kim, than that she was first and foremost a revolutionary. Kim was a Bolshevik.

* * * * *

John Kenney

from the San Francisco branch

One thing that was really striking about Kim is that she was a fighter. If she believed in something she fought for it, even if she was knocked down. Besides being a very hard communist, there was another side to Kim. She was very compassionate, listened to the struggles that you were facing. She really enjoyed revolutionary politics. We'd just sit down by the table and we'd talk about politics, what happened in world events, what's happening in our organization, different locals, what was happening with the Labor Black League, our Hispanic work, or just having discussions about our political opponents. She saw her post as lit/sales director in a very political way.

For example, I came back from Nicaragua after visiting there for a short while. And there was the MOVE massacre in Philadelphia. She had immediate outrage about what had taken place there. She told me she had shown a copy of the bourgeois press, the pictures, to some of her coworkers and said, "Is this Dresden?" Then she started pumping me with all these questions about what had taken place in Nicaragua. She wanted to know to what extent the revolution had been carried forward, she wanted to know the changes the revolution had brought about in terms of the lives of the working people, women and children.

* * * * *

Todd Nolan

from the San Francisco branch

I first came to know Kim in 1983 and 1984 during the trips that I on occasion make to the Los Angeles local. And I remember one trip that she proudly reported that she had filled in for the party treasurer, when that treasurer was out of town. She was a comrade with whom we would entrust considerable responsibilities in this party.

Kim also had her ups and downs. In the weeks before she died, she had requested a leave of absence, to get something of the pressure of the work away from herself for a brief period of time. I got in touch with her, and we had a long talk that lasted for several hours. I gave her an appreciation of all the work she had been doing, some of the finest work she had ever done as a communist. She said she felt inadequate. From the previous speakers you can see that there is some irony in that. I said to her at one point, well, Kim, we all have our limitations, it's always a matter of pushing against them. I said, I think there's a book you might enjoy reading, Trotsky's autobiography, *My Life*. I found out several days after she died that she was reading that book.

After her death, I learned from comrades and Paul that the talk Kim and I had had made a difference, that she had told Paul she was thinking of cutting short her leave and simply getting back to the political work. When Steve, Paul and I traveled to Michigan for the funeral, we took a silver-and-gold pin. I learned the other day that Kim's father had noticed that pin and called and asked if that was our emblem. He said he wanted to have the engraving of the bronze plate for the marker at her gravesite to carry the hammer and four. Our comrades have since sent an appropriate image for the engraver, for the plaque at her gravesite in Troy, Michigan.

* * * * *

Jim Stark

from the Atlanta branch

I met Kim ten years ago in Boston. She was in her very early 20s. There was a hell-bent activism on Kim's part to get out to the campuses and recruit these young students to the Spartacus Youth League. Once there was a demonstration at Boston University, where there were several hundred students protesting against the campus administration. Midway through this rally, about half of the students spontaneously entered the student center. Kim was very quick on her feet, and managed to slip in at that time before the cops

continued on page 4

WV Photo

Spartacist League memorial meeting for comrade Kim Kilmer, San Francisco, February 16.

Kim Kilmer...

(continued from page 3)

WV Photo

Friends and comrades remember Kim Kilmer's contributions to the revolutionary movement.

locked the doors. She pretty much single-handedly soapboxed to these hundreds of students who were occupying the building, polemicized against the student bureaucrats who were collaborating with the administration. It was the type of thing where a seasoned experienced communist cadre would have their hands full, but she knew what she wanted to do and she just did it. She would periodically come to the ground level and speak to us through sign language, tell us how to carry on the work outside.

I remember once she was talking with one of the members who was chronically unhappy in his personal life, and she said, look, life is too short to be miserable all the time, when you can change it. She had a sense of living for today, and that's what made it fun to be around Kim. Kim was a nice human being to have at your side in so many situations. She died a Trotskyist communist and that's a tribute to us.

• • • • •

Barbara Francis

SL central committee member who worked with Kim in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco

I worked with Kim most closely in Los Angeles, and then again here in San Francisco the last six months of her life. One thing I remember very well was the blues benefit we had for Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero [phone strikers fired and arrested for defending a picket line]. We were trying to produce a statement of principles for the labor/black league we hoped to launch, around and including the people who had been involved in that campaign with us. Typically, we didn't finish the statement of principles until about an hour before the benefit was supposed to begin. Kim, who was our best typist, was to come in, and she had an hour to produce this leaflet. She was also supposed to be at the benefit right on time, because she was one of the people who were going to talk to those who came about joining the LBL. She was also responsible for a number of last-minute arrangements. It was a real coup, she had it all orchestrated; she came in, she cut the stencil, she had a friend waiting in a car, she had her clothes laid out at home, and she arrived at the door right on time, looking great, she always did. And pretty unruffled, you'd never know what she had done to get there.

Kim was one of our best salesmen, she was a really good and aggressive propagandist on the street corners and on the work locations. Let me tell you another story, that her father told us with great glee, about Kim leafleting. After she'd been in the party a number of years, he decided it was time to drive her around and show her where he went to work. He was an executive in one of the automobile plants. So he took her on a ride and they went by the gate. She looked at him and said, Dad, I leafleted here and sold the paper here for many weeks and months! Apparently, she'd turn around and duck out of sight when she saw his car coming down the street.

What I remember best about those years in L.A. is her being on the phone. Because the reality of Kim's daily work in the party in that period was that she met a lot of people, she talked politics to them, she talked to other comrades about the people they were meeting. Most of them were black, many of them trade unionists. So, Kim would be on the phone to our comrades, making sure they were calling back and talking to people they had met. And complaining pretty loudly if anybody was lax in that area.

During that period, besides working full-time, she was working very hard for the party. She was also studying nuclear medicine, and completed a certificate which would qualify her to work in that field. This was related to her longstanding interest in medicine. And it had taken her a while. The first job she got was at Kaiser, in that field. After she'd been there, I think it wasn't much more than a month, maybe two months, the nurses went out on strike. Kim heard that a picket line was going up the next day and she never went back to that job. It was real hard for her. She went out on the picket line and walked it. She had a lot of back bills at the time, I remember, and it took her months to find another job in the field. She had to go back to her other job for a while. But she would not cross a picket line.

I also had the pleasure, and it was a pleasure, of attending her forum on Nicaragua at San Francisco State this past fall. She gave us in rich detail, seen through the eyes of a Marxist, what that country looked like at the time. And that was our terrible loss—she was a Trotskyist and an internationalist.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

march on a police station, undertaking to present their grievances to the government in Pretoria. But the arrogant apartheid president P.W. Botha refused to see him. When Tutu reported back in Alexandra on the 21st, he was met with boos, catcalls, and shouts of "It's not enough! The death of our people must be avenged! Down with Botha!"

Against these demands for simple justice, Tutu preaches "Our Lord's ministry of reconciliation." In his Nobel lecture he intoned that the oppressed and oppressor "need each other to become truly free"! Hand in hand with this Christian sanctimony goes outright anti-communism. When the announcement of his Nobel prize first made him a real international celebrity in 1984, Tutu "compared his crusade against apartheid...to a crusade against Communism" (*New York Times*, 19 October 1984). It is precisely for this that he is lionized by the liberal media as an anti-apartheid fighter. But it's getting harder to make "the lamb lie down with the lion" in South Africa. It must make Tutu and his bourgeois friends nervous when they think of how the township activists treat those they deem to be collaborators.

When Tutu came to the United States last month, he participated in the hypocritical celebration of Martin Luther King Day along with imperialist politicians Edward Kennedy and George Bush. There are striking parallels between the roles played by Tutu and King in disarming the black struggle with constant appeals to the "humanity" of the oppressors. But King at least came out, albeit belatedly, against the imperialist war in Vietnam. Tutu, taking his anti-communism to its logical conclusion, appeals to imperialism to pressure its apartheid ally through divestment, upbraids Reagan for being "inconsistent," and calls on him to "apply to South Africa the policy that he applies to Nicaragua" (*New York Times*, 7 January)!

If only Reagan would do this, says Tutu, "Voilà! Apartheid would be over in next to no time." He preaches the utopianism of all apartheid's liberal and reformist opponents, including the major South African anti-apartheid formation, the African National Congress (ANC). For the ANC, sanctions, guerrillaism and "making the townships ungovernable" are all part of their strategy to pressure apartheid capitalism to reform itself. Segregated in the townships, many black militants also think that by torching government informers and driving out the police they can bring the apartheid regime to its knees. But the South African police state designed the townships precisely so they can be easily sealed off and starved into submission.

We salute those who shot the police in Alexandra, and those, presumably ANC guerrillas, who set off a Czech land mine under an armored vehicle in the nearby township of Mamelodi on the 16th. But the ratio of black deaths to white is hundreds to one. A mere mile from Alexandra, whites continue to enjoy the luxury shopping mall of Sandton City. On the fringes of Alexandra, armed racist vigilantes guard their tennis courts and swimming pools, and some fired on a crowd which was allegedly attacking their factory.

These are graphic reminders of what we have been urgently warning since the Uitenhage massacre last March: township revolts by themselves will not destroy apartheid. And the rising frustration is leading to internecine factional and tribal clashes and indefensible attacks on white civilians, such as those in Natal province last December, which only serve to whip up racist frenzy among the heavily armed white population. In a black-white race war now, it is the blacks who would lose, disastrously. But the potential exists in South Africa for victorious *class war* leading to a black-centered workers government.

In Alexandra, it has been reported that enraged youths were beating up black workers on their return to the township from work. Such hostilities have occurred before. Yet it is the six million black South African proletarians, on whose superexploitation the country's industrial economy rests, who have the power to smash apartheid capitalism. What is urgently needed is the Trotskyist party to lead them in the fight for their own class rule at the head of all the black, coloured and Indian oppressed. ■

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Challenger Probers Tiptoe Around the White House

The explosion of the space shuttle Challenger on January 28 put a big crimp in Reagan's "Star Wars" plans, not to mention his State of the Union speech planned for that evening on the very subject of the "new frontier." The Great Communicator hoped to fix things up with a "credible" and quick investigation, just as "credible" snap elections in the Philippines were supposed to silence the critics. The presidential commission of inquiry, headed by Nixon's pliant secretary of state, William Rogers, has been more than willing to sweep things under the rug in secret sessions.

But the problem for the White House is there are too many independent parties interested in getting at the truth—including astronauts whose very lives depend on avoiding a repeat of the disaster. So Reagan's investigation is backfiring. As the *New York Times* (21 February), ever ready to cover up "in the national interest," delicately put it, the commission has discovered that there was an unusual "pressure to launch" the shuttle on January 28: "Just where the pressure, if any, was coming from, however, is still not clear." We suggest they phone Pat Buchanan's office at the White House.

Some of the bourgeois media dared to raise the obvious question more explicitly. The reactionary sensationalists at

Ficara/Newsweek

Blood on his hands.

the *New York Post* (20 February) couldn't resist blowing the lid off:

> "...congressional investigators are preparing to subpoena NASA telephone logs from the night before the tragic Jan. 28 launch....
> "Investigators said they will probe whether there was pressure to get schoolteacher Christa McAuliffe... aloft before President Reagan's State of the Union address."

Commentator Tom Braden on the Cable News Network's *Crossfire* was even more explicit: "There is a rumor circulating," he said, "that the president had arranged to put those people in space on the telephone in the middle of his State of the Union address which was planned, as you remember, for that evening. Is that the reason why it was a hurry-up?"

Braden ended the show with the famous Watergate cover-up question, "What did they know and when did they know it?" There's gunpowder burns all over top White House staff at this point, and if the commission can't find the smoking gun it's because they're not looking.

As we wrote two weeks ago, Reagan's now-disappeared State of the Union speech hinged on "sending greetings to Christa McAuliffe aboard the space shuttle Challenger," and so "the shuttle *had to be* launched by the 28th—the weather be damned" ("Star Wars Disaster—Challenger Blows Up in Reagan's Face," *WV* No. 397, 14 February). Everyone else kept silent on this perfectly obvious connection, except for Alexander Cockburn's parallel comments in *The Nation* (15 February). Cockburn remarked that rational discussion was excluded in the mass media, which was busy broadcasting "electronic equivalents of a Nuremburg rally."

The Story of O-Rings

Right after the disaster, media attention focused on the abnormal plume of flame which had appeared on the right-hand solid fuel rocket booster (SRB) in the moments before the explosion. All this week massive news leaks have detailed how NASA for *years* ignored warnings from their own engineers about longstanding problems with the critical "O-rings," which provide a seal against hot gases in the joints of the solid rocket boosters. In 1982 a "critical items list" prophetically warned that deficiencies in the O-ring seals could result in "loss of vehicle, mission, and crew due to metal erosion, burnthrough, and probable case burst resulting in fire and deflagration." NASA responded by getting a yes-man to sign a waiver so the shuttle could continue flying.

Most spectacularly, it turns out the night before the fatal launch of Challenger, at least 15 engineers from Morton Thiokol, the company which makes the SRBs, were in open revolt against NASA's push for a launch, and the focus of their objection was the O-rings. There was in fact a raging battle till late into the night of January 27, between the engineers concerned with safety, and NASA and Thiokol officials pressing for a launch no matter what. Allan McDonald, director of Thiokol's SRB project, refused to "sign off" the approval for launch because numerous tests and experience from previous missions showed that the reliability of the O-rings could be destroyed by the cold temperatures at the launch pad. At Cape Canaveral, McDonald arranged a telephone conference call with NASA officials at the Marshall Space Flight Center in Alabama and Thiokol officials in Utah.

Thiokol at first would not approve a launch at an O-ring temperature below 53 degrees Fahrenheit. (The temperature of the O-rings that night was estimated to be less than 30 degrees, and on the morning of the launch NASA "ice teams" measured apparent temperatures as low as *minus eight degrees* Fahrenheit on a strut attached to the fatal right-hand booster!) But after a half hour break in the conference call, Thiokol inexplicably reversed itself and one of its vice presidents, over 2,000

AP

They died for "Star Wars."

miles away in Utah, "signed off" the approval despite nearly unanimous opposition from the engineering team on the spot. Even after his boss had signed the approval, McDonald continued to argue against it, but it was no use. "The decision was to go, period," says Senator Donald Riegle, who has been investigating events around the launch. Challenger's crew was doomed by some mysterious "additional information" allegedly obtained in that fateful half hour, but no one is saying what it was.

Fueling the suspicions, McDonald's testimony was taken in secret session by the presidential commission—not even Senators with security clearance could get in. The commission's public response was to deny the charges of NASA arm-twisting. (Among the 13 members, only maverick Richard Feynman, a Nobel Prize winning physicist, has exhibited some independence. At a lunch break in the hearings, he demonstrated the effect of cold temperature on the O-rings, squeezing a piece, then dipping it in ice water—the rubbery substance failed to spring back into shape.) Senator Ernest Hollings, in a separate Senate investigation, is calling for removal of NASA acting director William Graham, who was caught making deliberately misleading statements, such as asserting there were no objections from Thiokol to the launch.

Starship Free Enterprise

The story of the Challenger's O-rings is by no means the only scandal that has leaked through in the "investigation" of the shuttle disaster. In our previous article, we recalled the fateful quip of astronaut Gus Grissom, who died in an Apollo test, that his life was in the hands of a "crowd of lowest bidders." Now it turns out that Thiokol was indeed the lowest bidder: a 1973 report on the SRB contract award reported that, despite design deficiencies, "the cost per flight...would be the lowest" with a Thiokol-built booster. It is testament to imperialist irrationality that the former head of NASA, James Beggs, is facing charges for bilking the Pentagon out of $4.5 billion while at General Dynamics for the Sergeant York boondoggle. The kill-crazy warmongers in Washington pour billions into first-strike weapons, most of which will probably not work, but refuse to pay a dime to Christa McAuliffe's family for survivor benefits.

From Reagan's State of the Union speech on down, Challenger was launched as a giant publicity stunt. It had the most ecumenical crew imaginable—a black physicist, a Japanese American Buddhist from Hawaii, and two women (one of them a Jewish scientist). The purpose: to sell Reagan's Star Wars, or Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). A few years back a secret directive, NSDD-144, emphasized the shuttle's "unique capabilities" for "launch and deploy, retrieval, on-orbit repair, refuel, assembly"—all tasks critical to building the vast network of battle stations in space envisioned in SDI.

Already, in the guise of "reforming" NASA, Reagan has replaced shuttle project administrator Jesse Moore with Rear Admiral Richard Truly, now head of the U.S. Navy's Space Command. Curiously, Truly was commander of the Challenger when it took off on the first nighttime shuttle launching, on 30 August 1983, just in time to be aloft when KAL 007 penetrated Soviet airspace.

It's all aimed at a first strike against the Soviet Union, the homeland of the October Revolution, which Reagan is hell-bent on destroying, despite the Kremlin bureaucrats' "détente" illusions in striking a deal for "arms control" with the war-mad U.S. imperialists. In all the uproar over the Challenger explosion, the American press barely mentioned the Russians' successful launching February 20 of a massive space station, complete with six docking ports and small cabins equipped with desk, armchair and sleeping bag "for improving the astronauts' work and rest" (TASS). The dearth of publicity was a reflection of imperialist pique—the "space frontier" is secretly reserved not for mankind but for the Pentagon's violent fantasies.

So the cover-up goes on. If Reagan still seems to be the "Teflon-coated president," it's in good part because the "free but responsible" bourgeois media refuses to see the dirt right under their noses. He's gotten away (so far) with the KAL 007 spy plane war provocation, the bloody fiasco of the Marines in Beirut, the Grenada invasion and other crimes. But this time large holes have appeared in Reagan's Teflon. ■

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Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Reagan's America—Nightmare for Blacks

In his 1986 "State of the Union" address, Ronald Reagan sounded the theme of the American ruling class, conservatives and liberals alike, that the misery of the ghetto is due to the "breakdown of the black family." Ranting about the "welfare culture," Reagan obscenely told black people that "real and lasting emancipation" means cutting them off from the "narcotic" of the welfare check! Blacks won't get a paycheck either. The racist liar in the White House had the gall to proclaim on Martin Luther King's birthday that in the last five years black Americans have "done better than ever before." The truth is that a generation after King's "I have a dream" speech, the "American dream" is still a nightmare for blacks... and it's getting worse.

For the 28 million black people in the United States, life in the Reagan years has been devastating according to every economic and social indicator. Today, more than one half of all black men don't have jobs; half of black children live in poverty, even by official statistics; half the prison population is black, although blacks are only 12 percent of the population. Hunger has reached "epidemic proportions," school dropout rates are at a record high, infant mortality figures are rising. And from the government bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia last May to cross-burning attacks on black families in Cleveland and lynching in the San Francisco Bay Area, racist terror is on the rise.

The 1986 "State of Black America" report by the National Urban League shows that:

- Thirty-four percent of all black people live below the poverty line, roughly three times the level for whites.
- In 1984, the median black family had only 56 percent of the income of white families.
- Black unemployment is 14.9 percent, compared to 5.9 percent for whites.
- Black teen-age unemployment is 41.6 percent, compared to 15.9 percent for white teenagers.
- The infant mortality rate is 19.2 deaths per 1,000 live births for blacks, more than twice that for whites.
- Over 40 percent of black families are now headed by single females. And they are the poorest of the poor, with a median income of $8,648, more than $1,500 *below* the official poverty line.
- More than half of all black births were to single mothers. For black teenagers, 86 percent of all births are to unwed mothers.

Kaltus/NY Post

Steve Webb

Black outrage as NYC court lets off racist cops, murderers of Michael Stewart (above). Stunned Philadelphia residents watch fiery holocaust as cops bomb MOVE commune.

The studies show a widening gap between the 85 percent of the black population mired in poverty, and a top 15 percent who saw the "door of opportunity" opening. This petty-bourgeois layer was largely the product of poverty programs and corporate recruitment as the (white) rulers of America sought some insurance against a repeat of the '60s ghetto upheavals by buying off a new "talented tenth." And, as professor William T. Williams from the University of Chicago noted in a *Washington Post* series on "Blacks in America 1986" last month, "The black middle class no longer lives in the inner city. Even the stable working class is moving out." Sociologists point to a chronic "black underclass" concentrated in bleak urban ghettos from Newark to Oakland. Many are joining the swelling ranks of the homeless, eating in soup kitchens, sleeping in crime-ridden shelters or on subway gratings.

For young black men in the ghetto, practically the only way out of the vicious cycle of jail and joblessness is enlisting in the army, becoming cannon fodder for imperialist war. Even this "option" is only for the top layer of high school graduates. For black teen-age girls, it's having a baby. The Reaganites echoed by the liberals yammer away about the "breakdown of family values," and the need to "restore discipline," preparing the ground for even more massive cuts in social services. But what options really exist for a stable family when half of all black men can't find regular work, and the only way women can live is on welfare? Laura Thomas, a black student at Detroit's Wayne State University, explained the phenomenon of black teen-age mothers: "You can't get a job when you drop out of school. But you can have two or three kids and get on welfare" (*Washington Post*, 19 January).

Today, the black condition in America is worse than at virtually any time since the Great Depression of the 1930s. In December 1955, the black unemployment rate was 8.2 percent; three decades later, in December 1985, the jobless rate for blacks had almost *doubled*—and that doesn't even count the 39 percent of black men who have been jobless so long they're not even counted by official statistics as looking for work! In 1967 the median income of black families headed by women was only $9,380; in 1984, it had *fallen* to $8,848. In an MLK Day feature, UPI (17 January) reported that James Todd, former director of the Southern Association of Community Health Centers, found in a ten-years-later study that "Martin Luther King's dream of equality has been slipping away from many Southern blacks." "I was horrified," said Todd· sure, today you can get on a bus or plane—but in terms of health care, social services, housing, racist terrorism, he found blacks even worse off.

Why did the civil rights movement not open the road to black freedom? As we have written:

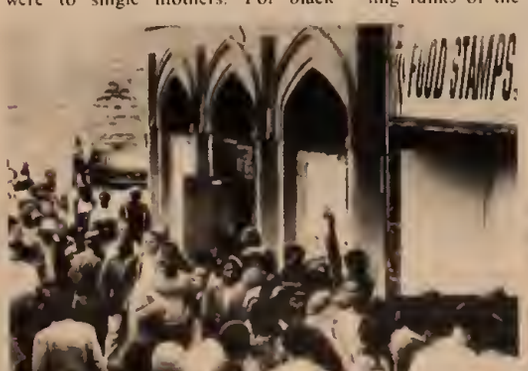
> "The civil rights movement was defeated when it moved north, coming up against the economic root causes of black oppression under American capitalism. The main demands of the Southern struggle—access to public facilities and voting rights—had existed north of the Mason-Dixon line for years. But the desperate poverty and mass unemployment of the ghettos—along with widespread police brutality and racist intimidation of the black population—these could not be solved with a new 'civil rights' bill. It would take a *class* struggle, together with the white workers and mobilizing the power of organized labor, to do away with capitalist exploitation (in which minorities are invariably 'last hired, first fired') and institute a socialist planned economy to achieve genuine emancipation."
>
> —"Finish the Civil War!"
> *WV* No. 319,
> 10 December 1982

Racist Uproar Over the Black Family

On the eve of the French Revolution, the royalty's haughty response to news that the poor were rioting because they could not afford bread was Marie Antoinette's famous phrase, "Let them eat cake." Today as the Reaganites flaunt their "new luxury" while swinging the cutback ax, their obscene message to the jobless is, as a *New York Times* editorial put it, "Let Them Read Want Ads." So, in 1986, there are an estimated *20 million people* now going hungry in America, as the surplus cheese lines get longer and longer. The planned new cuts—in the name of "balancing the budget"—amount to a program for starvation.

Through the profound social/sexual counterrevolution spearheaded by Reagan and his top cop Edwin Meese, even the limited gains blacks won through the civil rights movement are being wiped out, while black income is driven back. From 1982 to 1985, $12.2 billion was slashed from federal food stamp and child nutrition programs in budget cuts passed with the aid of Congressional Democrats (*New York Times*, 27 February 1985). And the administration's 1987 budget calls for cutting another $14 billion from health programs, $1.3 billion from low-income housing subsidies and $600 million from Aid to Families with Dependent Children—while increasing "Aid to Dependent Contras" in Nicaragua to $100 million, and adding $34 billion to the war budget.

The Reaganite social backlash is reflected in the hearing now being given to black "neo-conservatives" typified by sociologist Charles Murray, who argues in Congressional testimony and his 1984 book *Losing Ground* that the black struggles of the 1960s and the "Great Society" poverty programs they spun off are responsible for black misery in the Reagan years. According to Mur-



UPI

Margaret Bourke-White

Unemployed line up for food stamps in Detroit, 1982. Today's massive layoffs in Midwest mirror '30s Great Depression misery (right).

Racist Court Rules Against Integration

Labor Must Act to Defend Norfolk Busing!

Under the guiding light of Attorney General Edwin Meese's Justice Department, a three-man panel of the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals on February 6 approved the Norfolk, Virginia school board's plan to eliminate busing in the elementary schools. This reactionary decision signals a wholesale assault on court-ordered school integration across the country. It will not be reversed by appealing to the firmly Reaganite Supreme Court. What's urgently needed is the mobilization of the Tidewater-area labor movement to lead the fight against the resegregation of Norfolk schools.

It took a damn hard fight to break the "separate and unequal" Jim Crow system in this area. Spearheading "massive resistance" throughout the South, the state closed the high schools for an entire year in 1958 rather than submit to court-ordered integration. Although the Norfolk plan, instituted in 1971, exempted most of the wealthier West Side white neighborhoods, it was still one of the most successful programs in the country. While anti-busing forces ranted about "white flight" to neighboring Virginia Beach, between 1980 and 1986 the percentage of white students dropped a mere two points, to 41 percent.

Now, without school busing, at least ten of the 35 grade schools will be 98-100 percent black, while a fifth will be overwhelmingly white. Business interests with an eye toward "gentrifying" parts of this industrial city warmly greeted the decision. Said a member of the powerful Greater Norfolk Development Corporation:

> "A number of areas will start to come back—not as much with the racial mix as with the economic mix. We want the middle-class people a city is built on."
> —*Washington Post*, 9 February

In other words, white yuppies in, poor blacks get out! The title of the 13 February *Wall Street Journal* editorial lauding the decision was "Commuting Norfolk's Sentence"!

The Reagan administration views the Norfolk case as the keystone in its efforts to wipe out the remnants of school integration. It was the Justice Department's espousal of "neighborhood" (read: segregated) schools that prompted the Norfolk school board to first study how to kill busing in 1981. While the administration has consistently opposed new attempts at school busing, the intervention by Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds on behalf of the Norfolk school board last year was the first time it had endorsed abandoning an established busing program. Reynolds' boss Meese, who brazenly calls for reversing the rights won through the North's victory over the slavocracy in the Civil War, said of the court ruling, "there may be other situations comparable to Norfolk." The stage is set for reversing busing programs in over 25 cities, from Denver to Mobile.

Norfolk, Virginia, May 1983: longshoremen lead march for busing.

A number of Tidewater-area unions are on record for busing. With war production booming, the shipbuilding and longshore unions make this area the beachhead of union power in the "right-to-work" South. The potential for throwing this power into the fight for black rights was seen in May 1983 when 10,000 people, the vast majority black workers, led by a 200-strong International Longshoremen's Association contingent, marched through Norfolk to defend the busing program.

This demonstration could have been the starting point for labor to bury the segregationists. Instead, Bishop L.E. Willis, Sr. and other middle-class black leaders flew in Democratic Party hustler Jesse Jackson, who declared, "I am not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost." Jackson rounded up the black vote for loser Democrat Walter Mondale whose running mate was the staunchly anti-busing Geraldine Ferraro.

The liberals' strategy is to rely on the "fairness" of the courts. U.S. civil rights commissioner Mary Frances Berry commented, "I think it would be unusual for the full panel [of the District Court] or the Supreme Court to abide by the decision because it would allow the Reagan administration's Justice Department to keep encouraging people to try to modify school desegregation plans" (Norfolk *Ledger-Star*, 7 February). But this is exactly what the courts are doing and have done since the rollback of busing began—under the Democrats—in the 1970s!

The courts, the cops, the capitalist parties—the entire state apparatus is on a full-scale campaign to destroy black and all working people's rights, and even their lives. Remember the 1979 KKK/Nazi massacre of five leftist civil rights and union activists in Greensboro, North Carolina! This cold-blooded mass murder was carried out with the full cooperation and assistance of the cops, from local police all the way up to Jimmy Carter's FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and then covered up by the courts. Remember, too, the firebombing of Philly MOVE last May! This hideous racist holocaust was a government conspiracy, from Reagan's FBI, which supplied the military explosives and reviewed the plans, right down to black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode who gave the green light. Now the courts step in to convict Ramona Africa, the only adult to survive the inferno, for "criminal conspiracy" and "riot" with a possible sentence of 14 years in jail.

It was the liberal Democrats who first knifed busing a decade ago, as racist mobs took to the streets in cities like Boston and Louisville. Labor and blacks must use their own power to mobilize in defense of democratic rights. Separate is not equal! All the government's talk about "quality education," when the dollars are going into the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, is a sick joke. In November 1982 militant black workers from the Tidewater area, with the endorsement of a number of area union officials and locals, formed the Nat Turner Brigade as part of the Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that stopped the race-murderers of the KKK from marching through Washington, D.C.

That anti-Klan victory showed the tremendous power of linking the fight for black freedom with the social muscle of the organized working class. That power must be brought to bear now to stop the government's racist rollback schemes. Labor must act: defend school busing and fight to extend it to the suburbs! ■

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ray, government-financed programs have "bought" increases in crime, teenage unemployment, teen pregnancy, abortion, all of which he says could be cut down by abolishing welfare, food stamps, Medicaid, etc. Murray's economic and social "statistics" are hogwash in the service of Reagan reaction, but his "theories" are now being widely debated. The bourgeoisie used the occasion of the first official Martin Luther King week for a media harrage about the "dependency" of the black family.

On January 25, Bill Moyers broadcast a "CBS Reports" documentary on "The Vanishing Family—Crisis in Black America." Moyers harps on how welfare supposedly makes black mothers "lazy," how "irresponsible" young black fathers need to be taught "self-control" and "the values of restraint." Democrat Moyers, former press secretary for Lyndon B. Johnson, puts his theme in the mouth of a middle-aged black poverty worker who says, "It's not racism that I'm fighting—it's the lack of motivation" of ghetto kids. But what comes through instead from Moyers' profile of the mean streets of black Newark is the tragedy of a generation of vibrant youth facing a life of desperate poverty. Even a black cop, asked if "some of these kids [are] just losers," responds, "Yeah, you're born into a dead end. How do you escape?"

Reaganite ideologue George Will used Moyers' documentary to denigrate "young Blacks, whose sexual recklessness produces oceans of misery.... [who] have been taught by reflexive 'civil rights' rhetoric that they are mere victims, absolved from responsibility by the all-purpose alibi of 'white racism'." And liberal columnist Robert Samuelson in *Newsweek* (10 February) hails "The New Candor on Race," namely that in Reagan's America it's socially acceptable to openly peddle racist trash that once was the hallmark of KKK lynchers. "Whatever white racism remains [!], blacks are now harming themselves more than whites are," he writes, pushing the "blame the victim" line now in vogue. How long before they have Shockley and Jensen speaking to the National Academy of Sciences on their genocidal "theories" of Negro inferiority?!

They've even dragged out the old 1965 Moynihan report, "The Negro Family," the granddaddy of all the theories blaming ghetto poverty on the "breakdown of the black family." This paternalist thesis has a little cause-and-effect problem. At the time Daniel Moynihan (now Senator from New York, then an LBJ aide) wrote it, the report was widely discredited as a cover-up for racist oppression in America. But today "mainstream" black organizations are trying to sell this despicable lie to black people. The *Washington Post* (19 January) noted three posters they saw hanging on the walls at the Detroit Urban League. Not a word about budget cuts, civil rights enforcement, instead the posters said, "Don't Make a Baby If You Can't Be a Father," "Blacks Killing Blacks Is the Leading Cause of Death Among Our Young People," and

continued on page 8

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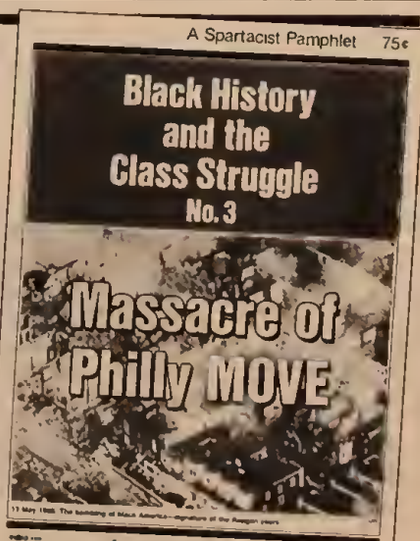

Reagan's America...

(continued from page 7)

"You Change a Life," a call for black volunteers in an inner city "Big Brother" program. *Their "program" to deal with black poverty is "self-help"...and self-hate.*

In contrast to this claptrap, almost half a century ago the black socialist and sociologist E. Franklin Frazier wrote his landmark study *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939), tracing the instability and precarious nature of their family life to the economic and social oppression of black people. He pointed to the historical roots in slavery, where the black family was often dispersed and broken up and its members scattered. The Civil War and then mass migrations of rural Southern blacks to the industrial North during and after the two world wars caused further disruption, and when depression hit, "Because of the uncertain employment of the men, the women...occupied a dominant position in the family." He summed up:

> "The lack of opportunity for the Negro male to participate freely in the economic organization and his subordination to whites as well as the general exclusion of Negroes from political activities have all affected the organization and the functioning of the Negro family.... It represents in a sense the price which the Negro has been forced to pay in order to survive in American society."
>
> —"The Negro Family in America" (1948)

With his materialist analysis of the black family, Frazier also had to argue against insidious racist theories of "deviations in Negro family life," which regarded the black man as "defective, dependent and delinquent." Today, behind the furor over the "dependency" of the black family there lies a sinister program for starvation, militarization and forced sterilization of minorities. What's in store for ghetto youth was crudely spelled out by black establishment columnist June Brown in the *Detroit News* (28 January), who demanded "we should militarize all black youths who drop out of school, forcing them to learn the discipline they were never taught at home." As for black teen-age girls, "If they have two babies, they will be forced to undergo an operation to render them infertile"!

Racist America's Ghetto Hellholes

Communists stand for black liberation through socialist revolution. The needs of teen mothers will not be met by Moral Majority tyranny but by a fight for free 24-hour day care; for community kitchens to feed everyone; for socialized, quality medical care, including free abortion on demand; for integrated, free quality education; for unlimited, unconditional social benefits—incorporating unemployment insurance, welfare and social security—at full union-scale wage levels; for *jobs for all*. As Leon Trotsky explained in *The Transitional Program*, written in 1938 during the Great Depression:

Kagen/NY Times

No future for black youth in "free anterprise" America.

> "Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the slops of a crumbling society. *The right to employment* is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation."

The desperate poverty of the ghetto is rooted in the decaying racist capitalist system. Behind the grim statistics lies the massive lumpenization of the black population in America today. In the mid-1970s, millions of workers were thrown on the scrap heap, never to find jobs again including in the present "boom." In the 1986 Urban League report, economist David Swinton links "the increasing economic difficulties of blacks to the general failure of the economy," noting that "in general American workers are worse off today than they were 15 to 20 years ago."

While black poverty rates were high in every region of the country, the 1986 Urban League report noted ominously:

> "Poverty for blacks in the Mid-West has increased more than in any other region since 1970. In the last few years the deteriorating situation of blacks in that region has been so marked that for the first time since such statistics have been kept, a non-southern region has higher black poverty rates than the South. The percentage of blacks in poverty in the Mid-West has almost doubled since 1970."

The study estimates a loss of nearly three million factory jobs since 1980, in everything from heavy industry, like auto and steel, to textiles and electronics. "A disproportionate number of those jobs, particularly in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories, were held by black males who without retraining—and there are precious few efforts taking place—have become superfluous in the labor market."

These figures indicate the dangerous destruction of whole sections of the American black proletariat in what is now called the Midwestern "rust bowl." While the labor traitors in "Solidarity House" agreed to mass layoffs in auto to boost the Big Three's profits, for black workers in Detroit this meant the initials "UAW" now stood for "You Ain't Workin'." A century ago, Marx pointed out that with its boom-bust cycle, the capitalist system generated an "industrial reserve army of labor," the pool of unemployed and semi-employed. And in racist America—where the black population is doubly oppressed, as wage slaves forcibly segregated at the bottom of capitalist society, last-hired/first-fired, victimized, terrorized—this surplus labor increasingly overlaps with the ghetto. It is desperately necessary to fight this mass lumpenization, for black workers concentrated in strategic industrial sectors are the powerhouse of the struggle for black emancipation.

As we wrote two decades ago, in our resolution "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom":

> "Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section [of the proletariat], revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution."
>
> —*Spartacist* supplement, May-June 1967

While Reagan and his kept sociologists and media men grotesquely sermonize about "emancipating" blacks from food stamps, we're organizing to "liberate" the bourgeoisie from its ownership of the means of production. In this struggle, the revolutionary party as the vanguard of the working class must link the ghetto to the power of organized labor. This is no abstract matter, for as Marx pointed out about the "industrial reserve army," this desperate "mass of human material always ready for exploitation" can be recruited by the bosses as strikebreakers, vigilantes, etc.—as happened during the Greyhound strike a couple of years ago. Class-struggle unionists must organize the unemployed, fighting for a program of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, for a massive program of public works and special job training programs for minorities, for labor/black defense against racist terror.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The ruling class "celebrated" MLK Day with an orgy of racist hypocrisy, lauding the pacifist preacher for telling blacks to turn the other cheek, while burying school integration. Its "Black Hall of Fame" consists of Martin Luther King, Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver...and Uncle Tom! Only because of the glaring vacuum of *any* leadership that defends blacks in Reagan's America can the bourgeoisie get away with its grotesque campaign blaming the black poor for their own oppression. And it's no accident: America's racist rulers jailed and *murdered* the most militant fighters thrown up in the '60s ghetto upheavals, the ones who wouldn't be bought off.

There will be no protest over the Reaganite "black family" crusade from the black Democrats, who share a fundamental commitment to this system of exploitation and racist oppression. "Mr. Black Capitalism," Jesse Jackson, in a round-table discussion of the Moyers documentary, echoed the accusations of "moral degeneracy" against black teenagers; asked for solutions he resorted to his inane rhymes about "hope not dope." (Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" was a hustle to register black votes for the Democrats.) Philadelphia's black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode demonstrated *his* "commitment to the black family" by bombing the MOVE commune, destroying the homes of another 60 West Philly families in the process. And anti-Semitic demagogue Louis Farrakhan, the man who wanted Malcolm X dead, wants to hide black women behind the veil and condemn them to *purdah* (seclusion in the home).

All the self-help schemes, all the sermons about rescuing the black family, all the rhetoric of "empowerment" through "buy black" campaigns—they're all a cruel hoax against the black masses. The fight for black liberation is a fight against the partner parties of racist American capitalism, for the revolutionary mobilization of the working class, leading all the oppressed in the struggle for state power. The way to cut through ghetto despair is through *class struggle:* a good sit-down strike in black Detroit, a *successful* militant fight to save a Harlem hospital from Koch's killer cuts, a labor/black mobilization that stops the KKK will do more to inspire ghetto youth than a hundred insipid lectures about pulling yourselves up by the bootstraps and going out to look for a job that isn't there.

A revolutionary workers party must be forged to lead the struggle against the all-sided racist onslaught. In the San Francisco Bay Area, the Labor Black League for Social Defense, initiated by the Spartacist League, has brought out hundreds in a campaign for freedom and jobs back for fired phone strikers, fought Jim Crow discrimination against black unionists at SF General Hospital, and called emergency demonstrations against the hanging of South African anti-apartheid martyr Benjamin Moloise. The Partisan Defense Committee has revived the tradition of aid to class war prisoners, supporting victims of racist frame-ups such as ex-Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt and MOVE survivor Ramona Africa. The Trotskyist SL led mass labor/black mobilizations which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from carrying out their cross-burning terror in Washington, D.C. and northern cities.

WV Photo

SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stops the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. 27 November 1982.

The fight for black liberation in America is the fight to win black activists to a proletarian perspective, as well as a fight for a new multiracial, class-struggle leadership of the labor movement. Built in a battle to break the unions and the black masses from the grip of the Democratic Party, such a revolutionary vanguard needs black proletarian fighters who will write the finest pages of "black history"—by smashing racist American imperialism and opening the road to freedom for all mankind. ■

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Philippines...

(continued from page 1)

declared that their act was no coup d'état but a "people's revolution," an example of "people's power." The presence of hundreds of thousands of Manila residents surrounding Camp Crame testifies to the popularity of the military revolt. But these "democratic" military men were Marcos henchmen only a few days before. Enrile declared that he personally ordered the falsification of 350,000 votes for the president in the sham elections. Ramos, a cousin of Marcos, has since the mid-1970s been the head of the notoriously brutal Philippine Constabulary, which last September shot up dozens of protesting sugar workers on the island of Negros.

Every major figure in the new regime is intimately connected to the U.S. Ramos graduated from West Point and Enrile is a product of Harvard Law School. Cory Aquino's slain husband Benigno spent virtually his entire political life in the service of the CIA, first participating in the suppression of the Communist-led Hukbalahap rebellion, then acting as control for a U.S.-sponsored insurgency in outlying Indonesian islands. Corazon Cojuangco Aquino is herself one of the wealthiest landowners in her home province of Tarlac; her cousin Eduardo Cojuangco is a leading Marcos crony and head of the Philippine government's coconut monopoly. Her Yale-educated running mate (and rival), "Doy" Laurel, is a typical Filipino wheeler-dealer politico who only split from Marcos in the last three years.

The United States intervened in every aspect of the recent elections. Marcos called the election exercise in the first place to satisfy White House pressure for a "credible" mandate, so that the military could get on with counterinsurgency against the Communist Party's New People's Army (NPA). To ensure that this vote would go down well in the U.S. Congress, Washington insisted on official status for poll watchers from NAMFREL, an organization funded by the U.S.' "Endowment for Democracy." In addition, there were observation teams from the Democrats, the Republicans and the White House. And then, when the balloting was over, everyone looked to Washington for the verdict. When the administration finally issued a statement on February 24 declaring that "attempts to prolong the life of the present regime by violence are futile," a Filipino opposition politician declared, "That's it—the election's over." Reagan had cast the decisive vote.

The elections and the Marcos overthrow were also an American media event, like a real-life replay of Woody Allen's *Bananas*. Only this time it wasn't Howard Cosell broadcasting the last words of El Presidente of San Marcos in his death throes on the palace steps and interviewing the usurping general for the "Wide World of Sports," but Ted Koppel staging an election "debate" between Aquino and Marcos for "Nightline." The spectacle of all the actors in the drama pausing in their coup and counter-coup attempts to keep the American viewing audience at home up to date only emphasizes that the Philippines' status as the U.S.' first colony has not changed all that much since "independence."

For decades the Americans have treated the Philippines as their whorehouse. For ten years, the B-52s took off from Clark AFB on the island of Luzon on their way to carpetbomb the Indochinese mainland; for the GIs, Manila was an R&R stop, with bar girls and whiskey galore, and the Marcoses presiding over it all. In fact, Imelda and Ferdinand are like something out of Phil Ochs' "Vietnam Talking Blues," where dictator Diem says, "Meet my sister, Madame Nhu, the sweetheart of Dien Bien Phu. Meet my cousins, meet my aunts, the family that never takes a chance. The family that slays together ...stays together." The Philippine First Lady certainly rivaled Madame Nhu, but Marcos was spared the Diem treatment.

Ballots and Bullets

The alarm bells began ringing in Washington late last year, when American policy makers finally noticed that the rampant corruption and terror of the Marcos clique combined with massive capital flight, inflation and unemployment were driving large sections of the Filipino masses into the camp of the NPA guerrilla insurgents, who would obtain parity with the enfeebled army in "three to five years." With Marcos in declining health, but still alive enough to rob the country blind, both Republicans and Democrats became concerned about the fate of the U.S.' largest and most strategic military outpost. Washington began planning for an "orderly succession" to a "post-Marcos environment," and stepped up pressure on their tyrant for political and military reform.

But the wily despot of Malacañang Palace, encrusted in power and privilege for 20 years, was determined not to be pushed aside so easily. Proving that he was no novice at democratic posturing,

Tucci/Gamma-Liaison

Cory Aquino, figurehead of Philippine "democracy," CIA-style.

Marcos in late November suddenly came up with the gimmick of the "snap election." He hoped by this ploy to deflect American pressure, provide a safety valve for popular discontent, and wield the traditional "three Gs" of Filipino politics—guns, goons and gold—to ensure his continued tenure. The U.S. went along with this election tent show conceived in the classic American style. (Marcos boasts of acquiring his bag of tricks from Chicago's mayor Daley, where loyal supporters also voted "early and often" and the dead did too.)

Ronald Reagan went on TV shortly after the February 7 vote, playing down reports of fraud and declaring the results prove "there is really a two-party system, obviously good" in the Philippines (*Washington Post*, 11 February). This gaffe made it necessary for State Department advisers and returning emissaries to pull Reagan aside and inform him what everyone already knew who had been watching the nightly news: if there were a two-party system under Marcos, it would be one party in the government and the other party in the grave.

In the Philippines, moreover, Marcos was a usurper—not old money but a grasping provincial boss, whose apprenticeship was as a black marketeer dealing with the Japanese occupation authorities during World War II. The greed of the Marcos gang was boundless, and eventually alienated not only middle-class professionals and the Catholic hierarchy but even decisive sectors of Manila's Makati financial district. This coincided with the escalating mass discontent as real wages have fallen steadily for years, millions were unemployed, and the government's constabulary and private armies of Marcos's regional cronies ruled through capricious terror and systematic "salvaging" (disappearance) of political opponents.

The elections of February 7 were a contest between rival bourgeois factions, both equally pro-imperialist. But between them lay the corpse of Benigno Aquino, assassinated by Marcos's security police upon his arrival at Manila airport in August 1983. If "Ninoy" alive was the chief candidate for U.S. replacement puppet, Ninoy dead came to symbolize the tens of thousands who have perished at Marcos's hands during 20 years of iron-fisted rule. Vowing to avenge her husband's death, Cory Aquino threatened to put Marcos on trial for murder. Marcos therefore knew that it was not only his wealth and power, but his presidential head that was at stake in the outcome—and he spared no extreme of fraud and terror to prevent his opponent from winning.

These gangland tactics fueled popular rage. And while the opposition coalition was put together by the U.S., although Cory Aquino coordinated her every political move with the CIA, in the eyes of the Filipino masses, the widow of a slain national redeemer was taking on a despised tyrant. It was out of pent-up hatred for this used-up U.S. strongman that millions of Filipinos refused Marcos's bribes, dodged his bullets and guarded ballot boxes with their lives to prevent the dictator's henchmen from stuffing or stealing them. What started as an electoral hoax designed to prepare an "orderly succession" in the Philippines became the occasion for a volcanic eruption of popular discontent that Marcos could not repress without massive killing, and Washington could not contain without sending Ferdinand and Imelda the way of "Baby Doc" Duvalier.

Although the elections brought the Filipino masses into the streets, it was firmly under bourgeois leadership. This posed a dilemma for the Philippine left, which had a hard time deciding what attitude to take toward the Aquino/Laurel "Lahan" candidacy. The "Bayan" (Nation) coalition, the Communist Party and its National Democratic Front eventually came out for boycott, but they kept their heads down during the campaigning. Moreover, a number of prominent Bayan leaders "temporarily" resigned from the organization in order to campaign for the opposition. The reason for this confusion is simple: fighting not for a socialist program but on a purely "democratic" platform, the main left groups had difficulty explaining their political differences with Laban. Yet they could not participate, because the whole sham "democratic" exercise was designed to defeat the Communists. And in fact, the yellow flags of Aquino/Laurel managed to gain ascendancy over the red flags of the left in the streets of Manila and elsewhere.

Since the election, the Philippine left has continued to stand aloof from developments. The *New York Times* (24 February) quoted the secretary general of Bayan, Leandro Alejandro, saying of the rebellion by Enrile and Ramos that "This is a war of the ruling class." An Aquino government would be a return to the oligarchic party politics of the pre-Marcos era, said a CP source. Yet Alejandro did go to Camp Crame to negotiate with Enrile, who had arrested the Bayan leader in demonstrations in 1983 after the assassination of Aquino. What neither the CP/NDF nor Bayan did was to take advantage of the division within the bourgeoisie to seize control of proletarian districts and mobilize the masses in their own class interest. Bound by their Stalinist popular-front programs, even though they can't get a coalition with significant bourgeois forces, the Philippine left has been reduced to silence.

The U.S.' main concern in the Philippines is still to prevent the growth of "Communism," particularly given the strategic importance of the Clark Air Force Base and the U.S. Navy base at Subic Bay. These are the largest American military installations outside the United States, employing tens of thousands, and the linchpin to U.S. strategy in Asia. At a press conference on February 11, Reagan declared these bases vital to "the Western world" in order to ensure imperialist control of 16 "chokepoints" controlling vital sea lanes. It is by dominating these passages that the Americans hope to keep the Soviet navy bottled up in the event of nuclear war. And they are particularly concerned by the Soviets' access to former U.S. facilities at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam.

With the installation of Aquino/Laurel the U.S. has temporarily managed to ride a wave of popular discontent, replacing what Warsaw's *Trybuna Ludu* accurately termed a "now uncomfortable and moreover insubordinate dictator" with a new face while maintaining American control unharmed. A fight against imperialist domination and the anti-Soviet war drive which determines the life of the Philippines, described by the London *Economist* as an "archipelagic aircraft carrier," requires *class* struggle against popular-front illusions and for workers revolution, led by Trotskyist parties, from the Philippines to the U.S. The "special relationship" of American and Filipino workers must be that of proletarian internationalism, of a common fight for the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

Bermúdez...

(continued from page 2)

South Africa—are deservedly unpopular among sections of student youth; it is important that their rights to express their outrage be defended.

While on the stand, comrade Guillermo explained that he was born in El Salvador, and was won to Marxism because of the SL/SYL's forthright demand for "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents" there. Describing what moved him to initiate the protest against the Marine recruiters, Guillermo said:

> "The first thing that came to my mind when I saw the Marines was that the Marines had been used time and time again to support and maintain military dictatorship and the rule of the oligarchs ... So what I thought that the students should do was drive the Marines off campus and express solidarity with the victims of the Marines ...to send a message to the university administration and the U.S. government that the students are not going to allow military recruitment on the campuses."

For his anti-imperialist solidarity, Guillermo was to be imprisoned, dangerously labeled a "cop-beater."

But UC Berkeley lost. As counsel Howard Moore put it, the jury's verdict "demonstrates that the American people, when exposed to the truth, can disregard hysterical anti-communism and assess for themselves the truth." Having gained no satisfaction in the courts thus far, the university is vindictively going after those it wishes to purge through other means: its own star chamber "hearings." (If you can't jail them, expel them.) Guillermo is scheduled to appear on February 27 to find out if the university will try to take its nonexistent "case" to trial again, and other students still face charges stemming from last year's protests—including Michael Donnelly, David Lucas and José Carrasco.

What's needed is mass, militant protest against the university's attempt to regiment campus political life. An injury to one is an injury to all! Defend Guillermo Bermúdez and all anti-imperialist protesters! ■

A century ago Emma Lazarus wrote the poem which is inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

All too often the "golden door" was slammed shut, as it was in the face of Jews fleeing Hitler's genocide. But the sentiment expressed in Lazarus' poem is a legacy of the American war of independence, a bourgeois revolution against colonial rule.

Championship of the rights of the foreign-born has been a hallmark of revolutionary regimes. The French Revolution made radical republican Tom Paine a citizen. Russia following the 1917 October Revolution established the right of citizenship for all workers living in Soviet territory, and the right of asylum for refugees from political or religious persecution abroad.

In Reagan's America the lady with the torch would probably herself get deported as a pinko defender of "secular humanism." Today the Reaganites and auto baron Lee Iacocca squabble over whether the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island complex should be turned into a luxury hotel or a shopping mall, while *la migra* refuses entry to poor black Haitians and Latin American refugees from death squad terror. So when a right-winger recently proposed to auction off green cards for profit, this seemed fully in harmony with the times.

We reprint below the apt response by satirist Russell Baker to the Reaganite modest proposal.

The New York Times Magazine, 23 February 1986

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Sunday Observer

BY RUSSELL BAKER

It Pays to Stay In the U.S.A.

PATRICK McDONNELL

SINCE EVERYTHING is for sale these days, I wasn't surprised by Julian L. Simon's idea for selling foreigners the right to immigrate to the United States. He wants the Government to fill its immigration quota by selling to the high bidders.

Mr. Simon, who is associated with the University of Maryland, the Heritage Foundation and the Cato Institute, is close to having a good idea. Close but not quite there.

Explaining himself in a recent article he wrote for the Op-Ed page of The New York Times, he noted that selling immigration rights would meet "the standard of a market-oriented society: ability and willingness to pay," and be fair, too, since it would give all the world's people equal opportunity to buy into the U.S.A.

You can't quarrel with that, especially with President Reagan working so hard to replace government with a free marketplace, and I'm not inclined to. If they want a crack at becoming Americans, let them pay for it, I say.

I suppose most of us feel like that nowadays. There's no free lunch, as the Reagan philosophers say; why should there be any free America? Obviously, there shouldn't. Mr. Simon's idea could be more than a statement of the obvious, though, if pursued to its logical conclusion. It is this:

If you've got to pay to get in, you've got to pay to stay in.

At present, the country is swarming with people— a great many of whom, I regret to say, call themselves American citizens — who do not meet "the standard of a market-oriented society: ability and willingness to pay" for living here.

Why do we let these people stay? Because for decades we have been afflicted with politicians too namby-pamby to apply market principles to the free-lunch bunch.

All they had to do was amend the Constitution to state that citizenship doesn't entitle you to stay in the United States unless you can pay.

Just because you're a citizen doesn't entitle you to a free lunch, does it? Then why should it entitle you take up valuable American space for which people from elsewhere would pay good money?

This is the question that soft-headed politicians of the past half-century have recoiled from answering. Perhaps now that we have a market-oriented Government in the White House, men with political courage may be willing to act.

Maybe this is the purpose of Mr. Simon's seemingly innocuous idea for selling immigration rights. Perhaps he hopes to stimulate White House thinkers to move on to the larger idea; namely, those who can't pay, can't stay.

Or perhaps . . . just perhaps . . . Mr. Simon is floating a trial balloon for the President. Perhaps the decision has already been made to adopt a market-oriented population policy if the public will approve. How better to test the public mood than by floating a few proposals for making America a cash-on-the-barrelhead proposition?

I merely speculate, understand. Still, consider the benefits of shipping out everybody who doesn't ante up for the right to stay here.

One, it will not only make more room for well-heeled foreigners, but also reduce the tax costs of supporting the unproductive, thus making the United States an even more attractive immigration buy to even more well-heeled foreigners.

Two, it will make the country much prettier. Removal of the market-disoriented segment of the population will clear the cities of such repellent sights as homeless paupers, maniacs and idle men drinking from bottles wrapped in dirty paper bags, thus making America more alluring to rich foreign tourists.

Three, foreign moneybags who once said, "America is a nice place to visit, but I wouldn't want to live there among all those bag ladies," will change their tune and ignite a bidding war with other rich foreigners that could drive immigration-rights prices higher than Manhattan real estate.

All very well, someone will say, but where shall we ship these citizens who can't meet the standards of the market-oriented society? For they will remain citizens. Never doubt it. Though inability to meet marketplace standards leaves them unable to afford the United States, no one wants to treat them badly. They remain citizens, with the right to buy their way back into the country if they become able and willing to meet the price.

Until that time, a place will be found for them. Where? I can only guess, but watching the Administration's doings in the Mediterranean lately, who can help noticing that someone in the White House seems strangely bemused by vast, thinly populated Libya? ■

Hormel...

(continued from page 12)

Democratic "Farmer-Labor" governor Rudy Perpich. While P-9 leaders and "Corporate Campaign, Inc." consultant Rogers preached "nonviolence," Hormel recruited 1,000 scabs, half of whom are former P-9 members. Last week Hormel resumed hog-kill operations on a limited basis. The future of the strike is on the line. Calling on housewives to "cram your Spam" is a diversion from the urgent need to *shut the Austin plant down!* NRFAC is pushing the consumer boycott precisely in order to avoid the hard political fight with the Democrats and AFL-CIO bureaucrats which real solidarity *in action* would mean—bringing out their locals by the hundreds and thousands to build picket lines at Hormel that nobody dares cross!

On February 14, at one of the P-9 nightly strike meetings attended by hundreds of strikers, Chicago transit militant Kevin Quirk called for the labor mobilization that is urgently needed in Austin:

> "The *New York Times* had an editorial today and it was entitled 'The Strike That Failed.' The bosses are always telling us about the strikes that failed or the gods that failed or the labor movement that has failed. Well, we know that's bull, because we're not going to lose. But in order to win, contingents of trade unionists must flood into Austin from all over the Midwest, from Chicago, from the Twin Cities, from all over the farm belt and all over the country, to build mass picket lines that will stop the scabs, drive out the Guard and shut down Hormel!"

Strikers gave a standing ovation to this call for action—they know in their guts that the Austin plant is the key to victory. Last Friday, Governor Perpich removed the Guard, figuring that with all the legal injunctions to hamstring the union, scab "replacement workers" could continue to drive into Hormel's. We say no! *P-9's fight is our fight! Labor must go all out to win the Hormel strike!*

Defend P-9 Against the Labor Traitors!

The sharp class battle in Austin has led the sellout labor bureaucracy to show its true color—bosses' yellow. It is a threat to the cozy "solidarity" between the capitalists and their "labor lieutenants." Labor reporter William Serrin recently noted that the P-9 strike has polarized the AFL-CIO (*New York Times*, 15 February):

> "Some labor authorities said a key to the bitterness that exists is that the strikers' strategy of confrontation would, if successful, demonstrate that the parent union's tactics, of accepting concessions regarded as necessary and of maintaining essentially cooperative relationships with companies, are incorrect."

A P-9 victory would lead workers in other unions who've been hit hard by givebacks to the same conclusion, from Eastern Airlines workers subjected to massive layoffs and wage cuts, to steel workers currently on national strike against can manufacturers, to *Chicago Tribune* strikers, Teamster cannery workers in Watsonville, California and

WV Photo

Chicago transit militant presents ATU Local 241 strike donation to P-9 president Jim Guyette (left) at rally, February 14.

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UFCW meatpackers all over the Midwest.

At a February 24 meeting of the International Typographers Union Local 21 in the San Francisco Bay Area, where Hormel strikers appealed for support, a motion was passed donating funds to P-9 and requesting ITU locals in Minnesota to "mobilize their members to help build mass picketing at the Austin Hormel plant to shut it down tight, drive out the National Guard and win the strike." But when a motion was put forward in warehouse Local 6 of the ILWU, local president Al Lannon, a favorite "progressive" union official of Bay Area fake-leftists, went into a tirade against the Hormel strikers that came straight out of Kirkland's book—it was "mass suicide," the strike was "finished," etc.—and tabled the motion.

The AFL-CIO leaders—the bosses' labor cops—have been working overtime to isolate and break P-9. In his efforts to break the strike, UFCW International president William Wynn has done everything but march a goon squad into the Austin Labor Center to take over P-9—and now he's threatening to do just that! At the AFL-CIO's Executive Council meeting Wynn has been sounding out support among the crusty labor fakers for a move to place P-9 in receivership and end the strike. Kirkland himself rushed to defend his protégé (and possible successor as AFL-CIO chief), denouncing the strike as "a story of inexperienced, misguided leadership and false prophets." Machinist president William Winpisinger, a Harringtonite "Democratic Socialist," joined the Kirkland/Wynn assault, just as he ordered the Machinists to cross PATCO's picket lines.

Union members fed up with this bureaucratic treachery have come to Austin from all over the Midwest to bring food and money and help man picket lines. On February 15 some 3,000 workers from across the country flocked to the city for a march and rally called by National Rank and File Against Concessions in support of P-9 at the Austin High School. The spirited crowd included busloads of iron miners from the Mesabi Range, auto workers, steel workers, building tradesmen, and a contingent of UFCW Local 431 members from Ottumwa, whose presence repeatedly sparked chanting by other workers of "431! 431!" Strikers and their supporters eagerly reached for copies of *Workers Vanguard* being distributed by Spartacist League supporters, with the headline "Hormel: Mobilize Labor—Drive Out the National Guard!"

At the rally, short greetings were given by workers honoring P-9 picket lines in Ottumwa and Fremont, Nebraska. There were empty "solidarity" speeches by a host of local officials—not one NRFAC union officer, many of whom lead large industrial union locals,

WV Photo

Three thousand unionists rally in Austin, February 15. "Boycotts" won't do it—For mass labor action to shut down Hormel!

pledged to call out *his local* and put it where it counts, on the P-9 line. Only one, Steelworkers Local 1397 president Ron Weisen, even addressed the massive scabbing and called for P-9 "to take over that plant." Closer to home, however, Weisen's program for steel workers facing plant closings and givebacks has been to join the bosses' chorus of racist, anti-Japanese protectionism. Near the end of the rally, NRFAC honcho Marsha Mickens, president of a bakery workers local in Detroit, undercut sentiment for direct mass labor action, dismissing the scabbing as unimportant and counterposing a consumer boycott to militant action: "No matter who is in there scabbing...it doesn't matter if nobody's buying the products." Like hell it doesn't matter—getting those scabs out is key to winning the strike!

Which Side Are You On?

P-9's fight has opened a chasm between the AFL-CIO tops' shameless strikebreaking and the enthusiastic response of workers in unions across the country to some old-fashioned class struggle. NRFAC and a host of fake-socialists are doing their utmost to paper over this gulf. In fact, NRFAC leaders have privately tried to get P-9 to how to Perpich's "fact-finder" and call off their strike. In order to win in Austin there must be a hard, political fight against the pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy. But this "Rank and File" outfit, which excludes the unemployed and unorganized from membership, was founded on the explicit promise *not* to criticize their international unions' misleaders! For NRFAC—which apparently stands for "No Real Fight Against Concessions"—solidarity is just a theme for weekend speechifying.

The P-9 strikers galvanized meatpackers with the tactic of roving pickets, and mass picketing shut down the Austin plant until the Guard was moved in. But the strike leadership has become paralyzed by their strategy of liberal pacifism, while Rogers organizes "civil disobedience" which can only tie up the strike in a futile contest on the capitalist state's own ground. The bosses' press echoes Hormel's slanders of "violence" by the strikers. It's the *company* which is using violence against the strikers, who are only defending their livelihoods. Labor has to play hardball to win: a massive show of force by the union and its allies would send the cops and scabs packing, and then P-9 can "negotiate" a peaceful settlement from *inside* the plant.

To win the Hormel strike, this key labor battle must be fought *politically*. The strike has already forced phony DFL "friends of labor" to show their true colors. In a perceptive letter to the Austin *Herald*, 16 February, a P-9 member nails the AFL-CIO tops for their subordination to the racist, strikebreaking Democratic Party:

> "The unorganized and confused state of the labor movement is not an accident. The labor movement is where it is today because certain people led it there. Rather than leading a drive to organize the south and Puerto Rico, these men are, in the wake of Reagan's political plan, trying to put together a team that can drive down the field for a rebuilt Democratic Party."

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy's loyalty to American capitalism is expressed not only in the *billions* it has handed over in "concessions" every time the bosses plead poverty, but above all in their ties to the Democratic Party. Shaken by Reagan's destruction of PATCO and mass firing of 11,000 air controllers, Kirkland & Co. went all out...to drum up votes for loser Democrat Mondale in 1984. But American workers don't need a repeat of the Carter/Mondale administration that slapped Taft-Hartley injunctions on the 1977-78 coal strike. They need a workers party to fight for a workers government. And that means confronting all the central issues of the class struggle in America, particularly racial oppression. Hormel workers should recall that it was the packinghouse workers' willingness to break the color bar and organize black workers (25,000 out of a total membership of 200,000 in 1917) that first laid the basis for organization of the industry.

Far from seeking to build a class-struggle leadership to oust the present misleaders of American labor, various left groups active around the Hormel strike are doing all they can to avoid angering Kirkland & Co. The SWP's Andrew Pulley (probably the only *scab* ever to run for U.S. president as the candidate of a "socialist" organization) carefully notes that in their "strike support" work "we were not joining the internal fight provoked by Wynn in the UFCW" (*Militant*, 21 February). But with the international union tops viciously attacking the P-9 leadership, *it is impossible to support this crucial strike without confronting the treachery of the UFCW and AFL-CIO fat cats.*

Then there is the *Bulletin* of David North's Workers League (WL). For years, this bunch pleaded with reactionary AFL-CIO chief George Meany to form a "labor party," and today they similarly try to channel the P-9 fight into pressuring the pro-company union tops. When UFCW president William Wynn refuses to sanction roving pickets and calls the strike "mass suicide," the *Bulletin* calls on Wynn to shut down the meatpacking industry. When Minnesota AFL-CIO chief Dan Gustafson scandalously *supports* Perpich's mobilization of the National Guard against the Hormel strikers, the WL pleads with him to organize a "general strike" against the Guard's presence in Austin! North's Workers League, which only recently broke with his long-time mentor Gerry Healy after a decade of being on the take from Libyan dictator Qaddafi, cannot see beyond acting as a pressure group on the union bureaucracy. And P-9 strikers can imagine the kind of "labor" party Lane Kirkland would create; William Wynn would be appointed "strike strategist"!

One self-proclaimed socialist organization has openly sided with Wynn, however—the reformist Communist Party. An article on the Hormel strike in the CP's 6 February *Daily World* reads like a request for a room reservation at the Bal Harbour Sheraton for next year's AFL-CIO Executive Council: "The local leadership's attacks on the leadership of the UFCW has played into

WV Photo

Roving P-9 pickets outside Hormel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa.

the hands of the corporation's union-busting strategy and will be used to split and divide other locals and used as ammunition against the union in organizing drives.... In addition, unity is necessary to compel Hormel to agree to a decent agreement addressing the workers' concerns...this unity includes Local P-9, the international union, the state and national AFL-CIO and Governor Perpich"!!

The CP rejects NRFAC as "ultraleft"; most of the reformist left hails this grouping of local bureaucrats as the new vanguard of American labor. In contrast to these pseudo-socialist outfits, the Spartacist League is fighting to forge a *class-struggle* opposition in the unions. Particularly in Minnesota, the only state to vote Democratic in '84, you can't build a fighting labor movement without a policy of independence from even the most liberal capitalist politicians. And to win a hard-fought strike like the present battle at Hormel's means taking on the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy down the line. That's a tall order, but already the fight in Austin has stirred up the ranks of American labor like nothing since the 1977-78 coal strike.

The bosses and their agents in the union movement are fighting with no holds barred. If the strikers and their supporters translate their determination into an audacious program to escalate the strike, they can mobilize millions of American workers. As the fate of the Hormel strike hangs in the balance, the eyes of labor are riveted on Austin. ■

Oscar Mayer Workers for P-9

MADISON, Wisconsin—Many packinghouse workers, members of UFCW Local 538, proudly wear P-9 buttons as they enter the Oscar Mayer meatpacking plant and corporate headquarters here. They know what the stakes are in the battle of their Austin, Minnesota Local P-9 union brothers and sisters against Hormel's. So it's not surprising that recent issues of *WV*, headlined "Shut Down Hormel!" and "Hormel: Mobilize Labor—Drive Out National Guard!" were a big hit. One hundred nine issues of *WV* were sold at the Oscar Mayer plant and a local union meeting by Madison Spartacus Youth League members and University of Wisconsin students.

Last winter, Madison workers honored roving pickets from the Sherman, Texas Oscar Mayer plant on strike against a givehack contract. Local 538 members stayed out for two days, until local president Harry Acker ordered workers to cross the picket lines (which he called "unguided missiles") or expect no union defense for anyone who was fired. This sabotage set up the Madison Oscar Mayer workers for a later company assault, when wages were slashed from $10.69 to $8.25 per hour. As in Austin, the UFCW International traitors and their local toadies are widely reviled. One woman worker who bought *WV* told her husband, also an Oscar Mayer worker, "It's a commie paper, it'll drive Harry [Acker] crazy."

For Madison students who have been studying the SL/SYL's Trotskyist program and participating in campus demonstrations, taking *WV* and its program to win the Hormel strike to Oscar Mayer workers has been a chance to take part in the fight for working-class power.

WORKERS VANGUARD

AFL-CIO Chiefs Scab on Meatpackers

Hormel Strike: A Fight For All Labor!

Shut It Down!

AUSTIN, Minnesota—The determined fight of striking meatpackers here against the union-busting takeback drive by Geo. A. Hormel & Co. has inspired working people across the country. For more than six months the thousand strikers have held out against a hard-nosed company, its cops and courts. They're hanging tough in the face of pressure from a liberal Democratic governor who called out the National Guard. They've refused to knuckle under to arbitrators, mediators, "fact-finders" and every other ploy the bosses have thrown at them. Instead, Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) has revived class-struggle tactics from labor's arsenal. Roving pickets have pulled out hundreds of fellow Hormel workers to support the Austin strike. Today when many workers are fed up and willing to wage hard hitter strikes to stop more givebacks, P-9 has become a beacon for every union militant who wants to *fight* to *defeat* the war on labor in Reagan's America.

But while the Hormel strikers courageously faced an army of National Guard scabherders with three-foot clubs in the frozen eleven degree below zero Minnesota winter, the potbellied labor fakers of the AFL-CIO Executive Council were soaking up the sun around the pool in Bal Harbour, Florida, condemning "rogue" locals and worrying whether they would be hauled onto the carpet by Reagan's Organized Crime Commission. AFL-CIO chief Kirkland arrogantly *refused* to let P-9 president Jim Guyette and union consultant Ray Rogers speak to the council asking for support, while UFCW International traitors declared the strike is a "colossal failure"! What's a colossal failure is the labor traitors' whole giveback policy—and their backstabbing of the Hormel strike is the shame of the labor movement. The P-9 meatpackers' heroic fight has sharply posed the question of the old miners' song: Which side are you on?

Levine/Minneapolis Star and Tribune

Austin, Minnesota, February 15: thousands of unionists from Midwest march in solidarity with Hormel strike.

The opening shot in the capitalists' current union-busting drive was the smashing of the PATCO air controllers, prepared by Carter/Mondale and carried out by Reagan in 1981. This assault on a highly paid, white "labor elite" was a threat to all labor. But Reagan didn't destroy PATCO by himself: the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's refusal to shut down the airports, their scabherding of Machinists and Teamsters, was crucial. Since then, the bosses have gone after one "vulnerable" sector after another, from Chicano Phelps Dodge copper miners in Arizona to black Hess Oil workers in the Virgin Islands. They figure if they can stick it to white, Middle American workers at Hormel they can shaft anyone. But the shock waves from a *victory* in Austin could lift labor out of this cycle of defeats.

Despite the claims by "Lame" Kirkland and the business press that the strike is "lost," the Hormel strikers have galvanized enormous support in the meatpacking centers of the Midwest. In a real union town like Ottumwa, Iowa "picket lines mean don't cross": 450 Hormel workers of UFCW Local 431 have honored the P-9 roving pickets even though they've been fired for respecting this basic labor tradition. On February 8, some 2,000 workers marched in Ottumwa in support of the strike. A week later, a crowd of 3,000 marched through Austin in solidarity with P-9's fight. And at the FDL packing plant in Dubuque, over 400 workers honored the roving picket lines, shutting the plant down on February 18. Recently, shipments of scab Spam cans from struck can plants in St. Paul have been stopped on the road.

In Austin, the strikers have won substantial community support. Hundreds of high school students have mobilized to picket Hormel, shutting down the corporate headquarters briefly last Friday and sending a delegation to a state AFL-CIO meeting and the governor's office on Monday. One 15-year-old, the son of a striker, said, "We don't want this to be Hormel, Minn., or Scab City." But there *is* a real danger of Austin becoming Scab City—that the strike will become another Morenci, Arizona where militant copper strikers fought hard but alone, only to see their strike drag on for months and ultimately go down to defeat, as the union tops pushed a useless consumer boycott. At Hormel this impotent strategy is put forward in particular by the National Rank and File Against Concessions (NRFAC), a group of union local officials and their fake-socialist supporters.

A month ago, Hormel opened the Austin plant under the protection of the National Guard, called out by

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No More PATCOs! Victory to P-9!

At a meeting of Hormel strikers in Austin, Minnesota February 14, Chicago transit worker Kevin Quirk spoke to the crowd of 400 Local P-9 union members and their families. Brother Quirk concluded his remarks, to enthusiastic applause:

The importance of this fight in Austin is this. In Reagan's America, they can bust the strike of Chicano workers in Morenci, Arizona against Phelps Dodge. They can bust a black workers strike like the one against Hess Oil in St. Croix, Virgin Islands. And Reagan can attack black workers in Chicago. And even the attacks against PATCO were carried out with the veneer that these were government workers and national security was challenged. And he felt he could do it with impunity because these people supposedly didn't count. But now it's come to this. They're going after a group of mostly white workers right in Middle America, who thought they had a corner on the American dream. And they want to drive you into the ground just like everyone else.

Everyhody knows that this union-busting started when Reagan got PATCO. But it's the DFL [Democratic] governor Perpich who's doing the strikebreaking today, every bit as viciously as Reagan. He's the one who has sent the Guard in to break your strike. Once again, it's going to take thousands of unionists streaming into Austin to drive out the strikebreaking National Guard. Shut down Hormel! Build massive picket lines that no one dares to cross! Guard out of Austin! Victory to the P-9 strike! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 399 | 14 March 1986

Reaganomics, Anti-Soviet War Drive Fuel...

U.S. Debt Bomb

Take a snapshot of the American economy. Fueled by the takeover mania financed by junk bonds, the stock market has reached historic highs. Last year over a hundred banks failed, by far the largest number since the Great Depression of the early 1930s. In January, the federally funded Farm Credit System sent out notices to 65,000 farmers foreclosing on their loans. The U.S. balance-of-trade deficit steadily widens as the dollar has plunged to a seven-year low against the Japanese yen. In just two years the United States has gone from being the world's largest creditor to the world's largest debtor nation.

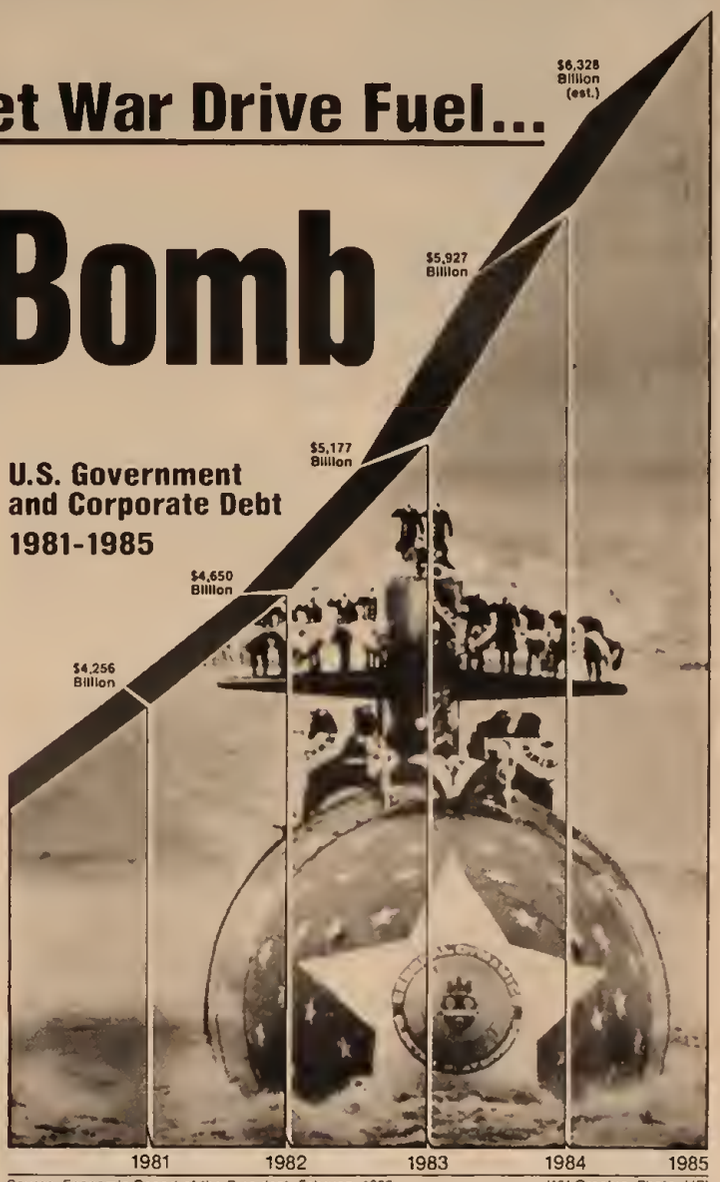
Right now, Wall Street is celebrating the collapse of OPEC and the oil price slide as the beginning of a new era of inflation-free prosperity. But then they look at oil-exporting Mexico with its near $100 billion in foreign bank loans and start to worry. "Mexico Can't Pay," headlines the conservative London *Economist* (8 February). Mexico's debt, however, is small potatoes compared to that accumulated by the Yankee colossus to its north. From the $2 trillion federal government debt to the $1.4 trillion in corporate IOUs to the $530 billion in outstanding consumer credit, Reagan's America has become the buy-now, pay-later nation.

Some of the more sober heads on Wall Street fear that this tidal wave of debt is heading toward a great crash. Felix Rohatyn, the financier who has squeezed New York City for the banks since the mid-1970s, now exclaims: "I am frightened and utterly baffled. We are getting into totally uncharted waters." Albert Wojnilower, the respected chief economist for First Boston Corp., warns, "if something were to go wrong in the income flows supporting all this debt, the collapse would be worse than the crash of 1929." And the well-known liberal economist Lester Thurow recently stated:

> "I am often asked whether the financial panics of the 1920's and the Great Depression of the 1930's could happen again. For 20 years, I have answered that what happened then could not happen now. Today, I would not so answer."
>
> —*New York Times*, 22 January

While serious financiers and economists are worried about another great crash, Reagan is mouthing off about the "great American comeback." "The United States," he proclaimed in his State of the Union message last month, "is the economic miracle, the model to which the world once again turns." Foreign capitalists and financiers are certainly turning to the U.S., to make money out of it as never before. Last year this country ran a balance-of-trade deficit of $125 billion, the largest in its history, and became an international debtor for the first time since World War I. The present economic "recovery," like the stock market boom, is based on borrowed money and cannot mask the *real* deterioration of American capitalism.

That deterioration did not begin with Reaganomics, although this has greatly accelerated it. The long, losing, dirty colonial war in Vietnam was a watershed in the decline of American imperialism in the postwar era. The inflation generated by that war eventually toppled the world dollar standard with Nixon's "New Economic Policy" of August 1971. The dollar was devalued and foreign governments could no longer exchange U.S. currency for gold at a fixed price. August 1971 marked the end of American hegemony in the capitalist world. Since then the U.S. economy has continued to decline, one morbid symptom being the explosive growth of debt during the Reagan years.



Source: Economic Report of the President, February 1986 — WV Graphic, Photo: UPI

In Reagan's America Pentagon budget doubles, so does debt.

Star Wars Deficit

Historically, the outstanding debt and national output in the U.S. have grown at roughly the same rate. However, beginning in 1981-82 the accumulation of debt has far outpaced real economic growth. What happened? Under Ronald Reagan the American ruling class has gone all out to build the military capacity to destroy the Soviet

continued on page 8

Sandinistas Mop Up Contras

Reagan Rabid Over Nicaragua

MARCH 11—As his kill-crazy "contras" are getting their asses handed to them by the Sandinista army, Ronald Reagan has pulled out all the stops to browbeat the U.S. Congress into shelling out $100 million for the CIA's Nicaraguan mercenaries. With the polls showing three out of five Americans opposed to contra aid, Congress has become reluctant to spend more money on this gang of cutthroats and losers. So last week Reagan upped the ante by accusing his opponents of being commie dupes, a standard McCarthyite ploy. Only this time it backfired, and now everyone from liberal Democrats to conservative Republicans and Catholic bishops is screaming about administration redbaiting.

Last week's media blitz was vintage Reagan, warning of "the map of Central America covered in a sea of red, eventually lapping at our own borders," and declaring if Congress doesn't come through with the dough, the only alternative would be to send in "our own American boys." Conjuring up images of "Soviet military bases on America's doorstep" and a "vast migration northward" of Latin refugees, the president painted the picture of the "red menace" as only he can do:

> "Defeat for the contras would mean a second Cuba on the mainland of North America . . . And it would mean consolidation of a privileged sanctuary for terrorists and subversives just two days' driving time from Harlingen, Tex."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 5 March

And Reagan put the Democrats on notice that "those who would invite this strategic disaster... will be held fully accountable by history." In other words, the Republicans will accuse you of being "soft on Communism" in this fall's Congressional elections.

The Reaganites' ranting about "Sandinista Communism" and Nicaragua having become a "Soviet base" is far from the reality. To be sure, Russian military aid has been crucial to the defeat of the contra terrorist forces. However, the Sandinistas are petty-bourgeois radical nationalists still pursuing a "third road" between neocolonialism and social revolution. Sixty percent of the economy remains in the hands of the Nicaraguan capitalists, that is, the *internal* contras. In fact, the Superior Council of Private Enterprise blatantly refuses to oppose Reagan's support to the contras! A real danger is that the Sandinistas' conciliation of the bourgeoisie, further weakening a poor and backward economy already squeezed hard by U.S. imperialism,

continued on page 12

2 March 1986

Foreign Ministry
Stockholm
Sweden

International Spartacist tendency horrified by assassination of recognized leader of Swedish working people. Justice demands the achievement of all needs of world's working people as fitting memorial.

Heartfelt condolences regarding this crime which is so keenly felt by socialist workers in America and elsewhere in the world. Forward to a truly united socialist states of Europe.

Helene Brosius
International Secretary
international Spartacist tendency

James Robertson
National Chairman
Spartacist League/U.S.

AP

Ericson/Photoreporters

Swedish premier Olof Palme infuriated U.S. imperialists by embracing North Vietnamese leader Pham Van Dong (right) in 1974.

Outrage Over Olof Palme Assassination

Olof Palme, the 59-year-old prime minister of Sweden and leader of the Swedish Socialist Workers Party, was shot dead by a mysterious gunman in the streets of Stockholm in the late evening of February 28. Palme's wife Lisbeth was wounded in the assault, which took place as the couple was walking home from a movie theater. Characteristically Palme was without bodyguards, because of his expressed desire to "live like any other ordinary man." The next day, the site of the assassination turned into a spontaneous memorial as thousands of people filed by to drop red roses on the blood-soaked ground.

For the American ruling class, Olof Palme was the *enfant terrible* of the social-democratic Second International. In 1968 he marched in Stockholm side-by-side with the North Vietnamese ambassador to Moscow in protest against the U.S.' war on Vietnam. Palme welcomed U.S. draft resisters and soldiers fleeing from that dirty imperialist war, and infuriated Richard Nixon by comparing the bombing of Hanoi with Nazi atrocities. While yesterday's liberal "doves" have long since joined the anti-Soviet "consensus," lately Palme renewed multi-million-dollar Swedish financing for a paper mill at Bai Bang in Vietnam. And in 1984, the Socialist prime minister visited beleaguered Sandinista Nicaragua, condemning aggression by the CIA's "contras." In the face of U.S. economic boycotts of both desperately impoverished countries, Palme's Sweden provided substantial aid to them.

Speaking internationally for capitalist Sweden, which remained neutral in two imperialist world wars and sold arms to both sides, at home Palme was reviled by the bourgeoisie as a class traitor. "I was born in the upper class," he said, "but I belong to the labor movement." This "aristocrat turned Socialist," as the *New York Times* called him, was wedded to the "welfare state" and the illusion of a "middle way" between capitalism and socialism. He was returned to office last September in a particularly bitter election marked by accusations of being "soft" on the Soviet Union. It is not clear at this point who was behind the assassination. But Olof Palme will be remembered by working people around the world for his frank condemnation of American imperialism's greatest crimes. We reprint above our telegram condemning this wanton crime. ■

TROTSKY

Trade Unions and the Fight Against Capitalism

Under Reagan the American ruling class has waged a one-sided war against the organized labor movement. Now a series of militant strikes are taking on the bosses and their state, and defying the wretched AFL-CIO bureaucracy. But, as Karl Marx stated over a century ago, trade-union struggle is not enough. The workers movement must fight to overthrow this rotting capitalist system.

LENIN

At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders the *material conditions* and the *social forms* necessary for an economical reconstruction of society. Instead of the *conservative* motto, *"A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!"* they ought to inscribe on their banner the *revolutionary* watchword, *"Abolition of the wages system!"*

—Karl Marx, *Value, Price and Profit* (1865)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 399 **14 March 1986**

Soviet Mission: Good Neighbors

A hundred or more Russian diplomats are being thrown out of New York City. The U.S. government asserts they are some kind of KGB guys (and girls, presumably—remember Mata Hari). Soviet diplomatic personnel at the UN are a threat to America's national security, says the U.S. administration, in a frenzy worthy of J. Edgar Hoover.

Let's go to the real truth first: Reagan's government is against the UN, for their own reasons, which are quite different from ours. Our reasons closely approximate a 1983 observation by Nguyen Co Thach, foreign minister of the desperately poor Socialist Republic of Vietnam: "I personally am sorry that we are in the United Nations. We pay $400,000 to the organization each year and it cannot solve any problems" (*New York Times*, 26 September 1983). The foreign minister was to address the general assembly to urge that the UN withdraw recognition from the former Cambodian government of Pol Pot, who massacred millions of Cambodians. Interviewed subsequently in Hanoi, Thach mildly observed of the UN that "twenty years of voting in favour of Chiang Kai-Shek failed to change the situation in China" (Vietnam News Agency, 10 November 1983).

As "international law" has no force, nothing compels the U.S. to pretend to play by the rules (which is obvious, as Reagan & Co. bluster about overthrowing governments they don't like around the world)—except considerations of world prestige. And U.S. pretensions to status as "world leader" are considerably diminished anyway these days. Notice that the U.S. didn't send up a space satellite to explore Halley's comet, in contrast to the impressive Soviet project. Evidencing at least a hypocritical responsibility as world citizens, the Russians opened their space institute to 100 top scientists from a dozen nations to participate in this exciting advance of scientific knowledge for mankind.

The Americans are perhaps playing a game injurious to themselves. Mrs. Thatcher threw 31 Russians out of London, announcing that of course she expected only minimal Russian retaliation. Exactly 31 persons of the English persuasion were then dumped out of Moscow. Now, experts in international law are debating the apparent illegality of the present U.S. move. Richard Gardner, a former government official and now professor of law at Columbia University, observed: "How would the U.S. feel if the Swiss told us how large a staff we could have at the Geneva arms talks?" NYU professor Franck noted: "If the [UN] Secretary General does not stand up for the right of access on this one, he is asking for the organization to be moved out of the United States" (*New York Times*, 11 March). And of course the arrogant U.S. government is already violating its treaty obligations by refusing to pay its full assessed share of the UN budget.

The erosion of America's briefly hegemonic position in the capitalist world makes the Reagan administration more truculent than ever against the idea that other nations have any rights whatsoever. As imperialist thieves, they find it positively galling to vote in the general assembly alongside their victims. But for Reagan to come out simply against the UN isn't too diplomatic. So once again we get tales of poor tired old Russian spies endlessly trying to sneak into Rahway, New Jersey to steal the formula for yohimbine hydrochloride.

Well, insofar as we know, all those KGB spies don't go around shooting down diplomats in the streets, testing out chemical warfare in the subways, disrupting Midtown traffic with 60-car motorcades bristling with Uzis every time their boss drops in, or otherwise treating the Big Apple like enemy territory—unlike some other three-letter agencies who operate around here. In fact, we figure Russian spies probably make good neighbors. Colonel Rudolph Abel of the KGB, who enlisted in Soviet intelligence in 1927, was an upstanding citizen. He lived unassumingly in New York, on the Upper West Side and in Brooklyn Heights, from 1949 until his arrest in 1957. Personal letters testify to the hardship of the separation he, and his wife and daughter back in Russia, endured while he worked in a dark and lonely place for eight long years. In 1962 Colonel Abel was exchanged for captured American U-2 spy plane pilot Francis Gary Powers, a sniveling creep who, having promised to kill himself if captured, reneged on the deal. ■

Vendetta Against Berkeley Student Leftist

All Out to Defend Guillermo Bermúdez!

University of California/Berkeley student and Spartacus Youth League member Guillermo Bermúdez has been suspended from school and is being dragged through the courts again for leading a militant protest against Marine recruiters in January 1985. On February 14, a hung jury in Berkeley-Albany Municipal Court thwarted the prosecution's attempt to convict and jail Guillermo on lying charges that he "assaulted" the campus cop who arrested and mauled him. Now Reagan and Meese's underlings in the Alameda County D.A.'s office have announced their intention to retry these frame-up charges of Bermúdez and have set a court date of May 8. In addition, the UC administration suspended Guillermo, ignoring the jury's vote and disregarding the recommendations of UC's own Student Conduct Committee.

This has provoked protest on the Berkeley campus. As the *Daily Californian* (6 March) stated in an editorial, "Not content to simply admit they were wrong, lick their wounds and crawl home, the university administration maintains it acted properly and redoubled its efforts to make an example of someone—anyone—by suspending from school Guillermo Bermúdez.... If the university is really intent on enforcing university regulations regarding free speech let them punish the police videotapers and suspend themselves." The UC administration thinks that by nailing a young Marxist, they can intimidate and repress the hundreds of anti-imperialist students whose protests have rocked the Berkeley campus for more than a year. But united militant protest can spike the plans of the witchhunters and their brutal cops.

We reprint below a leaflet issued by our Bay Area comrades calling for the mass, united-front mobilization of students and labor that is urgently necessary now to defend Guillermo Bermúdez and the democratic rights of all who would protest the war moves of this government. A united-front protest against the vendetta against Guillermo Bermúdez has been called for Wednesday, March 12 on Sproul Plaza with significant student and faculty support.

Leaflet: "All Out for Guillermo Bermúdez!"

The UC administration and police were not content to choke-hold Guillermo Bermúdez and break his arm for leading a militant protest against Marine recruiters in January 1985. They were intent on sending him to jail. But they couldn't get him convicted in a court of law. They couldn't even get their own "Student Conduct Committee" to say he should be kicked out of school. So now, with a highhandedness worthy of a Marcos or Duvalier, they have appointed themselves judge, jury and executioner. Guillermo Bermúdez has been suspended from the University of California.

The charges? The same tissue of lies that fell to pieces in court. The "evidence"? Nothing but the false testimony of the only "witnesses" who spoke at the administration's star chamber: UC police who assaulted Guillermo, and Marine recruiters. "Evidence" that became a laughingstock when it was repeated in Guillermo's trial in the municipal court.

At the beginning of February, UC chancellor "I Am the Law" Heyman denounced Berkeley judges who are too "short-sighted" to railroad protesters to jail, and vowed "to be tough as hell immediately." On February 14, a hung jury refused to buy the frame-up of Guillermo. On February 26, Vice Chancellor Park suspended Guillermo. And now the administration's cohorts in the D.A.'s office have announced their intention to subject Guillermo to *another* court trial on the same lying charges.

The plan is clear enough: throw Guillermo out of school and into jail; intimidate all those who would exercise their right and duty to protest the crimes of this government, its armed forces, its university henchmen. This sinister effort must not and will not succeed! The administration has made Guillermo Bermúdez a symbol of its determination to suppress student protest. Therefore there must be the broadest and most determined united action to defeat administration repression and to defend Guillermo and all victimized anti-imperialist protesters.

As we have emphasized since Guillermo's arrest 14 months ago, the administration's obsessive determination to "get" Guillermo was based on a cynical calculation: they thought no one would defend a revolutionary Marxist, member of the Spartacus Youth League. Now, with its campaign of prosecutions of campus activists in tatters, UC is more desperate than ever for a "win."

But this cynical strategy is backfiring, as broad sections of the campus demonstrate an ability to unite in action against repression, despite divergent political programs. Anti-apartheid activists testified on Guillermo's behalf at his trial, standing up to the prosecution's redbaiting harassment. Campus activists and faculty members are expressing their outrage at the suspension and discussing the need for united action against administration attacks. The *Daily Cal* (6 March) denounced the administration's "efforts to make an example of someone" by suspending Guillermo, as well as its "blatant attempt to intimidate...protesters" through frame-up trials and the videotaping of demonstrations. And on March 6 the ASUC [student government] voted to condemn the suspension and the administration's "cynical use of 'freedom of speech' as...justification of that action." In February, the protest of hundreds of students at the anti-ROTC 5 "disciplinary hearings" was instrumental in charges against them being dismissed. Now, the thousands of students who are being directly threatened by this victimization of Guillermo Bermúdez must turn out in mass demonstrations to force the administration to rescind the suspension and drop all charges against Guillermo.

The administration's cynicism and hypocrisy are so extreme that in its letter suspending Guillermo it suggests that he "undergo training in non-violent means of protests." This is Guillermo's answer:

> "No, thank you. I have already experienced your 'non-violent methods.' Who teaches this training course? 'Choke Hold' Johnson, who could have killed me when he lifted me off the ground by the neck? The police who broke my arm? The police who ram patrol cars into demonstrators, hit them with clubs, pull guns on them and then charge their victims with 'assault'? The racist cops who beat up a visiting Chinese scholar? The spy you hired to infiltrate campus groups, who was eventually arrested for theft? Or the Marine Corps, ROTC-trained officers and CIA murderers who carry out massacres like My Lai, genocide like Hiroshima, and train the contras in Nicaragua and death squads and army in El Salvador, the country of my birth? No, *you* are the violent ones. The ruling class you serve rests on the most horrible violence. I call on all opponents of your violence to unite in action to defend the rights of us all!"

The smearing of protesters as "violent" is straight out of the arsenal of repression of Ronald Reagan and his sinister attorney general, Edwin Meese.

Jane Scherr

Berkeley, 29 January 1985—University of California cops ("Choke Hold" Johnson, center) assault Marxist student Guillermo Bermúdez for leading protest against Marine recruiters.

Young Spartacus

Guillermo Bermúdez

For former California governor Reagan and Meese, who used to work in the Alameda County district attorney's office, Berkeley has long been viewed as "enemy territory," a haven for "subversives" and a target for repression. During the 1960s Free Speech Movement and antiwar protests, massive police occupations of the whole UC Berkeley area occurred repeatedly. During the 1969 "People's Park" protest, students were shot at and one young man killed, and Reagan sent in the National Guard. Discussing this later, Meese openly declared that anyone attending a political demonstration deserved to be shot. If they can get away with it at Berkeley, the ruling class figures they can get away elsewhere with police-state techniques against even the tamest campus protests.

We can strike a blow against this repression. Student groups, faculty, unions, community organizations, all defenders of the right to protest must unite in action to demand: Rescind the suspension! No retrial! Drop the charges against Guillermo Bermúdez, José Carrasco, David Lucas, Michael Donnelly, and all anti-imperialist protesters! Administration hands off the Campaign Against Apartheid and other campus groups! Last year's anti-apartheid sit-in and mass rallies gave the administration and its Reaganite godfathers a taste of the mass protest they are so desperate to prevent. Let's stand up for our rights and mobilize massive, united action against the choke-holders, the arm-breakers, the frame-up artists and witchhunters who want to throw Guillermo out of school and into jail in their drive to make the campuses boot camps for imperialist war, apartheid slavery, contra terror and racism at home!

Contributions for Guillermo's defense are urgently needed. Make checks payable to Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund. Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101. Send telegrams/letters to the chancellor's office demanding that the suspension be rescinded (UC Chancellor Ira M. Heyman, Office of the Chancellor, 200 California Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720); and the district attorney's office demanding that the charges be dropped (John J. Meehan, Alameda County District Attorney, 1225 Fallon Street, Oakland, CA 94612); and copies to the Partisan Defense Committee.

For Mass, United Protest Action to Defeat Administration Repression! Defend Guillermo Bermúdez!

All Out! Demonstrate!
Sproul Plaza, 12 Noon
Wednesday, March 12th

9 March 1986

Conspiracy Reached to the White House

MOVE Massacre: Wilson Goode Is Guilty

Free Ramona Africa and All MOVE Prisoners!

DiMarco/Time

WV Photo

Dead bodies carried from the rubble: black victims of firebombing ordered by Philadelphia Democrat mayor Wilson Goode.

May 13, 1985: As black Philadelphia watched in horror, an army of cops carried out a fiery "search-and-destroy" mission in the heart of an American city, incinerating eleven members of the black MOVE commune while the rest of the Osage Avenue neighborhood burned to the ground. This Vietnam-style attack was intentional murder! *Workers Vanguard* headlined "Reagan Bombs Black Babies," pinning the horrendous crime right on the White House and Reagan's top cop Edwin Meese, as well as black Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode who justified the cop terror-bombing because MOVE was "a very radical group." The Philly inferno was a message to blacks and anybody else who steps out of line in Reagan's America: *watch your ass, you could be next!*

March 6, 1986: In a televised news conference, Wilson Goode's hand-picked eleven-member MOVE commission released a 70-page report on the findings of its nine-month investigation. The commission concluded:

- "The mayor's failure to call a halt to the operation on May 12, when he knew that children were in the house, was grossly negligent and clearly risked the lives of those children."
- "The plan to bomb the MOVE house was reckless, ill-conceived and hastily approved. Dropping a bomb on an occupied rowhouse was unconscionable and should have been rejected out of hand by the mayor, the managing director, the police commissioner and the fire commissioner."
- The deaths of the five children "appear to be unjustified homicides which should be investigated by a grand jury." And the report stated what every black person knew from the beginning—racism was the inspiration behind the planning and the execution of the cop assault:

> "...to allow the use of high explosives and, in a 90-minute period, the firing of at least 10,000 rounds of ammunition at the house, to sanction the dropping of a bomb on an occupied rowhouse, and to let a fire burn in a rowhouse occupied by children, would not likely have been made had the MOVE house and its occupants been situated in a comparable white neighborhood."

What Wilson Goode intended to be a whitewash commission has now threatened to put an abrupt end to his political career. But while condemning the deaths of five children, the commission, in calling MOVE "an authoritarian violence-threatening cult," implied the adults deserved to die! As Goode himself stated earlier, there was no basis for legal action; there were no search warrants. There was no chance to surrender; those who tried to escape were driven back with bullets, although the blazing fire was admittedly used as a "tactical weapon" to drive them out! It was cold-blooded murder and the state was the "violence cult"!

There was a racist conspiracy to murder MOVE, and Wilson Goode is guilty as hell. The sheer magnitude of this monstrous crime impelled the investigating commission to reveal some of the evidence. The hearings confirmed the massive firepower—one cop admitted firing 1,000 rounds from his M-16 semi-automatic from his station within 50 feet of the house. The Bomb Disposal Unit bombed the house three separate times, once using their own improvised powerful "flashbags" similar to fragmentation grenades. The bomb dropped by helicopter on the MOVE rooftop contained a combination of Tovex and the powerful plastique C-4. Yet "the mayor paused only 30 seconds before approving the dropping of explosives," the commission stated.

Ex-police chief Sambor and fire chief Richmond decided to let the house burn, while "police gunfire prevented some occupants of 6221 Osage Ave. from escaping from the burning house to the rear alley." The commission left out of its report that cops were shown on film *laughing* at the MOVE members trapped inside the inferno by the cops' guns. These bloodthirsty killers-in-blue wanted their revenge for the 600 cop siege of a MOVE house in 1978 in which one cop was killed. The report condemns the Medical Examiner's office for "unprofessional conduct," such as removing the bodies from the bombed-out rubble with a "crane with a bucket to dig up debris and bodies," resulting in "dismemberment, commingling of body parts, and the destruction of important physical and medical evidence." But it was the medical examiner's ghoulish *job* to obliterate the physical evidence of this Hitlerite atrocity.

There's plenty of blood on Goode and the cops' hands—but it doesn't stop there. Washington's role was apparently too hot for the commission to handle, so they just cover it up. The report goes to absurd lengths to avoid implicating federal authorities. While noting that "an agent of the FBI delivered nearly 38 pounds of C-4, a powerful military plastic explosive, to the Philadelphia Police bomb squad," it claims that "neither agency kept any records of the transaction," thus FBI officials "unwittingly furnished the commission with inaccurate and untruthful accounts of that agency's involvement."

Reagan and Meese's FBI are in this up to their necks. Soon after the bombing Sambor told the *New York Times* (19 May 1985) that on May 11 he went over the assault plans with the FBI who found them "sound." The report describes the incredible arsenal gathered for the assault ("M-16s, a Browning automatic rifle, a Thompson submachine gun, 30.06 and .22-250 sharpshooter rifles, two M-60 machine guns, Uzis, shotguns and a silenced .22-caliber rifle") as "military weapons and explosives not normally available to municipal police departments." But it disappears the key testimony that much of this materiel was acquired through an agent of the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the same outfit whose agent helped organize the 1979 KKK/Nazi massacre of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Sensing Goode's imminent demise, liberal politicians are casting about for a new black front man to run this deeply racially polarized city. The *New York Times* (4 March) reports that one unnamed "powerful black officeholder" has sounded out Philadelphia Congressman William Gray, head of the House Budget Committee, in charge of selling Reagan's budget to black people. The *Amsterdam News* (8 March 1986) announced that NYC black attorney C. Vernon Mason, Judge Bruce Wright, Detroit Congressman John Conyers and others have formed a "Draw the Line" campaign and are calling for Goode's resignation. But what did these black liberals do right after the MOVE massacre? Not a damn thing. They know that a growing number of Philadelphia's black population *despises* Goode, and that nothing could get them to pull the lever for him on election day. So Goode has become a political liability for the black Democrats.

From the day the government dropped the bomb on West Philly, the Spartacist League has championed the cause of the surviving MOVE victims, exposed the role of Reagan, Meese *and* Wilson Goode, demanding revolutionary justice to avenge the MOVE's martyred dead. Relatives of the MOVE victims spoke of their outrage and their pain from our party platform. We stood out in stark relief against virtually the entire left, which churned out alibis for Goode to reinforce suicidal illusions in the "progressive" Democrats, even in some cases blaming the MOVE victims for the massacre (see "Reformists Unite with Black Democrats to Cover Up Racist Murder—American Workers Revolution Will Avenge MOVE Martyrs!", *WV* No. 397, 14 February). At last month's misnamed "march against racism" in Philly, this gang came out to cover Mayor Goode's ass, even as scores of homeless were invading his conference on housing, demanding action.

A *Philadelphia Inquirer* (4 March) editorial praising the commission's findings nevertheless made a critical point: "Yet there is no feeling of catharsis in the report, no sense that the MOVE episode is behind Philadelphia. It stands instead as a benchmark and as a springboard for relentless challenge...." Despite the efforts of the "Mayor of Murder" (who has announced his refusal to step down) and his leftist apologists, *the MOVE massacre will not go away.* The frenzied mobs who terrorized black and interracial couples in Southwest Philly in December with chants of "Move! Move!" were part of a nationwide wave of racist violence touched off by the massacre.

From the smashing of the PATCO unionists in 1981 to the bombing of MOVE, the Reagan government has been using "anti-terrorism" as the justification for terrorizing blacks, labor and the left. An upcoming NBC television movie called *City Under Siege*—for which Sambor has been hired as an adviser!—will carry on this twisted propaganda ploy. "This is [about] terrorism and how a city dealt with terrorism," producer Jim Thebaut told the *Inquirer*. MOVE's "crimes" were that they were black, they didn't pay their electric bills, they didn't kill cockroaches and they defended their homes—so in Reagan's America they were labeled "terrorists" to be bombed to smithereens! But the real terrorists are in the White House and City Hall.

Ramona Africa faces up to 14 years in prison for surviving the government's genocidal terrorist attack. Her conviction on "criminal conspiracy" charges was a racist frame-up whose purpose was to "prove" the MOVE victims were guilty of the massacre. But as Ramona said in court, "It seems that every charge against me fits the police." After her trial, the commission has as much as admitted this. Today, every MOVE member is either behind bars or dead. Free Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners! Reagan, Meese, Goode, Sambor—guilty as hell! Proletarian revolution will avenge the MOVE martyrs! ■

Spartacist Pamphlet

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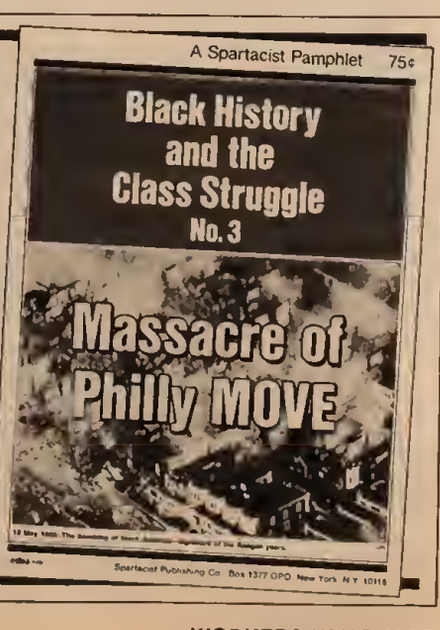


Black Subway Clerk on Trial for Self-Defense

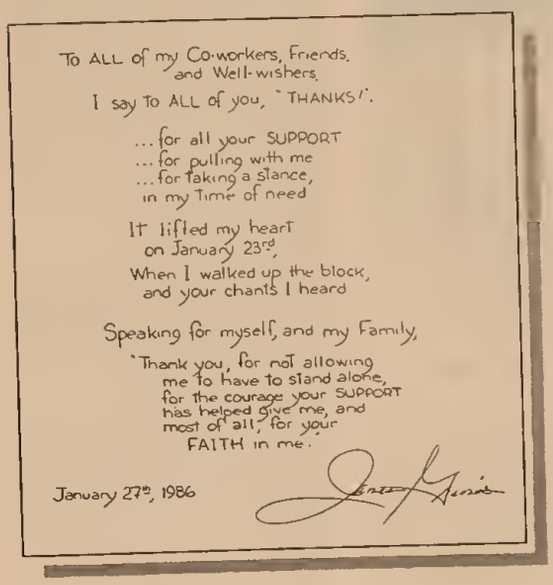
The Courts Are Killing James Grimes

James Grimes is facing a gun rap for defending himself from three robbers who jumped him while he was transporting $1,490 in Transit Authority money from his token booth during the late-night hours of January 6. After risking his life protecting Transit Authority proceeds, the 55-year-old black New York City subway token clerk is now undergoing a "legal" mugging by the Brooklyn District Attorney's office of liberal Democrat Elizabeth Holtzman, the courts and TA management. Grimes has been treated as a criminal rather than the victim of a violent crime.

There has been a groundswell of support for Grimes from his fellow transit workers and every decent person in New York City. At his first and second court hearings, scores of Transport Workers Union Local 100 members turned out, including many token clerks, whose lives are daily put in jeopardy by the TA. Militant transit workers have issued a call to mobilize the TWU to defend union brother Grimes at Brooklyn Criminal Court March 17, where he faces possible manslaughter charges.

The TA's notorious disregard for the safety of its workers and the riding public was tragically demonstrated February 18 when 50-year-old motorman Robert Dueffert, due to retire in June, was sent out to work in a Brooklyn railyard in 14 inches of water and was electrocuted by the 600-volt third rail. Local 100 officials, while paying lip service to defending Grimes and calling on Holtzman to investigate the electrocution of Dueffert, have done nothing to mobilize the 33,000-strong membership behind Grimes or combat the TA's brutal gutting of working conditions that killed Dueffert.

The Committee for a Fighting TWU has initiated an ad hoc defense group, which on March 4 issued a letter to TWU Local 100 (at right).


To ALL of my Co-workers, Friends, and Well-wishers,

I say To ALL of you, "THANKS!".

...for all your SUPPORT
...for pulling with me
...for taking a stance, in my Time of need

It lifted my heart on January 23rd, When I walked up the block, and your chants I heard

Speaking for myself, and my Family,

"Thank you, for not allowing me to have to stand alone, for the courage your SUPPORT has helped give me, and most of all, for your FAITH in me.

January 27th, 1986

Thank you letter from James Grimes.

WV Photo

James Grimes with supporters outside Brooklyn Criminal Court, January 23.

Open Letter to Sonny Hall, President, TWU Local 100

Re: The Need to Mobilize Local 100 to Defend Brother Grimes!!

Although you and the rest of the elected leadership of this union seem to have forgotten it, one of our union brothers is pitted against the combined forces of "law and order" and the TA brass. Do you know what a "legal lynching" is? That's what's happening to clerk James Grimes! Moreover, while the "Wheels of Justice" have barely started to turn they have already severely and irreparably damaged his health. Recently, he required emergency heart surgery to implant a pacemaker.

For anyone who has faith in the "benevolent, justice minded" courts, Grimes's second hearing should set you straight. On Feb. 10th Grimes's attorney, Harry Lipsig (who is defending him for free), again petitioned for dismissal of all charges on grounds of self-defense, and was again denied. But when the DA asked for more time to prepare a grand jury, to jack up the charge to a felony, he got it.

Shortly afterwards, Grimes's already weak heart nearly gave out. Lipsig went back to court on Feb. 28th to re-petition for dismissal, adding to the original grounds that the prosecution is killing his client. This was denied! Now HIP is refusing to cover the thousands of dollars in medical bills that have started to arrive.

The banks and politicians who run (rob!) this city are determined that only cops and criminals will have guns and decent working people will be at their tender mercy. To them it's OK that Willie Turks lies murdered while his racist killers still stalk the streets of Gravesend. Their idea of "law and order" means TA cops beating and strangling Michael Stewart to death and chaining Grimes to a bench for 9 hours.

Despite the continuing inaction of the TWU leaders, scores of Local 100 members, mostly clerks whose working conditions are identical to Grimes's, showed up at Brooklyn Criminal Court to support him. Afterwards large groups of these workers marched to and picketed in front of TA headquarters demanding hands off brother Grimes. But it's supposed to be the job of elected union officials to mobilize the *entire* union in defense of Grimes. It's no coincidence that attacks on clerks have escalated recently. One clerk, Wanda Gregg, was nearly incinerated by vicious thugs.

We thank the sisters and brothers who came to court on Jan. 23rd and Feb. 10th. To you, Sonny Hall, we say: the union must cover all medical and legal expenses for brother Grimes *and* mobilize our 33,000 strong membership to be with brother Grimes when he returns to court this March 17th! Whether it's officially endorsed or not, all TWU members should BE THERE!

Money Now!
TWU Mobilization March 17th!
9 a.m. Sharp! Monday, March 17th
Brooklyn Criminal Court
120 Schermerhorn St. (at Smith St.)

Transit Workers to Defend
James Grimes
4 March 1986

Judge's Decision Is a Racist Outrage!

Free Geronimo Pratt, Now!

On Friday, March 7 former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt, the foremost class-war prisoner in America, was denied his appeal for a retrial on the frame-up charges that have kept him in jail for most of his adult life. This outrageous ruling was handed down by U.S. District Court magistrate John Kronenberg in Los Angeles. Targeted for "neutralization" by the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO conspiracy in the 1960s, Pratt was arrested after surviving a Gestapo-style raid on L.A. Panther headquarters by 400 cops. He has spent 16 years in prison, six of them in solitary, for a murder which *he did not and could not have committed.* Now the Justice Department headed by Edwin Meese, who under then-governor Reagan oversaw the war against the Panthers in California, wants to ensure that this valiant fighter for black freedom stays behind bars. Every opponent of racist injustice must demand: Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!

Kronenberg's ruling simply dismisses the massive evidence of the FBI/Los Angeles Police Department frame-up, introduced by Pratt's attorneys on his behalf at the January 1985 hearing. As retired FBI agent Wesley Swearingen flatly stated, "Pratt was set up." At the hearing Swearingen testified that he had seen documents from FBI wiretaps that proved that Pratt was 500 miles away in Oakland at the time of the murder. These wiretap logs are now mysteriously "missing." Further, Pratt's attorneys showed that the key prosecution witness, one Julio Butler, was an FBI informant, a fact which he lied about at the original trial.

Pratt's appeal took *five years* to come to court, and then the judge delayed his decision nearly 14 months! Pratt's lead counsel, Stuart Hanlon, stated, "It's a vicious way to handle it. It's just cruel. Why wait so long if you aren't going to do anything?" This same Judge Kronenberg last year attempted to block the extradition of Nazi war criminal Andrija Artukovic back to Yugoslavia to face trial for ordering the deaths of tens of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies during World War II. Kronenberg was then removed from the case.

On Monday, March 10, fifty militants demonstrated outside the Federal Building in San Francisco demanding freedom for Geronimo Pratt. Called on 24 hours notice by the Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense, the spirited demonstration chanted, "Smash the FBI/COINTELPRO Frame-Up!" "For Mass Labor/Black Action to Free Geronimo Pratt!" "Finish the Civil War—Forward to a Workers State!"

WV Photo

Spartacist and Labor Black League demonstrate for Pratt's freedom in San Francisco, March 10.

Earlier in the day Spartacist spokesman Donald Alexander met with Geronimo Pratt in San Quentin. Pratt wished to communicate to the demonstrators and all his supporters that he will continue to fight. "They called me a terrorist," he said, in an "attempt to criminalize the movement," in order to justify the campaign of *racist state terror* in Reagan's America. "They've kept me in jail this long because I organized the

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From Forced Labor to "Guest Labor"

Turkish Workers in the German Fourth Reich

In January, 15,000 people, among them 5,000 Turks, marched in Hamburg to protest racist terror against the *Gastarbeiter* ("guest workers"), West Germany's huge population of immigrant labor. The latest victim was a young Turkish worker, Ramazan Avci, who was brutally murdered by skinhead punks. These fascistic thugs stormed out of their hangout, the Landwehr pub, while one of them ran over Avci with a car. Lying helpless on the ground, he was beaten to death with baseball bats and axes. Avci was neither the first nor the last victim of skinhead terror. Indeed, outside the same Landwehr pub a black African from Ghana was beaten and kicked while his assailants chanted, "Niggers Out! White Power!"

The West German state—official successor to the Nazi Third Reich—has no intention of cracking down on the skinheads, who have close ties to fascist groups like Michael Kühnen's Aktionsfront Nationaler Aktivisten. What is involved is not just some lumpen skinhead punks going wild but racist violence inherent in the capitalist system. The line runs back from today's *Ausländerhetze* (hostility toward foreign workers) to the deadly exploitation of slave labor in Nazi Germany and Hitler's *Endlösung* (final solution) for the Jews. This is captured in a popular "joke" now current in West Germany: "What is the difference between Jews and Turks?" Answer: "The former have

Rock Bottom, best-selling exposé of Turkish workers' plight in West Germany.

their fate already behind them."

The reformist Social Democratic bureaucracy and petty-bourgeois radicals like the Greens offer no effective opposition to the superexploitation, harassment and violence against foreign workers. The Social Democratic-led DGB trade-union federation, one of the sponsors of the Hamburg demonstration, does *not* stand for full citizenship rights for foreign workers but only talks of "friendship with foreign workers." And the nationalistic West German left does anything to avoid revolutionary class struggle. Thus the Hamburg anti-skinhead protest was reduced to an exercise in liberal moralism, which bothers the fascists not at all. A revolutionary leadership would have organized the outraged German and Turkish workers to tear the Landwehr pub to pieces and teach the scumbags a lesson they will never forget.

Der Spiegel

Arbeiterkampf

Turkish leftists, West German trade unionists protest in Hamburg, 11 January 1985, against the racist murder of Ramazan Avci (inset) by "skinhead" scum.

Rock Bottom

One of the scheduled speakers at this demonstration was the journalist Günter Wallraff. Prevented by illness from being there, he had his speech read to the protesters:

> "A chancellor [prime minister] tells the people on TV that the number of Turks in West Germany has to be reduced. Another CDU politician [member of the ruling bourgeois party] says: 'It is high time to act. The Turks don't just stand before Vienna anymore; by now they are already in Berlin, Stadt Allendorf or Hamburg.' And as we experienced some days ago the extreme racist right then acts...."

Wallraff has recently shaken up West German society. For two and a half years he disguised himself and lived as the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* "Ali Levant Sigirioglu." The change was easy enough: dark-colored contact lenses, a black wig and broken German fooled a racist society. Toward his Turkish coworkers he claimed to be a Greek. The cruel and degrading experiences he suffered—"slaves were treated better"—were documented in a book, *Ganz unten* (*Rock Bottom*), published last fall. Almost a million copies were sold in just five weeks; by now the figure has risen to six million. It's West Germany's biggest book sale success ever!

The horrible experiences Wallraff recounts should not have been a surprise to the West German public. A number of German-language books and articles written *by Turks* exposed similar conditions long before *Rock Bottom*. Thus, in one sense the popularity, or notoriety, of Wallraff's book underscores the pervasive racism of West German society. They had to hear about it from the mouth of a German.

In March 1983 Wallraff placed an advertisement in the paper: "Alien, physically strong, looking for work, any work, even hard and dirty, for any pay." The dirtiest, lowest paid and most dangerous jobs he got, indeed. He was kept "like an animal" by a woman farm owner in Lower Saxony. Working at McDonald's he was constantly harassed by his foreman and humiliated by well-dressed college kids. Working on a construction site, he not only had to clean sewage away from overflowing toilets and balance on scaffolds while carrying concrete slabs up six floors. He was also confronted with viciously racist coworkers who loaded his cart so full of concrete he was unable to move it, who suspected him whenever anything was stolen and who made him the butt of anti-Turkish jokes.

Slave Laborer for Thyssen

The largest section of *Rock Bottom* covers "Ali's" experiences working for the Thyssen steel empire. The Thyssen family, it will be recalled, were major early backers of Adolf Hitler. Wallraff/Ali came to work for Thyssen through a small subcontracting outfit owned by one Vogel, who, incidentally, was a member of the reformist Social Democratic Party, now in opposition. While Thyssen has laid off 17,000 workers since the 1974-75 economic slump, a large part of its labor supply is provided by subcontractor firms like Vogel's whose workforce has no trade-union rights. These workers are often forced to work two regular shifts, and if they refuse are laid off immediately. One fellow worker Wallraff/Ali knew used to work 300 to 350 hours a month! Nobody can do this kind of work for more than a few years but there are always new unemployed and immigrant workers to take their place.

Wallraff/Ali and his fellow workers had to remove coke dust from the steelmaking equipment, which was so thick that you had to "swallow and eat it." They didn't get masks so they could work faster. They didn't get helmets either. Wallraff/Ali bought one for himself. Twice the foreman gave Ali's helmet to a German worker who had forgotten his. One time a security engineer measured the amount of toxic gas in the air. When he received a signal that it was dangerously high, he said: "This is impossible. The instrument must be broken." A second instrument indicated the same level. "That fucking thing is not working either." No precautions were taken, no gas masks were distributed to the workers. Wallraff reports: "Since working there my bronchial tubes are practically chronically damaged and today—six months later—when I spit after a coughing attack my saliva is still black."

When he was laid off for a time, Wallraff/Ali tried to become a *Versuchsmensch*, a human guinea pig for medical experiments. Remember Dr. Mengele, the Angel of Death? The old Nazi doctors are not only still practicing, they still use human beings for their sadistic tests—only Jews have been replaced by Turks. The desperate foreigners get paid only if they stay through the whole test. If they choose to remain alive and healthy, they could even be sued for "breach of contract"! Ali decided not to go through this experience.

The final act in Wallraff's career as Ali came when friends of his made entrepreneur Vogel a fake offer to see just how far he would go. Six Turks were supposedly needed to repair equipment in a power plant poisoned by escaping radioactive fumes. To avoid a scandal only Turks who would soon be returning to Turkey could be chosen so they would not die in West Germany. Vogel had no qualms accepting this deal, demonstrating that West German capitalists would *kill* foreign workers in order to make a profit.

And their fascist thugs are out to kill foreign workers for the hell of it. On one occasion Wallraff/Ali had good reason to fear for his life. The occasion was the German-Turkish soccer match in West Berlin in the summer of 1983. The fascists used this event for a national mobilization against the Turks while the DGB trade-union tops and West German left staged a pitiful counterdemonstration outside the stadium and did nothing to protect the Turkish ghettos. Inside the stadium many Turks doubtless felt like Ali: "I am not a soccer fan. But in the Olympic Stadium I cheered for the German team. Out of fear."

Wallraff originally expected to be persecuted for his gruesome revelations. But the enormous publicity around his book and the video documentary he secretly produced during his life as "Ali" has provided him with a protective screen. Still, he does receive death threats. While the trade-union bureaucracy is cold-shouldering him, crowded meetings of unionists have been held all over West Germany to hear Wallraff describe the terrible conditions of foreign workers. The outrage of West German workers over this question is certainly a good thing. But it will require

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Der Spiegel

Fascist skinheads attack foreign worker in West Germany. Smash racist terror!

French Elections:

Mitterrand Paves Way For Rightist Reaction

The Economist

Mitterrand and Reagan united in anti-Soviet war drive.

PARIS, March 5—The campaign for the upcoming March 16 legislative elections has focused almost exclusively on what happens *after* a right-wing victory at the polls. After five years of pro-capitalist austerity and "modernization" policies under "socialist" president François Mitterrand, the Socialist (SP) and Communist (CP) parties are expected to obtain a minority of the votes, possibly provoking a major political and constitutional crisis. Despite a consensus between the SP and bourgeois rightists in support of capitalist austerity, anti-immigrant repression, a neocolonialist and anti-Soviet foreign policy, and modernization of the military and the nuclear arsenal, it is not certain that Mitterrand will be able to coexist with a right-wing parliamentary majority.

Under the Fifth Republic constitution fashioned by and for General de Gaulle, the "strong" presidency is armed with semi-bonapartist powers to override parliamentary majorities. So instead of the continual cabinet reshuffling of the postwar Fourth Republic, the stage is set for a sharp clash of powers when president and parliament are opposed. At present, two of the three principal leaders of the right (the neo-Gaullist Chirac and former president Giscard d'Estaing) have declared their willingness to "cohabit" with the pro-NATO "socialist" in the Elysée Palace—but on their terms, not his. Mitterrand, in turn, has said he would rather resign as president than not exercise his power as head of state. But if he tries to exercise that power against a right-wing parliamentary majority, the bourgeoisie will likely move to bring Mitterrand down.

Economic crisis and anti-immigrant terror are ravaging France. The parliamentary fuse box may well short-circuit as a result of the tensions which have accumulated during Mitterrand's reign. There is a danger of a rightist mobilization in which the fascists would act as shock troops. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the international Spartacist tendency, says to class-conscious workers: No vote to the SP/CP parties of the popular front which has paved the way for rightist reaction on the march! The workers movement must be prepared to smash the fascist threat in the factories and in the streets.

"No to the NATO Popular Front!"

The regime which took power in 1981 was a class-collaborationist coalition between the reformist SP and CP and elements of the bourgeoisie. Mitterrand had already obtained the neutrality of Chirac's Gaullist party on the basis of virulent anti-Sovietism and a more nationalistic economic policy. Once in office, he tried to assuage his bourgeois bloc partners, appointing a cabinet of technocrats with a program of "modernizing" the French economy. And after the failure of its attempts to institute "Keynesianism in one country," this "left government" carried out an anti-working-class austerity policy (*rigueur*) even more ferocious than those of its rightist predecessors. Asked about the 500,000 jobs slashed, Prime Minister Fabius remarked, "it fell to us to do the 'dirty work'."

Sygma

North African immigrant workers take the lead in resisting austerity under Mitterrand popular front. Above: 1983 strike by Talbot auto workers.

Mitterrand swore fealty to the officer corps, unleashing the army in a neocolonial war in Chad. He spent millions to "upgrade" the French *force de frappe* nuclear weapons while his gung-ho war minister gave the thugs of the DGSE the green light for state terror against the Greenpeace pacifists. And while politely differing with Ronald Reagan over distant subjects like Nicaragua, Mitterrand was point man for the anti-Soviet war drive in Europe. At home he bowed before Catholic reaction over the issue of private schools. And this "socialist" government unleashed the wave of chauvinism against immigrants, ordering the deportation of "illegal aliens" and trying to force unemployed North Africans to "return" to countries they hardly knew after decades doing the hardest jobs in France.

The time has come to draw the lessons of five years of this "dirty work," and the principal lesson is that it was the "left government" itself that has prepared the way for the rise of the right. One doesn't have to look to the Spanish Civil War or Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile in 1973 to see that the popular front has meant workers' blood. In France during the '30s, Léon Blum sent his cops to shoot down workers at Clichy, and the downfall of that People's Front led straight to Pétain's pro-Nazi "New Order." After the war, Communist and Socialist ministers in the Gaullist regime approved the breaking of strikes and drowning independence revolts in blood in Vietnam and Algeria.

In 1981, the Ligue Trotskyste de France was unique in refusing to vote for this cold war "socialist." While Alain Krivine's fake-Trotskyist LCR called to "Vote Mitterrand to Chase Out Giscard" and Pierre Lambert's Stalinophobic OCI/PCI proclaimed "April 26: Vote Mitterrand," the LTF headlined: "No to the NATO Popular Front!" (*Le Bolchévik* No. 26, June 1981). When CP ministers crawled into the cabinet, shamefully capitulating before Mitterrand's anti-Sovietism, the LTF published a special supplement, "We Trotskyists Defend the USSR!" Like his popular front predecessors, we said, Mitterrand's election was *no victory for the working class*, as it soon showed in office.

Fight for a Workers Government!

In the last half-decade, dozens of militant strikes—from Talbot and Renault in auto to the steel industry and the shipyards—have been crushed by Mitterrand's riot police or derailed by the trade-union bureaucracy, in particular the CP-controlled CGT federation, into the dead end of "pressuring" the government. We are now seeing racist terror on a scale unequaled since the Algerian war. The sole beneficiary is the sinister Le Pen, whose army of fascist thugs has swelled in proportion to the despair of all layers of the population, while Mitterrand has made racial exclusion and savage anti-Communism "respectable."

But although disoriented and weakened by five years of betrayal and the gutting of whole sections of industry, the proletariat, including its combative immigrant layers, is far from defeated. Throughout the country, in factory after factory, and sometimes shop by shop, defensive strikes have broken out—often brief wildcat walkouts, but frequently with 100 percent participation, transcending trade-union divisions. Recent strikes of power workers, railwaymen and Paris subway workers have shown that the working class is ready to use its power to stop production in order to beat back the bosses' offensive. But with more than three million unemployed and millions more youth trapped in "make-work" schemes, routine trade-union struggle and apolitical protests can go nowhere.

Militancy is not enough—to answer the political crisis, the workers' struggles must have a political perspective: the struggle for a workers government, the expropriation of the bourgeois class by the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist reconstruction of society, not under the French tricolor but under the red flag of a socialist united states of Europe. This requires the leadership of an authentically Bolshevik, Leninist-Trotskyist communist party which must be built on a program of intransigent opposition to popular frontism in all its forms, struggle against racist terror and racial segregation, for full citizenship rights for all foreign workers, for unconditional military defense of the USSR and the deformed workers states

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AFP

Sinister fascist Le Pen, organizer of racist terror.

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Debt Bomb...

(continued from page 1)

Union in a nuclear first strike. "The home of the brave" would be covered by a space-based nuclear shield against the massive Soviet second strike. At the same time, the Reagan gang believed that a full-scale arms race would bankrupt the Soviet economy. Instead it is bankrupting the American economy.

White Middle America was told it wouldn't even have to pay for the Star Wars scheme, the MX missiles and the rest. The biggest peacetime arms buildup in U.S. history was to be financed through a *tax cut*, concentrated in the upper income brackets and in corporate profits. The predictable result of this "supply-side economics": the budget deficit *tripled*, from $75 billion in 1981 to $225 billion last year.

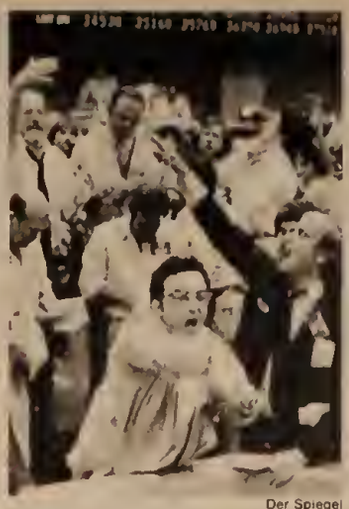
Listening to Reagan rave about Star Wars, you might think that the fastest growing item in his budget is Pentagon spending. Actually it isn't. That honor goes to interest payments on the national debt, which jumped from 11 to 15 percent of the budget during the Reagan years. Last year these interest payments amounted to $130 billion, roughly equal to the total personal tax revenue collected from every taxpayer west of the Mississippi River! As Nobel laureate economist Kenneth Arrow put it: "We're like a Latin American country. We're getting into a situation where borrowing to pay the interest on the deficit is causing the deficit" (*New York Times*, 8 December 1985).

And last year half of this borrowing was in foreign money markets, especially Japan. One liberal Reagan critic quipped: "Now we know what supply-side economics means. Foreigners supply the capital. Foreigners supply the goods." Influential right-wing figures, for example, the head of the U.S.' central bank (the Federal Reserve), Paul Volcker, and a former head of Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers, Martin Feldstein, have also argued that the massive budget deficits and resulting foreign borrowing could lead to a financial crash in the short run and will cripple industrial productivity in the longer run.

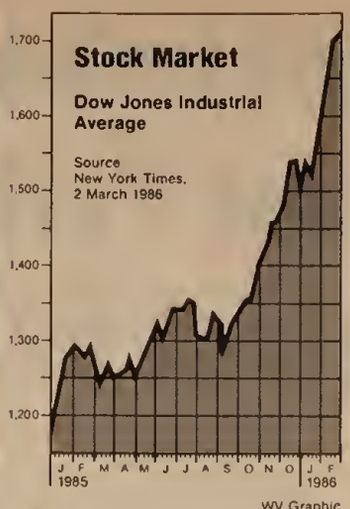
What is involved, however, is not just the anti-Communist fanaticism, shortsightedness and sheer stupidity of one man, Ronald Reagan. U.S. imperialism cannot and will not coexist peacefully with that world power issuing out of the first workers revolution—the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917—albeit bureaucratically degenerated under Stalin. In fact, the drive to achieve nuclear first-strike capability against the Soviet Union began under the Democratic Carter administration. And now Jimmy Carter is bellyaching because Reagan is hogging the "credit" for the war drive!

Bipartisan majorities in Congress have gone along with and funded a truly crackpot scheme like Star Wars. But the people who run this country's military establishment cannot launch a space shuttle without it blowing up and killing the seven astronauts aboard. How can anyone expect them to achieve the infinitely more complex task of constructing space-based weaponry (laser beams and the like) capable of destroying thousands of Soviet nuclear missiles? It's an anti-Communist wet dream.

The mad ambitions of the U.S. ruling class to dominate the world and "roll back Communism" are far beyond the deteriorating capacities of American capitalism. And runaway military spending is helping to *lose* the trade war with Japan, Inc. The billions squandered on the MX missiles and Star Wars is depriving American industry of the much-needed resources for technological renovation. There are, of course, limits to purely economic competition between rival imperialist powers. Wall Street and Washington are moving to retaliate against superior Japanese products by trade protectionism. And if the Japanese make too much trouble, say yahoos in Congress, well, remember Hiroshima! Thus U.S. capitalism moves toward new wars.



Der Spiegel



WV Graphic

Stock market boom based on takeover mania and junk-bond financing.

White Middle America, the Reagan Cuts and Gramm-Rudman

While Reagan's America is losing the trade war with Japan and driving toward nuclear Armageddon with Russia, it has also been waging a one-sided war at home against the organized working class, the poor, especially blacks and Hispanics, and the elderly. And now the fallout is hitting white, middle-class America, too. If you remember, none of this was supposed to happen. Reagan ran for office in 1980 promising to achieve "military superiority" over Russia, cut everyone's taxes by a third and still balance the budget! He solemnly pledged not to touch Social Security entitlement programs and to provide a "safety net" for the poor.

This was to be the miracle of "supply-side economics." Cut taxes enough, according to this right-wing nostrum, and it would stimulate such a vast outpouring of work effort and investment that national income would increase enough to restore the old total tax revenue, even more. During the 1980 campaign Reagan claimed: "We would use the increased revenues from the tax decrease to rebuild our defense capabilities" (*New York Times*, 18 May 1980)!

Reagan's former budget director, David Stockman, has since spilled the jellybeans. No one in the Reagan White House really believed this nonsense. They *deliberately* manufactured the massive budget deficit in order to pressure Congressional Democrats into dismantling half a century of social programs going back to the New Deal of the 1930s. And they succeeded, though only in part. The first round of Reagan cuts in 1981-82, which swept through Congress with *bipartisan* support, was targeted with almost surgical precision at the poor, concentrated in the black and Hispanic communities and among the elderly. The budget ax fell on welfare, food stamps, school lunches, Medicaid, CETA job training, Head Start programs for ghetto children, etc.

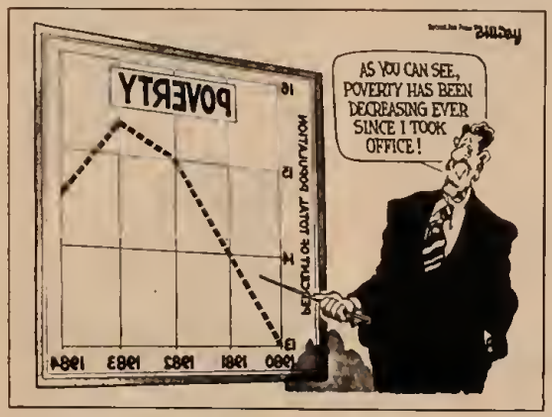
But the poor were just too poor to pay all of the Pentagon's new bills. Reagan could throw everyone off welfare and scarcely save enough money to build a couple of MX missiles. The rest of the money was borrowed from Japanese financiers. Stockman's self-criticism of Reaganomics is that they should have gone after everyone from the get-go:

> "Our biggest failure was that we didn't create a much bigger and better package of spending cuts in the beginning. We should have gone after the big boulders—the social insurance programs. . . .
> "We should have gone after Social Security COLAs [cost-of-living adjustments] in 1981. We should have gone after Medicare then too, and the farm program. . . .
> "I have a large roster of cuts. Why mass transit subsidies for New York City? Why any farm-price support program at all? Why $7 billion for higher education that sends middle-class kids to college?"
>
> —*Fortune*, 6 February 1984

The Reagan gang is now trying to make up for what Stockman called "our biggest failure." This time around everyone, including large sections of the white middle class, is being hit hard. And so conservative Republicans from "Reagan country" are squealing, too. Especially in an election year, what Congressman from the rural Midwest and South, Republican or Democrat, is going to vote to do away with farm price supports and the Small Business Administration? What Congressman from the suburban Northeast is going to vote to eliminate Amtrak subsidies and college loans?

When Reagan announced his budget, Congressional leaders announced it was DOA (dead on arrival). Reagan retorted that a Democratic budget would be VOA (vetoed on arrival). This clash has produced the Gramm-Rudman "budget-balancing" act. If the president and Congress cannot agree on a budget by the beginning of the next fiscal year (October 1986), then large cuts will automatically take effect, about half in the military and half in social programs. Gramm-Rudman has produced a certain amount of hysteria in some bourgeois circles. It has been called a legislative monstrosity, unworkable and a breakdown of representative government.

In fact, as a more clear-eyed observer called it, Gramm-Rudman is a paper dragon. Basically, it is a stalling device for Congressmen. To begin with, the law may well be thrown out by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. A lower federal court has already thrown a monkey wrench in the works. In any case, the big cuts would not really take effect until after the November elections. And then the lame-duck session of Congress could amend Gramm-Rudman or do away with it altogether. But whatever happens to the Reagan budget and Gramm-Rudman, one thing is certain. The vast majority of the American people will be paying dearly for the anti-Soviet war buildup.



Reagan budget cuts hit hardest at black and Hispanic poor and the elderly.

Reaganomics Bombs American Industry

Reagan's unrestrained militarism has not caused the Soviet leaders to "cry uncle." Nor has it cowed the Soviet people, who stood up to and in the end destroyed Hitler's Wehrmacht. But Reaganomics has done a punishing job on American industry and the industrial working class. *Business Week* (3 March) recently issued a special report on "The Hollow Corporation," expressing alarm over the deindustrialization of America. The share of manufacturing in the U.S. economy has fallen from a peak of 30 percent in the early 1950s to 25 percent in the late '70s, to 21 percent last year. The co-founder and chairman of Sony, Akio Morita, described what is happening very well:

> "American companies have either shifted output to low-wage countries or come to buy parts and assembled products from countries like Japan that can make quality products at low prices. The result is a hollowing of American industry. The U.S. is abandoning its status as an industrial power."

After three years of "recovery" from the 1981-82 depression, there are now *1.7 million fewer* manufacturing jobs in this country than in 1979. The labor market in the Reagan years is symbolized by high school dropouts slaving at McDonald's for subminimum wages at the lower end while Wall Street takeover artists are raking in millions at the upper end. Meanwhile, the basic industrial proletariat of this country is being ground between giveback contracts negotiated by their wretched union misleaders and a shrinking job market as the manufacturing sector is being milked by rapacious profiteers.

Normally, during the upswing of the capitalist cycle real wages rise. Demand for labor increases and with it the hargaining power of the trade unions. But not this time. The real hourly earnings of factory production workers are today *lower* than they were at the depth of the 1981-1982 slump and 6 percent *less* than in the mid-1970s (*Monthly Labor Review*, December 1985). Reagan's destruction of the PATCO air controllers union within months of taking office, and with no resistance from the AFL-CIO tops, set the stage for a major capitalist offensive against labor. *Three million* unionized workers—one out of every six—have been forced to take wage and benefit cuts by bloodsucking bosses and treacherous labor bureaucrats. Last year union-negotiated wage increases of 2.7 percent were the *lowest* since they started keeping records. And since inflation is running at almost 4 percent, the union tops are negotiating real *wage cuts*.

Union-busting, wage-gouging and givebacks are, however, no substitute for retooling and investment in new technology. And this is just what is *not* happening in American industry. In 1983-84 Japan, West Germany, Canada, Sweden and even Britain (!) all outstripped the U.S. in increasing

productivity in manufacturing. Last year labor productivity in the U.S. *did not increase at all.* A columnist for the *Wall Street Journal* (6 February) wrote recently:

> "Throughout the current economic expansion, in fact, plant and equipment outlays have been comparatively sluggish. Too much of U.S. economic growth went into demand for imports, and now, with the expansion already in its fourth year, American industry is still operating at just over 80% of capacity."

What accounts for the stagnation of American industrial investment and therefore productivity? To begin with, the American middle and upper classes are notorious spendthrifts by international standards. In 1983, for example, the U.S. had by far the lowest personal savings rate—5 percent—in the advanced capitalist world. Canadians saved 13 percent of their personal income, the West Germans 14 percent and the Japanese 21 percent. Moreover, even America's relatively small pool of domestic savings is being drained by the Star Wars deficit. Thus last year the personal savings rate fell below 3 percent, the lowest level in three decades. At the same time, consumer installment credit soared to a record high of almost 20 cents for every dollar of after-tax income. "I find this one of the more alarming aspects of the economic scene," exclaimed Mellon Bank chief economist Norman Robertson. "You just don't have any future" as a country "unless you save."

There is another crucial way in which Reaganomics is foreclosing on the economic future of this country. In order to prevent the massive budget deficits from generating runaway inflation, Federal Reserve chief Volcker has kept the throttle on the supply of money and credit. As a result real interest rates (subtracting for inflation) have been pushed to historic highs. Throughout most of the postwar era real interest rates ran in the 2-3 percent range. In the Reagan years they've run 7 to 10 percent. Even more importantly, the real cost of borrowing capital for American businessmen is two to three times higher than in Japan. In fact, as Oklahoma Senator David Boren pointed out in the *Wall Street Journal* (10 February), on long-term research and development, "Given the current differential in our capital costs, the Japanese can afford to invest nearly five times as much as we can in the same 10-year project."

Research and development is the key to increasing labor productivity. It is also the most striking evidence of the deterioration of the U.S. economy in the Reagan years. Twenty years ago total R&D spending amounted to slightly over 2 percent of gross national product. In 1984 this amount was practically cut in half at 1.2 percent. Ten years ago half of all research was funded by the Pentagon, and half by civilian businesses and institutions. In 1984 the military ate up two-thirds of all R&D spending. In other words, investment to develop new civilian technologies is proportionally less than half what it was a generation ago. Even in absolute terms it is a third less than 20 years ago. Is there any question why the U.S. can no longer compete with the Japanese?

Giving Junk a Bad Name

If American capitalists are not investing in productive assets, what are they doing with all the money not being squandered by Pentagon contractors? Answer: they're raiding and milking one another's companies. There has been a seismic shift in the financial structure of American capitalism in the past few years. Nearly $200 billion in equity (stocks) has disappeared from corporate treasuries and been replaced with IOUs that have to be paid. U.S. corporations are more top-heavy with debt than any time since the late 1920s. As we have seen, all this borrowing is part of the takeover mania sweeping Wall Street. Between 1969 and 1980 there were only 12 mergers involving $1 billion or more among American firms. Last year alone there were over 30 such billion-dollar deals.

What we are now witnessing is not simply an acceleration of the historic tendency toward capitalist concentration. These mergers have little to do with the advantages of the economies of scale, an improved division of labor or even monopolizing the supply of a given commodity. What is involved here is looting companies of their assets. This is one of the most morbid symptoms of American capitalism's decay. The men who are taking over increasing chunks of corporate wealth have no interest at all in future economic growth. For them, the long run simply does not exist. Just as the political rulers of this country are ravaging America's productive capacity through the Star Wars deficit, so are the raiders and their bankers through the takeover bacchanalia.

Here's the way it works. A raider like T. Boone Pickens or Sir James Goldsmith sets up a shell corporation which has *no assets*. This company then issues high-yield bonds called junk bonds. What is the collateral behind these junk bonds? It is the assets of the big company targeted for takeover! Why are many big banks willing to finance the raiders' shell game? Because at present interest rates there is little demand for productive investment, and junk bonds are still considered safer and more lucrative than lending more money to Mexico or Brazil. Having bled Latin America white, U.S. banks are now out to bleed American companies. The London *Economist* (14 December 1985) observed:

> "There has been an especial reason in America why much of the new money has sloshed into stock markets. American banks have burned their fingers lending to Latin America and on rural real estate, so they are now turning them lending to small companies which want to swallow bigger companies up."

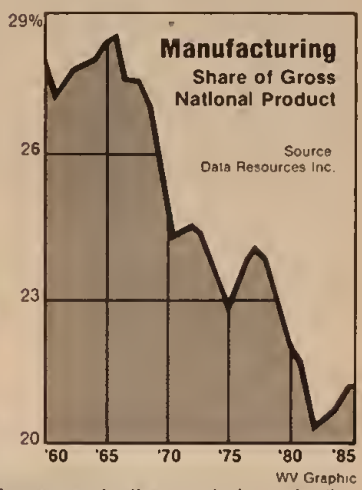
Typical of the current wave of hostile takeovers is that of Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp. by Denver oil baron Marvin Davis in 1981. Since then Davis has taken more than *half a billion dollars* out of Fox to pay some of the debt he took on to buy it, and the company must raise an estimated $400 million more to pay additional debt and still keep making movies. "Davis has just raped this company," is the judgment of an executive at a rival film producer.

To forestall such hostile takeovers, corporate managers have to rape their own companies, so to speak. They have to pay out high dividends and maximize short-term earnings at all costs. So they avoid long-term investments and risky ventures using new technologies. Peter Jones, a retired senior vice president with Levi Strauss, notes acidly: "While we in America devote a major part of our material and human resources to promoting and fighting mergers and hostile takeovers, we are becoming less and less competitive with Japan and all the new Japans."

Moreover, these long-term effects could be dwarfed by a financial panic if one of the big junk-bond issues defaults. Comparisons with the frenzied Wall Street bull market in the late 1920s are obvious. Then speculators borrowed as much as 90 cents on the dollar from their brokers to buy stock. They expected to repay these loans ("call money") by selling the stock at ever-higher prices. The brokers in turn borrowed like crazy from money markets across the U.S. and around the world. So when the stock market topped out in October 1929, it set off a chain reaction of defaults and an ever-widening circle of business contraction.

Just as speculators in the late '20s counted on higher stock prices to repay their loans, so today's raiders are counting on repaying theirs from the cash flow of the companies they take over. But what happens if there just isn't enough cash? "Sooner or later there'll be a problem—a failure of an overleveraged company," predicts Kenneth Miller, head of mergers and acquisitions at Merrill Lynch. He should know. As another Wall Street financier put it, someday junk bonds will live up to their name, or down to it. No wonder Federal Reserve chief Paul Volcker has warned that the takeover mania is not "compatible over time with economic and financial stability" and has moved to curb the junk-bond market. But government controls over money and credit have never and will never curb the feverish speculation that often sets the stage for a financial panic and crash.

Schell/Youngstown Vindicator



WV Graphic

The deindustrialization of America: Pentagon contractors and Wall Street raiders squander the country's productive wealth as manufacturing sector shrinks. Left: Steel plant demolished in Youngstown, Ohio.

Mexican Debt Bomb on a Short Fuse

In late August 1982 the head of Mexico's central bank telexed bad news to U.S. Treasury officials. Because of falling oil revenues, his country could not meet the payments on the principal of its then $80 billion in foreign debt. During this crisis Volcker harangued hesitant Treasury officials that they must funnel money to Mexico quickly so Wall Street banks would be paid on time. "If you don't do it," he reportedly shouted at them, "the whole thing is going to come crashing down." Today, once again, everyone is concerned that a Mexican default could bring the whole thing crashing down.

The Mexican and, more generally, Latin American debt crisis originated with the so-called OPEC "petrodollar recycling" of the 1970s. U.S. banks were then awash with money from the oil-rich sheiks of Araby and their partners in Houston and Dallas. With the U.S. and West Europe mired in recession in the mid-1970s, Wall Street financiers had to look elsewhere for lucrative loan prospects. They chose the more developed Third World countries. The tenfold increase in the price of oil spearheaded a general inflationary boom for primary products. Latin American *caudillos* and their Yankee bankers counted on the prices of Mexican and Venezuelan oil, Brazilian coffee and iron ore, Argentine

continued on page 10

UPI

WV Photo

Proletarian link between Mexico and the U.S.: workers in Mexico City protest austerity ordered by Yankee bankers, Mexican government (left). Largely Chicano copper miners in Arizona strike against Phelps Dodge, 1984 (right).

Debt Bomb...

(continued from page 9)

wheat and beef, Chilean and Peruvian copper to continue spiraling ever upward or, at any rate, to remain high. By 1980 almost 60 percent of the profits of American banks came from overseas operations, and 20 percent of Chase Manhattan's earnings came from Brazil alone.

But then the 1981-82 world depression popped the commodity price boom like a balloon. Some 30 million people were unemployed in North America and West Europe, industrial production fell sharply and export markets dried up for Latin American products. "To some extent, U.S. inflation was broken on the backs of the Third World," admits even the *Wall Street Journal* (2 October 1985). The would-be cartels for copper, tin, coffee, sugar and rubber all collapsed as desperate Third World regimes cut prices to maintain market share. And now so has the strongest cartel of all, OPEC. Remember the anti-OPEC hysteria back in the '70s? The Arabs were blamed for sabotaging the economic health of the "free world." But key to the success of the OPEC cartel were those blond, blue-eyed "Arabs" in the executive offices of Exxon, Texaco, etc. OPEC was at its core a partnership between the predominantly American oil majors (the Seven Sisters) and the Saudi monarchy.

In the late '70s politicians like Jimmy Carter told the American people that the good life was over because the world was fast running out of oil. Nonsense! OPEC's price-gouging—at its height a barrel of oil was selling for *80 times the cost of production* in the Persian Gulf—had nothing to do with any real shortage in supply. And as the Persian Gulf producers pushed up prices, it became highly profitable to develop fields elsewhere (e.g., the southern Gulf of Mexico, the North Sea). Once these new oilfields came on stream, in addition to substitution and conservation measures, the price of oil was bound to fall. The Saudis tried vainly to stem the slide by cutting back production. They succeeded only in cutting back their share of the world market. Now they are turning on the oil tap to recoup that market share. The price has fallen from $25 to $13 a barrel in just a few months. So it's *finis* OPEC.

By and large, capitalist spokesmen are hailing the oil price collapse as a great boon to the Western world. "Economic Forecasts Brighter as Result of Oil Price Slump," headlines the *New York Times*. There is, however, a rather large black cloud behind this silver lining. A substantial section of American finance capital bet very heavily on sky-high oil prices, lending heavily to wildcatters in Texas and Oklahoma as well as oil-exporting countries like Mexico.

It was the beginning of the oil price slide which first triggered the Mexican debt crisis in 1982. Today the situation facing Mexico is in every way far worse. Export earnings have fallen from $20 billion in 1981 to $15 billion last year. This year simply the interest payments due foreign moneymen amount to $10 billion! When Mexico's new president, Miguel de la Madrid, was inaugurated in December 1982, he proclaimed: "The austerity is obligatory." Prices were raised for all goods and services provided by the state, including electricity, telephones, road and rail transportation, and urban transit. Sales (value-added) taxes were doubled. Subsidies were slashed for a broad range of consumer goods, including such basic foodstuffs as beans and corn tortillas. Industrial production plummeted as unemployment soared, all in order to reduce imports.

In this way a net capital outflow of over $7 billion was squeezed out of the Mexican people over the past three years for the banking houses of New York and Zürich. Mexico was supposed to be the "good boy," the model Latin American debtor nation that was willing to swallow the IMF's bitter medicine. But despite the Mexican government's "success" in tightening the belts of Mexican workers, the country is now in worse shape than ever. How much more will they take? A liberal Mexican academic, Jorge Castañeda, protests: "Mexico can no longer bleed its economy, its people and its future in order to meet interest payments."

Mexico has one of the largest and best-organized proletariats in Latin America. But for decades that proletariat has been shackled by a corporatist bureaucracy whose main stock in trade is anti-Yankee nationalist demagogy. Now, under the unrelenting pressure of debt peonage, the Mexican corporatist political order could crack. Even moderately perceptive imperialist spokesmen worry that a social explosion just south of the border would make its current troubles in Central America look like mere brushfires.

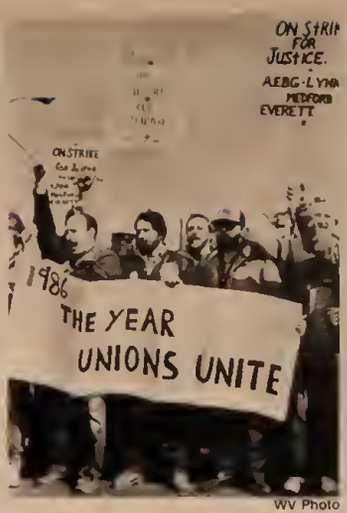
Der Spiegel

October 1929: Wall Street panic as stock market boom goes bust.

Mexico is not simply the U.S.' major oil supplier and a major Wall Street debtor. There is also a powerful *proletarian* link. There are between 20 and 30 million Mexican and Chicano workers in the United States, concentrated from Texas to California and extending as far north as Chicago. These Hispanic proletarians are among the most combative elements in the North American workers movement. Witness the heroic battles of Chicano copper workers against Phelps Dodge in Arizona and the die-hard fight of predominantly Mexican-born women against the cannery bosses in Watsonville, California. As Reagan's agribusiness and "Sun Belt" capitalist pals are well aware, a social upheaval in Mexico would have a powerful impact on its neighbor to the north.

The Spectre of a Great Crash

All the streams flowing into the debt-laden American economy are now coming together. The feverish lending to Latin America in the 1970s has produced in Mexico an explosive economic and political situation. The corporate takeover mania has created fears among investors of a major junk-bond default. And international financiers are now voting with their yen and deutschmarks against Reagan's Star Wars deficit. The dollar has fallen 25 percent in world money markets over the last year. Federal Reserve chief Volcker recently told Congress that the dollar's drop was nearing "the danger zone." If it falls much further, the run on the dollar may become a rout as foreign investors pull their money out of the U.S. before it loses even more value.



WV Photo

Striking GE workers at Lynn, Massachusetts fight bosses' union-busting offensive, March 5.

Ever since the Latin American debt crisis broke in late 1982, financiers and economists have been asking themselves: can another great crash like 1929 happen again? No one doubts the *possibility* that a stoppage of Mexican interest payments or a big junk-bond default, for example, could set off a chain reaction of bankruptcies. But the conventional bourgeois wisdom is that such a financial collapse will be prevented by the application of "socialism" to banks in trouble. Indeed, every capitalist in the world is an ardent advocate of nationalization...of *his* debts when he can't pay them. The men who run Wall Street and the Fortune 500 hoardrooms know that the Reagan gang's "free market" rhetoric is so much bullshit.

Look what happened to Continental-Illinois. In 1983 the eighth largest bank in the country was about to go bust primarily due to unwise speculation in the Oklahoma oil patch. The federal government then pumped in $7.5 billion, appointed its own overseers and totally reorganized the bank's operations. In effect Continental-Illinois was nationalized. Many bourgeois spokesmen maintain that bank bailouts like Continental can be carried out on any scale necessary to prevent another great crash. This argument was presented clearly a few years ago by the late Robert Weintraub, then senior economist for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress:

> "Because the banking system collapsed in the early 1930s, some believe that it could happen again.... However, what happened in the 1930s could have been prevented if the Federal Reserve had kept the money supply from contracting, as it should have done."
>
> —"International Debt: Crisis and Challenge," *Cato Journal*, Spring/Summer 1984

In other words, another great crash can always be prevented if only the government runs the printing presses fast enough. But such a mammoth bank hailout, especially coming on top of the over $200 billion a year Star Wars deficit, would produce an inflationary explosion the likes of which this country has never seen. Interest rates would shoot up to triple-digit levels disrupting production and commerce. People's savings would disappear. To dampen inflationary pressures, the American ruling class would try to impose an austerity which would make the present Reagan cuts look like chicken feed. In short, America would begin to look more and more like Brazil.

The mad ambition of this country's rulers to destroy the Soviet Union is bleeding the productive wealth of America, posing a future of more depression, racism and permanent pauperization—and with the ever-increasing threat of nuclear Armageddon. Leon Trotsky's words in the Transitional Program, written in the depths of the last Great Depression, hold doubly true today:

> "The economic prerequisite for the proletarian revolution has already in general achieved the highest point of fruition that can be reached under capitalism. Mankind's productive forces stagnate. Already new inventions and improvements fail to raise the level of material wealth. Conjunctural crises under the conditions of the social crisis of the whole capitalist system afflict ever heavier deprivations and sufferings upon the masses. Growing unemployment, in its turn, deepens the financial crisis of the state and undermines the unstable monetary systems. Democratic regimes, as well as fascist, stagger on from one bankruptcy to another....
>
> "All talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet 'ripened' for socialism is the product of ignorance or conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. The turn is now to the proletariat, i.e., chiefly to its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."
>
> —*The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* (1938)

In the U.S. today, the wretched AFL-CIO bureaucracy is not only sabotaging workers' struggles but openly scabbing. Look at Hormel! Hormel meatpackers, Wheeling-Pittsburgh steel workers, Phelps Dodge copper miners, Watsonville cannery workers, Greyhound bus drivers and TWA flight attendants have shown combativity and determination to resist the massive takehacks and wage-gouging by the modern-day Jack the Rippers of corporate America. But union misleaders, beginning with former United Auto Workers piecard Doug Fraser in the 1979 Chrysler bailout, would sell their grandmother's gravestone for a seat on the company's board of directors.

Class collaboration has turned into an insidious brand of corporatism as these labor lieutenants of capital shackle their members and strangle the unions' potential power while the bosses move to restore 1920s sweatshop working conditions and destroy entire workforces. A new class-struggle leadership must be forged, fusing the militant traditions which built the industrial unions in the 1930s with the political understanding that labor must break with the Democrats and forge a revolutionary workers party. By "expropriating the expropriators," a workers government must rebuild America on an international socialist planned economy, where production is based on need, not ruinous greed. ■

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Turkish Workers...

(continued from page 6)

a revolutionary party to turn this anger into class struggle against the Fourth Reich of Thyssen and Flick.

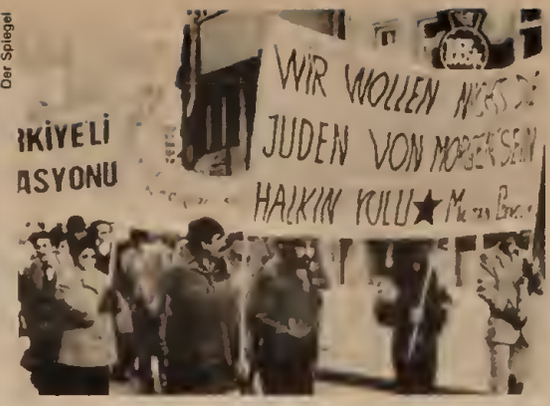
Smash the Fourth Reich!

Last year U.S. president Reagan and West German chancellor Kohl confirmed their anti-Soviet alliance by saluting the Nazi SS graves at Bitburg. This ceremony unleashed a wave of "Deutschland über alles" chauvinism and anti-Semitism across West German society. The mood of resurgent nationalism expresses the increased self-assertion of the German imperialist ruling class. It also provides a fertile climate for the growth of fascist organizations.

The 4.5 million *Gastarbeiter*, of which 1.5 million are Turks, are treated as disturbers of "national unity" and as scapegoats for all social ills while many are still needed to keep West Germany's economy strong. Those that are not needed are brutally expelled. Many Turkish working-class youth are forced to go "back to Turkey" after school although they hardly speak Turkish or know that country. This is especially hard on young Turkish women, who have been raised in Western society and are now forced to live under repressive Islamic custom. And while the West German bourgeoisie opens the doors wide for anti-Communist refugees from East Germany and East Europe, it locks up left-wing political refugees in concentration camps.

Wallraff believes that a Social Democratic government will change things for the better for foreign workers. But it was under a government led by Social Democratic chancellor Helmut Schmidt that the crackdown against the *Gastarbeiter* began. And remember "Ali's" employer Vogel was an SPD member in good standing. There is nothing shocking or surprising in this. The Social Democratic bureaucracy are the loyal labor lieutenants of the Thyssens and Flicks.

Popperfoto



Der Spiegel

Jewish slave labor in Nazi Germany (left). Stuttgart: Turkish workers march with banner saying, "We Don't Want to Be the Jews of Tomorrow."

The Federal Republic of Germany is the official successor state to the Nazi Third Reich. And the continuity is not simply a formal one. Old Nazis are to be found at every level of the West German government. Some of West Germany's biggest industrialists, like Flick, first grew rich as exploiters of *Zwangsarbeiter* (slave labor) for Hitler's war machine. In 1944 there were 7.5 million slave laborers in Nazi Germany. They worked 16 hours a day, getting only 800 calories of food. After six months most were so weak they couldn't work any longer and were thrown into the gas ovens.

Today, the West German ruling class would like to wash its hands of the Holocaust. But the working class will never forgive nor forget the concentration camps where eleven million people, six million of them Jews, were killed, nor the slave-labor camps and the destruction of the German workers movement.

The nightmare of Nazi rule in Europe was finally ended in 1945 when the victorious Soviet Red Army entered Berlin and raised the red flag atop the Reichstag. However, only one part of Germany was ripped from the hands of the capitalists and transformed into a workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed by Stalinism. In East Germany there are no old Nazis in high places and no skinhead fascists to terrorize foreigners and workers. But in West Germany the bourgeoisie remained in power and by and large the old fascists kept calling the shots. They see Bitburg as the opening shot in their "revenge." Their aim is to overthrow the East German workers state and ultimately the Soviet Union, continuing the old Nazi program of *"Drang nach Osten"* (Drive to the East).

West Germany, however, is not one reactionary mass. The powerful German bourgeoisie finds its counterpart in a powerful and well-organized proletariat, one that was historically betrayed by Social Democracy and Stalinism. Never again must German imperialism, now in alliance with the far more powerful and dangerous warmongers in Washington, be allowed to plunge the world into a new wave of barbarism! The German working class can provide the spark to ignite the workers of the whole of Europe in the struggle for the revolutionary future of mankind. This requires a Trotskyist party based on an internationalist program of *revolutionary unification* of Germany through socialist revolution in the West and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East.

Turkish worker militants can and must be a crucial component of a German revolutionary party. For the most part foreign workers are deeply integrated into West Germany's industrial labor force. Many of them are militant trade-union fighters, all the more so since they are not bound to the Social Democracy like their native German coworkers. There have been quite a few fights where German, Turkish and other foreign workers stood side by side struggling against the same capitalist enemy, from the 1973 Ford strike in Cologne to the shipyard occupations in Hamburg and Bremen in 1984 to last year's strikes for the 35-hour week. What is needed to weld the German and immigrant workers into a mighty assault on capital is a party based on an internationalist program which fights for full citizenship rights for foreign workers and for the defense of East Germany and the Soviet Union against resurgent German imperialism. ■

French Elections...

(continued from page 7)

against imperialism, immediate and unconditional independence for French colonies. This is the task that the LTF has set itself.

Critical Support to Lutte Ouvrière

For class-conscious workers who have had enough of Mitterrand's now very *un*popular front, there can be no question of voting for the candidates of the reformist parties who have organized this disaster—including the CP. Georges Marchais' party now seeks to cover its tracks with a campaign presenting itself as the defender of the working class against reaction and the government's policies, while in fact preparing yet another class-collaborationist operation. Marchais continues to defend CP ministers' complicity in three years of Mitterrand's anti-working-class, anti-Soviet policies, and declares the CP "is ready at any moment to participate with other forces" (*L'Humanité*, 13 January). The Stalinists' goal on March 16 is to get a large enough vote to create conditions for eventual participation in another government with the SP and bourgeois "progressives," or even to support it from the outside—a popular front corridor coalition.

Sygma

French Trotskyists say: This government is anti-worker! Break with Mitterrand!

As for the "far left," the LCR is also trying to cover up its decade of pro-Mitterrand "unity"-mongering. Krivine's outfit has so immersed itself in anti-Soviet social democracy that it marched together with fascists in defense of Polish Solidarność, Ronald Reagan's favorite "union." And when General Jaruzelski visited Paris last December, the LCR denounced Mitterrand *from the right* for receiving the Polish leader. In the March elections, they are calling for a vote to the SP and CP in those departments where they are not presenting candidates or participating in a social-democratic anti-Soviet lash-up of ex-New Leftists, ecologists, etc. which calls for a "nonaligned" French imperialism. For its part, Lambert's PCI/MPTT, which has fused with the CIA-financed Force Ouvrière union bureaucracy, is running candidates in every district on a program defending "the popular mandate of 1981"—that is, Mitterrand's original program!

For the LTF, opposition to the popular front is a question of principle: we have always refused to vote for candidates of class-collaborationist coalitions, fighting instead for working-class independence from all sectors of the bourgeoisie. So following the breakup of the SP/CP/Left Radical "Union of the Left," when Marchais announced in 1980 that "three times is enough"—referring to the popular fronts of 1936, 1944 and 1972—and the CP talked of running under its own colors, the LTF considered critical support to its candidates. However, this tactic was rendered impossible by the Stalinists' disgusting assault on immigrant workers at Vitry, designed to demonstrate the CP's chauvinist loyalty to "its" bourgeoisie as a preliminary to participation in the Mitterrand government.

In the March 16 legislative elections, the LTF is calling for a vote to candidates of Lutte Ouvrière. LO is running in opposition to the government, and unlike 1981 when it called for a vote for Mitterrand in the second round—"without illusions" but also "without reservations" (!)—this time it is explicitly refusing to vote for the SP and CP. While now claiming to be sadder but wiser, LO presents an economist program, simply tailing behind the widespread working-class discontent with the Mitterrand regime. Nevertheless, by running independently of and against the mass reformist parties, the LO campaign allows revolutionary Trotskyists to politically combat the popular front by offering their sharply critical support.

The Ligue Trotskyste de France, the only communist organization that refused to capitulate before rose-colored illusions in Mitterrand five years ago, insists that working-class independence is the key to victory in the coming class battles. ■

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

will strengthen the internal basis for counterrevolution.

The Democrats are no less committed to counterrevolution in Nicaragua than is Reagan. They have another strategy, that's all. They know the open U.S. backing for the hated contras will strengthen the hardliners in the Sandinista regime and isolate Washington's friends in Managua. As a former senior editor of the *New York Times*, John Oakes, argued: "The more pressure from the outside, the less freedom on the inside." By "freedom" Oakes and his fellow liberals mean freedom for the Superior Council of Private Enterprise and reactionary Catholic hierarchy to try to organize the overthrow of the Sandinistas. Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution demands the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, U.S. imperialism's fifth column.

Reagan's Contra Band.

Reagan's Redbaiting Backfires

Having just gotten out of a jam in the Philippines by replacing the used-up dictator Marcos with the fresh face of Cory Aquino, the Reaganites figure

AFP

White House can't sell contra losers.

they're on a roll. Suddenly they talk of performing the "magic of Manila" in Managua. Reagan's favorite shuttle diplomat Philip Habib was appointed to line up Congressional committees and Central American puppet presidents behind the contra aid. And Washington pundits were called into the White House to get the word from the Heavy Hitters on deep background. As William Safire reported it, the Reagan/Shultz/Weinberger message went something like this:

> "You say you like this topple-the-dictator business?... Tell you what we're gonna do: we're gonna finance the overthrow of the dictatorial regime of Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua. And while we're at it, we're gonna help Jonas Savimbi topple the corrupt dictatorship in Angola. You like toppling, you'll get toppling."
>
> —*New York Times*, 3 March

But it's one thing to topple an American flunkey in the Philippines and replace him with another even more beholden to Washington, simply by shooting a phone call from the White House; it's another matter altogether to topple a regime growing out of a popular revolution that overthrew a hated tyrant in Nicaragua and which recently won free and fair elections hands down.

Realizing that the contras may be on the ropes and the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie remains divided over a U.S. invasion, the only way they can hope to topple the Sandinistas, the administration has decided they can at least make the Democrats squirm. Meanwhile, the "American boys" are already being deployed. Six U.S. air bases have been set up in "Fort Honduras," with a seventh on the way, and more than 25,000 troops have been rotated through on one or another "exercise" during the last three years. Currently a few thousand National Guardsmen are participating in the "Cabañas '86" maneuvers, with more scheduled to arrive in April to stage a mock battle a few miles from the Nicaraguan border.

After five years and over $150 million the Somozaist-led contras are on the verge of collapse. The vast bulk of the force is now holed up in Honduras reeling from the pounding of the Sandinista army and militia. A senior contra official confessed to the *New York Times* (6 March) that the mercenaries were a "paralyzed army, maybe a defeated army," admitting that "This is going to take more than $100 million because they are no match for the Sandinistas." Indeed. Top contra commander Col. Enrique Bermúdez, a former National Guard officer with close ties to the CIA, blames the contras' disintegration on a lack of boots. But the truth is, the Somozaist officers are pathological killers, good for nothing but murder and rape of civilians, while their ranks are often peasants who were kipnapped and forced to join.

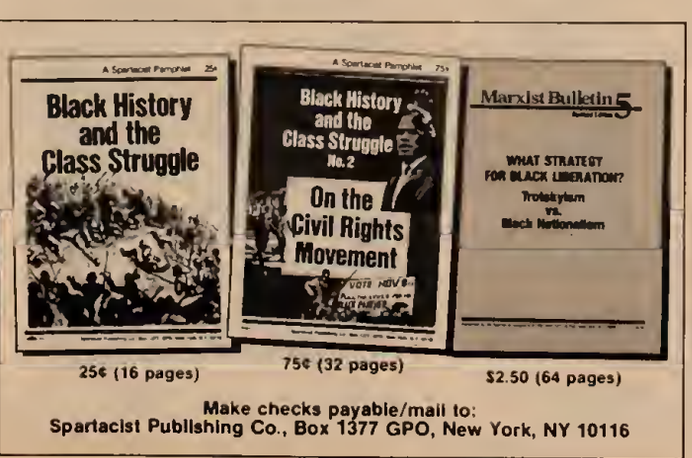
The Reaganauts launched their lobbying effort by charging the Sandinistas with a Church-based "disinformation campaign" aimed at Congress. That's rich. Here we have the masters of the Big Lie, who have described the contra gang of drug pushers, sadists and rapists as "freedom fighters" while pumping in millions to overturn the popular Nicaraguan Revolution, attacking the Sandinistas for trying to manipulate public opinion! Perhaps the melodramatic highlight of the administration's campaign came during Secretary of State George Shultz's February 27 appearance before a skeptical Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Assuring the Senators that he knows "who the good guys and the bad guys are," Shultz pounded the table and fairly shouted that the contras could win, "if they had some shoes to wear and some uniforms to wear" (*New York Times*, 28 February).

White House communications director Patrick Buchanan, one of the main architects of the redbaiting tactic, drew a line dividing the "good" guys from the "bad" guys in this country, too: "With the vote on contra aid, the Democratic Party will reveal whether it stands with Ronald Reagan and the resistance—or Daniel Ortega and the Communists." Reagan's speechwriter didn't consider this an open question, stating that "the national Democratic Party has now become, with Moscow, co-guarantor of the Brezhnev doctrine in Central America" (*Washington Post*, 5 March). But many liberal Democrats worry that "complete overthrow of the Sandinistas" is not "likely to happen without massive intervention by us." They feel constrained from direct military intervention in Nicaragua by the memory of America's humiliating defeat in Vietnam.

Perhaps the biggest reason for the liberals' skepticism is the strategic victory won by the Sandinistas over the contras last fall. The Sandinista army has developed battle-hardened counter-insurgency battalions which can be rapidly deployed and, when backed by Soviet-supplied MI-24 Hind helicopter gunships and mobile rocket batteries, constitute a devastating anti-guerrilla force. The contra defeat has been so complete that the economically vital coffee harvest, a prime target of contra sabotage in previous years, has been left virtually untouched, even though contra camps are just over the border from important coffee plantations. This is doubly significant as soaring coffee prices are likely to provide a major bnost to the Nicaraguan economy.

Reagan claims that "What we're seeing is the end of the post-Vietnam syndrome, the return of realism about the Communist danger.... And now we're ready for one of the final acts" (*New York Times*, 11 March). Not so fast, Ronbo. Not only is the American public opposed to U.S. involvement in Central America and Congress leery of pouring more money down the contra rat hole, sections of the labor movement are beginning to mobilize against the domestic effects of the war drive. Strikes against givebacks today could broaden into political action tomorrow if Reagan decides to "send in the Marines." The Spartacist League has called for labor strikes against a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, and those who recall the last months of the American army's presence in Vietnam know that this could well happen.

Even the *Wall Street Journal* (5 March) notes that "Reagan's Risky Tack Ties Defeat of Contra Aid to Soviet Takeover or U.S. Invasion of Nicaragua." This could lead to a "big political defeat" if he can't pull it off, worries the mouthpiece of American finance capital. But it will be no thanks to the rad-libs and refnrmist left, who are just as terrified as the Democrats of being labeled "soft on the Soviets." Ever since Daniel Ortega went to Moscow last May looking for Russian aid to counter the imminent U.S. trade embargo, the "solidarity" milieu has taken a dive. Today, the main opposition to Reagan's contra aid has been from nuns and bishops lobbying Congress! But while the fake-lefts try to hide from the Russian question, declaring that talk of communism is just a red herring, the Trotskyists of the SL forthrightly answer Reagan: Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America! Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! ■



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Geronimo Pratt...

(continued from page 5)

Panthers to defend themselves against the police attacks." He added, "I made up my mind a long time ago that I would be prepared to die for my positions. The thing that really hurts is when my young boy visits me and says, daddy, come home, play basketball with me."

Geronimo Pratt is a courageous representative of a generation of black militants who sought to engage in revolutionary struggle against racist American capitalism. Pratt is among those class-war prisoners to whom the Partisan Defense Committee, in the tradition of the International Labor Defense, sends monthly stipends to help alleviate the horrors of confinement in some degree. The SL's principled revolutionary defense stands in sharp contrast to the bulk of the left who have abandoned Geronimo Pratt because he continues to symbolize revolutionary opposition to black oppression, unlike the black front men for Reagan's America such as Jesse Jackson or Wilson Goode.

There is no justice for black people in racist America. As Don Alexander told demonstrators outside the SF Federal Building, "We can win against the cross-burners, the lynchers, the race-terrorists with the program of mobilizing labor and blacks, all the oppressed, independently of the capitalist parties. We must forge a multiracial revolutionary working-class party and finish the Civil War, the unfinished business for the coming American workers revolution." ■

WV Photo

Geronimo Pratt, foremost class-war prisoner in America.

For a National Strike: Rip Up Giveback Contract!

Lynn GE Workers Strike Back

LYNN, Massachusetts—Over a thousand workers at General Electric's Turbine Division here walked off the job March 5, bringing GE's giant Riverworks complex to a total standstill. At a noon rally at union headquarters, hundreds of Aircraft Engine Division workers, on strike since February 21, chanted "1, 2, 3, 4—Bring Turbine out the door!" They then marched to the gate where they greeted the Turbine workers streaming out of the plant with applause, cheers and union chants. Later that afternoon, more than 80 percent of the workers voted for a plant-wide strike. Two days earlier, 1,800 GE employees in the nearby Everett and Medford aircraft parts plants also struck. With all 9,000 workers out, it was a solid show of force by International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 201.

The issue behind this strike is GE's arrogant attempt to destroy the union. Local 201's strike bulletins point to a backlog of grievances and harassment by foremen, including physical attacks against shop stewards. Last August a steward was so badly beaten that he was spitting up blood and required hospital attention. The last straw was in February when union steward Richard O'Day, a 46-year-old mechanic who worked at GE for 24 years, was given a week's suspension without pay because he told a boss he didn't "give a damn." Aircraft Division workers walked out in response to this highhanded discipline. Local 201 members are determined that their union will not be another PATCO; as one striker told the *Boston Globe* (4 March), "What we're striking over is, is there going to be a union tomorrow or not?"

GE workers have aggressively struck back against the company's refusal to recognize the union on the shopfloor. Since picket lines went up, management has persisted in its tactics of violence: at least one striker was run down by a company car and required hospitalization; another was jumped by company thugs while doing solo picket duty. The way to answer the union-busters is with a massive show of force, as during the 1969 strike when thousands of picketers surrounded the Lynn plant and scores of vehicles blocked the entrances. GE's anti-union violence is not a "local issue." Local 201 should lead a nationwide walkout against this strikebreaking company which first gave Ronald Reagan a national TV platform on "General Electric Theater," and sponsored Reagan on a tour of all 135 GE plants to spew out his redbaiting attacks on labor.

Lynn GE workers are in an excellent position to play hardball and help spark a real labor offensive in this country. Historically a center of union militancy, Local 201 voted down the national GE contract last summer by a two-to-one margin, objecting to the givebacks in wages and benefits. It was shoved down their throats, but not for long. As one striker put it succinctly: "Concessions are bullshit." The union has GE by the balls: the Lynn plants produce vital equipment for the U.S. military, including engines for F-18 jet fighters and Blackhawk helicopters. Even the bosses' press noted that the strike has left "work on the production of some $1 billion in military aircraft engines...at a standstill" (*Boston Herald*, 5 March). With a successful strike here, GE workers can unilaterally rewrite the contract and set the pace for labor nationally.

GE workers in Lynn, Massachusetts in solid strike against union-busting.

Lynn GE is critical to Reagan's war drive against the Soviet Union. For that very reason, strikers can expect the full arsenal of company/government repression to be brought to bear. Neither General Electric nor the Pentagon is going to take this lying down. The last major strike against GE took place during the Vietnam War. That hard-fought 101-day 1969 strike was the first in a wave of labor struggles: auto, post office and Teamsters. "Strikebreaker, war maker—Smash GE!" was a popular chant picked up by union militants making the link between the struggle of American workers and the struggle against Washington's war on the peasants and workers of Vietnam. Should this strike last for any length of time, you can bet the bosses and their state will cloak their union-busting in propaganda about "national defense."

Already, GE has asked the NLRB to enjoin Local 201 against picketing on the basis of an injunction handed down during the 1969 strike. As for GE's "patriotism," color it green. Last year, the company was exposed as part of a massive war industry swindle.

Don't Fall for Flag-Waving Union-Busting Claptrap!

Key to winning this strike is the fight for a class-struggle leadership that refuses to play by the bosses' rules or knuckle under to the predictable "patriotic" attacks from the company and their "labor lieutenants" in the top echelons of the union internationals. As strikers from Phelps Dodge copper miners to Hormel meatpackers have found out, the AFL-CIO misleaders are avowed enemies of *any* serious workers' struggles. And this is nothing new. A *Boston Globe* (4 March) article on the Lynn strike recounted the post-World War II witchhunts in the CIO, which broke the powerful Communist-led UE:

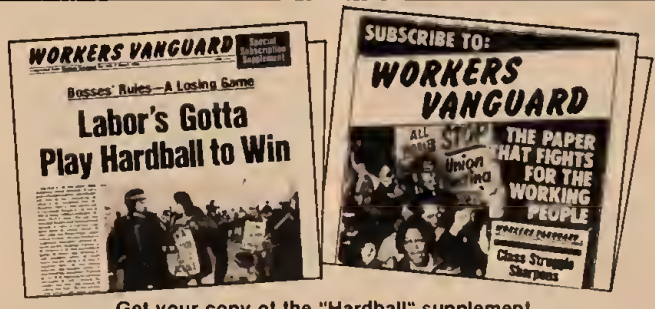
> "...the company helped foster [the IUE] some 35 years ago. Taking advantage of the red-baiting acceptable during the McCarthy era, GE helped drive out a powerful union and invited in several others in an attempt to divide workers. GE won then. But the militancy it hoped to rid itself of in the 1940s and '50s is still alive at Local 201 in Lynn."

The present union bureaucracy was forged in the anti-Soviet Cold War. And it's a straight line from purging the union leaderships of militants and "reds" in the '40s to givebacks and physical violence against union stewards in the '80s.

The Lynn strike is not an isolated action: it's part of a national reaction to the sellout givebacks negotiated by the labor fakers. The entire Boston-area labor movement must be mobilized behind Local 201, and GE workers must link their fight to others around the country. The seven-month-old strike by Hormel meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota has already inspired Lynn workers with their militant determination. At an IUE solidarity meeting with Hormel P-9 strikers in Lynn, March 5, a P-9 spokesman laid it out:

> "We gave 'em all kinds of concessions—we sold the farm in '78. In 1984, because of the wage reopener in our contract, Hormel said, 'Hey, you guys, want to sign this?' We said, 'Naw, stick it man, we've done enough for you'."

Enough of this union-busting garbage! GE workers are on the front line of labor's fight. A victory here can turn the tide for unionists from striking TWA flight attendants to Hormel packinghouse workers. Victory to the Lynn GE strike! ■



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Hormel Strike...

(continued from page 16)

"cram your Spam," but a powerful *workers' boycott*—where Teamsters, railroad workers, longshoremen "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) Hormel products. The company, cops and courts, the capitalist parties and their agents in the labor movement, will all scream "that's illegal"—but P-9 didn't get this far playing by the bosses' rules. Labor must play hardball to win! Mass pickets to shut down the plant! Don't touch scab goods—too hot to handle! Victory to P-9!

After years of having concessions and mass layoffs rammed down their throats, American workers are fed up. The giveback artists in the labor bureaucracy have become open *company cops* as they trade billions in concessions and hundreds of thousands of union jobs for their seats on company boards. Winning the P-9 strike means breaking the stranglehold of the AFL-CIO misleaders. But various union "dissidents" like the National Rank and File Against Concessions (NRFAC) and their pseudo-socialist cheerleaders will not and cannot build a *class-struggle opposition* to capitalism's "labor lieutenants." Their role is to cover the ass of saboteurs like UFCW's president "Loser" Wynn and AFL-CIO head "Lame" Kirkland.

WV Photo

Workers need their own party.

The CIO unions were built by "reds" in the stormy labor battles of the 1930s. The road to industrial unionism was prepared by the militant, socialist-led mass strikes of 1934: the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters, Toledo Auto-Lite workers and San Francisco longshoremen. The sit-down strike, key to organizing auto, was pioneered at Hormel's Austin plant in 1933 by the former "Wobblies" of the Independent Union of All Workers. These are the traditions of labor struggle that must be restored to win the fight at Hormel's. Today again it will take sharp class battles to bring Reagan down, and labor must forge its own party, a revolutionary workers party, to lead the fight.

P-9's Picket Lines Have Drawn the Class Line

Throughout the labor movement, the line has been drawn over Hormel: are you with P-9 or with the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, who has enrolled in the official AFL-CIO campaign to smash the strike. In the San Francisco Bay Area, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) militants fighting to defend P-9 have been opposed every step of the way by the ILWU officialdom, who fear what a victory at Hormel would mean to the class struggle up and down the West Coast.

In Oakland-based ILWU Local 6 (warehouse), Militant Caucus member Pete Farruggio put forward a motion at the February union meeting to donate money to the Hormel strikers. Local president Al Lannon, the "progressive" darling of Bay Area liberals and radicals, went into a tirade denouncing the P-9 strikers, and succeeded in tabling the motion. At the February 26 General Executive Board, Lannon came back with a despicable "policy statement" attacking P-9 and calling for an end to the strike. He went on to say Local 6 "will not take sides in that inner-union struggle." There are no neutrals in Austin: Lannon has picked his side—he's with the scabherders and union-busters. Denouncing "falsely militant calls for 'all-out support' a thousand miles away," he calls for a "top-level Labor Commission" (like who, Kirkland and Wynn?) to "intervene" in the strike—in plain English, to sink it.

UPI

Scabherding National Guardsmen were ordered by Democratic governor Perpich to break Hormel strike.

Farruggio counterposed a Militant Caucus motion to back the Hormel workers' fight and win *now*, calling for financial support to the strike and hot-cargoing Hormel's scab products. But with reformist Communist Party supporters sitting on their hands, Lannon's motion to scuttle support for the P-9 strike passed.

Meanwhile, in Local 10 (longshore) across the Bay in San Francisco, the ILWU bureaucracy tried to gut class-struggle solidarity with the Hormel strikers, just as they have spent the last 20 years presiding over the steady erosion of jobs, the hiring hall and working conditions on the waterfront. At the February 27 Local 10 Executive Board a P-9 striker addressed the meeting, after which Militant Caucus spokesman Stan Gow, who was recently re-elected to his 13th term on the board, introduced the following motion:

> "Whereas: The courageous Hormel workers' strike is the critical battle for the American labor movement and whose victory could spark a long overdue labor offensive, and
> "Whereas: It is imperative that the American labor movement do everything in its power to assure a victory by Hormel strikers, and
> "Whereas: Instead, the strikers are being stabbed in the back by their own International leadership, backed up by the AFL-CIO executive committee, who are doing everything in their power, in collaboration with the bosses, the Democratic Party governor and the National Guard, to break the strike,
> "Therefore, Be It Resolved: ILWU Local 10 conveys its complete solidarity with Local P-9 and all the Hormel workers and urges Local P-9, joined by all labor organizations in the Austin area and throughout the Midwest, to mobilize their members to build mass pickets at the Austin Hormel plant to shut it down tight, drive out the National Guard and win the strike, and
> "Therefore, Be It Finally Resolved: That ILWU Local 10 will make an initial contribution of $250 to the Hormel Strike Fund, will search out and hot cargo any Hormel products for the strike's duration and will do everything in our power to assist roving P-9 pickets."

While lifting a cap on local donations and raising the amount to $500, Local 10 president Joe Lucas bureaucratically deleted the motion's clear stand with P-9 against Wynn, Kirkland & Co. and the Democratic Party strikebreakers. But the motion, including the key call to refuse to handle Hormel products, was then passed. Political strike action can lend decisive aid in defense of workers and the oppressed in key battles, such as against the 1973 coup in Chile or the bloody repression launched by the apartheid regime in South Africa in 1984. For more than a decade, the Militant Caucus has fought to establish the class-struggle tactic of hot-cargoing in Local 10, a majority-black local with its origins in the 1934 San Francisco general strike.

Gow moved that the board carry out the motion in defense of P-9 immediately by executive action, but none of the so-called "militants" on the board had the guts to back the Local 10 hacks and second Gow, thereby giving the bureaucracy several weeks to sabotage the motion until the March 20 union meeting. Among those who kept silent was one Howard Keylor, a fake-oppositionist and supporter of the ex-"External Tendency," an increasingly dubious clot who fled from the revolutionary struggle of the Spartacist League in the Reagan years. Keylor ran point for the ILWU tops during the 1984 boycott of South African cargo, declaring that hot-cargoing was *not a union action*, but only an act of "individual conscience." This enabled ILWU president Jimmy Herman to sink the boycott when the capitalist courts handed out their paper injunctions.

Oust the Labor Traitors! Victory to P-9!

Back in Minnesota, the P-9 leadership, following the program of union adviser Ray Rogers' "Corporate Campaign" and the NRFAC lash-up of local union officials, is looking to a national consumer boycott to save the strike. This is *counterposed* to the hard class struggle which shut Hormel down in Austin and spread the strike to Ottumwa, Iowa in January. According to Ed Allen, a partner in Corporate Campaign, Inc., "The key isn't shutting the plant down tight but building solidarity with a wider public. We're counting on trade unionists around the country saying, 'We're not going to have another PATCO'" (*In These Times*, 29 January). But empty "solidarity" didn't save PATCO, and it won't stop the hog kill at Hormel. Back in January, Allen ordered militant Teamsters to stop when they successfully turned around scabs' cars at the Hormel gates. Rogers and Allen offer the courageous P-9ers the prospect of another long, losing "boycott strike," like the Morenci, Arizona copper strikers whose local unions were formally decertified February 19.

P-9 can win, *in Austin*, by mobilizing the forces to *shut the plant down*. Solidarity rallies, which are being held in cities across the country, can publicize the Hormel workers' fight and raise much-needed donations, but they are no substitute for mass pickets at the plant. At a March 8 rally in Atlanta, P-9 president Jim Guyette spelled out the strike leadership's retreat from the fight:

> "We in Austin, in Ottumwa, are a little bit fatigued by this struggle. However, when one gets tired, you run a little bit, and soon you get over being tired. And that's exactly what we are doing. We're

Hormel Butchers Workers

Responding to a baiting question from an anti-labor reporter who compared the horrifying industrial injury rate at Hormel to falling down on the ice (!), Local P-9 president Jim Guyette said, "People do not go to work to deliberately hack off pieces of their body in order to take advantage of any workers' compensation system."

Talk to any P-9 striker about his or her working conditions, and you will quickly sense the anger that has fueled this strike. Hormel treats its machinery far better than its workforce. Meatpacking is a dangerous industry, in which one third of the workers suffer some kind of injury every year. At Hormel's flagship Austin plant, there are an incredible *202 injuries per 100 workers per year*—more than six times the average in the industry! Major lost-time injuries have more than doubled since 1981. At Hormel's, workers are treated like meat.

A P-9 member told *WV* about some typical accidents in the hog kill department. Workers standing elbow-to-elbow on cement platforms perform quick cutting operations on the hogs, using razor-sharp knives. One worker slipped off his blood-drenched platform, slashing his neighbor's leg as he fell. The injured worker almost bled to death. Another worker in "the cut" stabbed himself in the stomach; he had been boning hams, cutting toward himself as they all must do in order to get the work done as fast as the company wants.

Carpal tunnel syndrome is a very common ailment here. We were talking to some P-9ers over coffee in the union hall basement when they called over a fellow striker. When he put his forearms together, palms up, we saw the massive scars. Asked if his injuries were in the photo on one of P-9's leaflets, the strikers all chimed in, "No, there are plenty of wrists around that look the same."

Carpal tunnel syndrome is a collection of deposits in the wrists that is caused by the repeated grabbing motions required in many meatpacking jobs, from cutting to pulling nets off steamed hams. The deposits pinch the nerves and tendons, causing pain and in some cases rendering the hands useless. Some Hormel workers, after working on the grueling line, can't even hold onto a steering wheel!

Hormel is demanding that injured workers on rehab jobs lose their regular jobs if they don't reclaim them within 60 days. The company also wants a green light for unlimited speedup by eliminating "past practices" and outlawing the right to strike, the bottom line for safety on the job. At Hormel, defending yourself on the shopfloor is a matter of life and limb.

Spartacist Forum

Eyewitness Report:
Class Battle at Hormel
Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win

Guest Speaker Kevin Quirk, Member
Amalgamated Transit
Union Local 241

Saturday, March 22, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel
636 South Michigan Avenue
For more information (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Bay Area Labor: Don't Move Scab Produce!

Defend Watsonville Strike!

WATSONVILLE, California—For six months the largely Mexican women cannery workers here have been on the front lines of class struggle in Reagan's America. They have stood up to bloodsucking bosses, brutal police attacks and their own sellout leaders in the Teamster bureaucracy. And their combativity and determination remains unbroken. The very day after cops in riot gear assaulted a union support rally February 17, about 100 strikers and supporters defied an anti-picketing injunction and prevented the Watsonville Canning and Frozen Food Co. from running a second shift.

A few days later, on February 22, a union support rally of 1,200 gave a standing ovation to Harold Miller, a representative of the striking Hormel meatpackers, who told them: "We need to work together against our enemy." Watsonville strikers were keenly interested in the Hormel union's flying pickets that have shut down other plants, and inspired their determination to keep fighting in the face of National Guard strikebreaking. The bosses' press worries that the interest in the "violent" Austin, Minnesota strike is to "prove that confrontation can be a more effective tactic" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 February). But the union tops are dead-set against the militant tactics urgently needed to *win*, both in Watsonville and at Hormel: *mass picket lines to stop the scabs and shut down the plants, and hot-cargoing of the struck products.*

WV Photo

Contingent of striking Watsonville cannery workers, predominantly Mexican women, at M.L. King memorial march in San Francisco, January 20.

Like their class brothers at Hormel, the Watsonville cannery workers have experienced the hard way that the armed forces of the state are the armed forces of the capitalist bosses. At the rally striker Gloria Betancourt told *WV* that a week before "the police fired tear gas into the union hall. There were children inside and we had to take some of the kids to the hospital." And after the rally, when about 100 people marched to the Watsonville Canning plant, the cops went to work once again. They arrested two for picket-line violations, forced the strikers and supporters to move back a few blocks and then began random arrests. Later that day, when people gathered at the prison to demand the release of those arrested, the cops again assaulted the crowd. Workers need mass pickets and their own *union defense guards* to defend the strike lines.

The strikers called the February 22 rally to "tell the company we won't accept a settlement like the one at Shaw." The Teamster Local 912 bureaucracy stabbed the strikers in the back with a sellout contract at the smaller of the two struck plants, Richard Shaw, Inc., claiming "the company was in dire need of relief." This sweetheart deal imposes virtually all of the takeaways demanded by the company, slashing line workers' wages from $7.06 to $5.85 an hour. Moreover, this contract contains clauses reducing wages even *further* to any lower level the union negotiates with other local cannery plants! The Teamster tops' sellout leaves 1,000 strikers to face Watsonville Canning, the industry leader, alone.

This strike *can be won* through real labor solidarity: unions must refuse to handle ("hot cargo") the scab goods. At a January union meeting, the strikers passed a motion to stop the produce coming in from the fields, where United Farm Workers president Cesar Chavez keeps the broccoli flowing into the struck plant. This is the crucial spring harvesting season for the canneries and for multibillion-dollar California agribusiness in general. But the Local 912 leaders declared that the motion would remain a dead letter on the usual grounds that secondary labor boycotts are illegal under Taft-Hartley. Screw Taft-Hartley!

Bureaucrats of other unions come to Watsonville for ritual weekend rallies, to get their pictures taken eating a taco for "solidarity," while they refuse to lift a finger to mobilize the powerful Bay Area labor movement to stop the scabs and scab goods. This strike is crucial for the labor movement in California, especially for the oppressed Mexican and Chicano workers. Winning it requires *mobilizing the power of labor now* before it is too late. ■

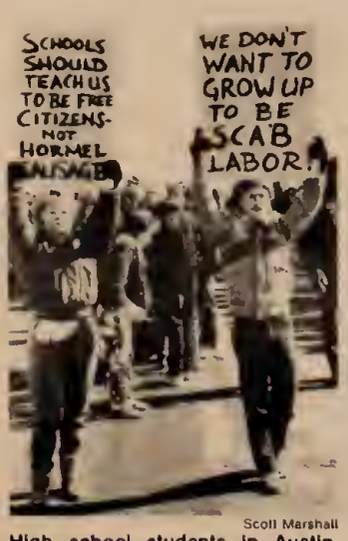
> running to Atlanta to confront the company, to New York, to San Francisco, to Philadelphia.... We want to hit the company where they will feel it the most, in their pocketbook."

What Hormel would feel the most is shutting down production. But Guyette put forward a different perspective:

> "We have also gone to some politicians .. but when you talk to politicians you have to talk their language, which is votes. A lot of politicians don't hear through their ears, they hear through their rears—you have to kick them out of office."

The way to deal with the phony "friend of labor" Democratic politicians is by organizing a class-struggle workers party.

The "rank-and-file" union officials pushing consumer boycotts have not broken with the sellout program of the AFL-CIO tops. NRFAC, which organized the Atlanta rally, invited Democratic Party honchos Julian Bond and Mayor Andrew Young. Young tours the world offering capitalists the advantages of the low-wage, non-union "New South," and Bond obscenely supported Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode's massacre of eleven MOVE men, women and children last May: "In my view Mayor Goode did the only possible thing he could do" (*Atlanta Voice*, 15-21 June 1985). Despite NRFAC's invitation, Bond and Young didn't show. The UFCW bureaucracy waged a campaign to sabotage the rally, redbaiting P-9 and the Ottumwa local, but a dozen workers from the Tucker, Georgia Hormel plant came out to demonstrate their support for P-9.



Scott Marshall

High school students in Austin, Minnesota rally for striking Hormel meatpackers.

Among the organizers and endorsers of NRFAC are local union officials representing thousands of members of industrial unions in the Midwest, including key unions in Chicago and Minnesota which could shut the Austin plant down tight with mass pickets. But these junior bureaucrats offer nothing except the same old class collaboration dressed up in militant rhetoric.

For weeks, the P-9 leadership has been paralyzed and incapable of waging the hard political fight *against the labor traitors* that is necessary to win. By and large, the P-9 leaders have not been where it counts—in Austin. So it is left to Rogers, who says "shut it down," but diverts the strikers' combativity into "civil disobedience," where handfuls of P-9ers are told to lie down on the ice in front of the cops and scabs. UFCW president Wynn attacks P-9's heroic fight as "mass suicide," and Rogers sounds like that's what he wants P-9ers to do when he tells strikers to lie down on the road and take it! To hell with that—the scabs should be sent crawling out of Austin, by union action to seize the plant!

Kirkland, Wynn & Co. have staked a lot on defeating P-9. They know that a victory now for the Hormel strikers will spell trouble for their strategy of "concessions" to bolster capitalist profits. Having come to power through the Cold War McCarthyite anti-Communist purges, today they swear allegiance to the anti-Soviet war drive. The American trade-union bureaucracy fears nothing more than an eruption of class struggle which would expose them as the parasites they are. The Spartacist League is fighting to build the class-struggle leadership that can oust the misleaders of labor, those in power and those waiting in the wings, who are roadblocks to the socialist revolution that will sweep away the union-busters, race-terrorists and warmongers once and for all. ■

TWA...

(continued from page 16)

mayhem. That and "deregulation" inspired Texas Air ("Treetop Airlines") tycoon and notorious union-buster Frank Lorenzo to make a heavily indebted buyout of Continental Airlines in 1983, demanding huge wage and job concessions from its 12,000 workers. When the flight attendants and pilots balked, Lorenzo filed for bankruptcy even though the company was solvent. He fired the entire workforce, then rehired one-third of the workers at half the pay and double the workload. The "bankruptcy" tactic brings the state, through the courts, directly and openly into the class struggle as undisguised union-buster—and it worked at Continental.

Lorenzo's latest buyout is Eastern. Here tens of millions in union concessions had won for Machinists district head Charles Bryan a seat on the board of directors. Now he's supposed to be a labor hero because he refused to go along with *another* 20 percent pay/benefits cut like the leaders of the flight attendants and pilots did. As a result, Eastern chairman and former astronaut Frank Borman, pressured by the banks, sold the company to Lorenzo. Bryan told his 12,000 members not to be "traditional union people, disruptive or slow-down and strike-minded" (*Newsweek*, 10 March), as he pleaded for an audience with the Texas airline czar. Ninety percent of the capital of Lorenzo's airline empire, now the largest in the country, rests on long-term debt, and clearly he intends to take the interest payments out of the hides of his workforce.

Lorenzo also had his eye on TWA. The leaders of the pilots union and the Machinists agreed to givebacks of 20 and 15 percent respectively so that the board of directors would back. Wall Street raider Carl Icahn against Lorenzo. The unions played a "crucial role," according to IFFA, in bringing Icahn in so that the company would not be grabbed by Lorenzo. Now if he gets his way, TWA stewardesses will start at the incredibly low wage of *$12,000 a year*, on schedules which require them to be away from home 320 hours a month (*New York Daily News*, 10 March). At People Express, the pioneer in such wage-slashing fly-by-night operations, flight attendants receive a salary of only *$9,000!*

As a high-flying Wall Street raider, Icahn has ripped down and ripped apart corporate empires. He is a terror in the Fortune 500 boardrooms. So Icahn naturally thought he could easily ride roughshod over TWA's labor force. "These girls aren't breadwinners, they will give me what I want," Icahn declared. Here is a certified male chauvinist pig as well as a bloodsucking corporate raider! But the gutsy ranks of the TWA flight attendants are not intimidated, and their strike could well spark a massive fight against the whole giveback offensive in airlines. When a *WV* reporter pointed this out to union spokesman Karen Eitelberg, she responded proudly, "Yeah, by a bunch of girls."

Whether it's Icahn or Lorenzo or Borman, there is no such thing as a "good" capitalist in the scramble for maximum profits. The bosses and their government have joined together in an onslaught against working conditions and safety in air travel. The labor bureaucracy's program of administering capitalism together with the bosses has only intensified the exploitation of labor, yet the AFL-CIO tops continue to crawl. To lead a real fight against the union-busting "giveback" offensive what's needed is a class-struggle leadership of labor. Shut down TWA! Victory to the flight attendants! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hormel Strike: A Battle Labor Must Win!

MARCH 10—The seven-month-old Hormel meatpackers strike is a key test for American labor. The defiant stand by Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) in Austin, Minnesota, in the face of the hard-nosed Geo. A. Hormel Co., a liberal Democratic governor and the National Guard, has won the admiration of millions of workers. P-9's roving pickets have sparked struggles in the meatpacking industry. Their combative example has inspired cannery workers in Watsonville, California, General Electric aircraft workers in Lynn, Massachusetts and airline workers at TWA, where 6,000 flight attendants struck March 7. Now the *open strikebreaking* of the UFCW and AFL-CIO labor traitors, their obscene declarations that P-9 is committing "mass suicide" and their plans to smash the striking local have cut like a knife through the labor movement. The issue is sharply posed: Will the unions continue to give back, or fight to win? Which side are you on?

At this moment in Austin, the strike is at a critical juncture. For weeks, Hormel has been gearing up production, with over 1,000 scabs in the plant. Hog kill operations began a month ago. And despite delays in training which have kept production down, *Hormel has the plant, not P-9*. Meanwhile, UFCW president Wynn has been meeting with scabs, including former officers of P-9, on plans to put the local into receivership and replace it with one more to Hormel's liking. On Monday, March 10, the union staged a sit-in outside the corporate headquarters, resulting in 115 arrests. The rank and file's will to fight was clear, but it has been channeled into dead-end symbolic gestures. Instead of padlocking the gates of the company offices from the outside (and sending the key to the governor!), they should lock the gates of the Austin plant *from the inside*, and throw away the key!

"P-9, Loud and Proud" has been a beacon for the entire workers movement. This strike must be won—and it can be won. We had better not let the Hormel strikers go down the tube. Instead of knuckling under to the bosses' court injunctions or getting arrested for nothing ("civil disobedience"), Midwest unions must mobilize for mass picketing in Austin to *occupy the plant* and send the scabs packing. Not the empty moral gesture of consumer boycott, calling on housewives to

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WV Photo

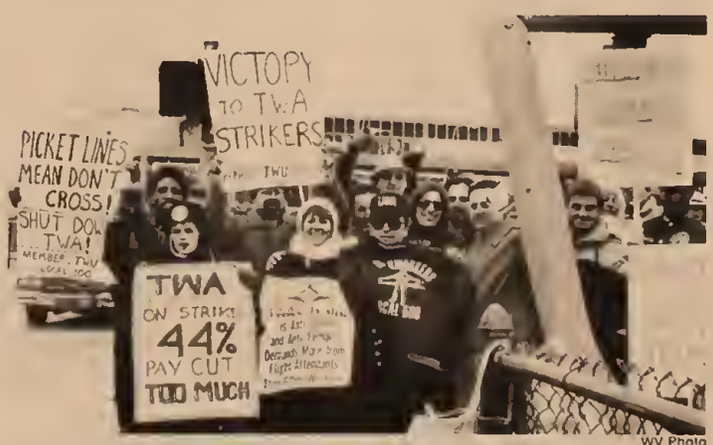
Austin, Minnesota—Thousands of trade unionists from across the country march in solidarity with striking Hormel meatpackers, February 15.

Machinists, Pilots: Honor the Picket Lines!

Shut Down TWA!

MARCH 10—Six thousand members of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA), 85 percent of them women, struck Trans World Airlines (TWA) March 7, forcing the company to cancel half its flights on the first day. The bosses thought they sensed weakness when the IFFA leadership offered to surrender 15 percent of their wages and benefits, so the company brazenly demanded *three times* that amount, triggering the strike. But this time the unexpected happened: across the country, thousands of Machinists union members, who comprise the critical ground crews and mechanics, spontaneously refused to cross the picket lines, crippling TWA. Such class solidarity is a clear example of how to turn the tide of takeaways in one of the most heavily unionized U.S. industries.

Everyone is watching this one. If the International Association of Machinists (IAM) continues to respect IFFA picket lines, then not only will TWA's takeback plan be smashed but the road will be opened to a labor counteroffensive across the country. Until now these airline strikes have been repeatedly lost precisely because the unions scabbed on each other. The air traffic controllers union PATCO was smashed by Reagan in 1981 with the help of IAM leader William Winpisinger's treacherous refusal to honor the picket lines, opening the door to the past several years of takebacks. Better known as "Wimpy," Winpisinger is a self-described "seat-of-the-pants socialist" who reserves his "socialism" for Sunday speechifying while the rest of the week he sits on his ass selling out labor struggles, backslapping Democratic Party politicians and backstabbing the workers.



WV Photo

At Kennedy Airport, NYC labor militants join picket line of striking TWA flight attendants.

Unlike the PATCO air controllers, stewardesses have no economic power. But there are the pilots, Machinists and Teamsters, any two of which can shut down the airlines tight as a drum. So far, the pilots union is openly scabbing, and the IAM International has issued only hot air "support" for the TWA strikers, telling the membership to go to it alone according to "conscience." But local IAM leaders have been pressured by the rank and file to respect the lines. The 3,200 Machinists in Kansas City are staying out in solidarity, as are Machinists at the airline's major hub in St. Louis. In New York, the 2,300-member IAM local agreed at a meeting March 8 to stay out. Union secretary Joe Adinolfi told *WV*, "There's a legitimate picket line up, and the policy of Local 1056 is we honor that picket line."

This strike can be won—*if* the conservative IAM bureaucrats don't capitulate when TWA obtains court orders this week. Everybody out on the picket lines! To hell with the bosses' courts! Picket lines mean don't cross! Shut down TWA with mass picketing!

Break from Class Collaboration!

Reagan's "first strike" against American labor was busting PATCO, thereby turning air travel into murderous

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 400 28 March 1986

Don't Mess With the Russians!

Reagan's Insane War Provocations

Navy War Ships Invade Soviet Waters, Attack Libya

MARCH 25—Has Reagan gone bonkers? Is Bonzo out of his tree? For the past two weeks, the president of the United States has been ranting that Sandinista Nicaragua is plotting to take over North America. Then last week it was revealed that two U.S. warships had brazenly sailed into Soviet territorial waters in the Black Sea, passing within six miles of the Crimean coast near a key Soviet naval base, and that a huge Navy task force was going to dare Libyan strongman Qaddafi to a shoot-out in the Gulf of Sidra. Now the Sixth Fleet has opened fire on Libya, as it was clearly aiming to do. With Soviet ships in the area and presumably with Russian technicians at Libyan missile sites, Reagan is tugging on the trip wires of World War III. In this military confrontation the world's working class has a side: with Libya against the insane provocations of U.S. imperialism—sink Reagan!

Supposedly these provocations were to test the U.S.' "right" to sail its war fleet anywhere the Pentagon feels like. This is not a dispute about Qaddafi's 100-mile claim in the Gulf of Sidra—the Navy's Black Sea stunt showed the U.S. doesn't even give a damn about the Soviet 12-mile limit, which the U.S. claims to recognize. Reagan just wants to play Rambo by giving the finger to the Russkies on their own turf, even if it means blowing up the world. What do you think would happen if the Russians pulled a stunt like the U.S.' Black Sea incursion around the Chesapeake Bay? The Soviets would be well within *their* rights if they blew the intruders out of the water—and they have rightly denounced Reagan's action in the Mediterranean as "international banditry" and "aircraft-carrier diplomacy" (UPI, 25 March).

We have said repeatedly that Reagan wants war with the Soviet Union, but this week many people were wondering if they'd get to finish their morning coffee. The anti-Soviet nut in the White House is literally fingering the red button.

On March 24, the U.S.' 30-ship Mediterranean task force with three aircraft carriers moved menacingly toward the Libyan coast. Their so-called "maneuvers" involved sending ships and carrier-based jet fighters across Qaddafi's "Line of Death," which delineates Libyan-claimed waters. The result was predictable: Libya reportedly fired several surface-to-air missiles at U.S. planes over a period of hours, and Reagan had his excuse for "retaliation": U.S. missiles struck a Libyan SAM-5 site, and as two Libyan patrol craft approached from their coastline without firing, the Americans destroyed one with Harpoon anti-ship missiles, apparently killing all aboard, and severely damaged another. The next day the U.S. reportedly destroyed another three patrol craft. The Libyans claim to have shot down three U.S. planes.

Meanwhile the U.S. issued a virtual declaration of war, as White House spokesman Larry Speakes declared "all approaching Libyan forces" to have "hostile intent." In Reaganite Newspeak, the presidential press secretary made a truly Orwellian war-is-peace pronouncement: "I can't characterize it as war...it is a peaceful navigational

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UPI

Der Spiegel

Reagan tugs trip wires for World War III. Coral Sea (right), part of U.S. Sixth Fleet attacking Libya.

U.S. Hands Off Libya!

Contra Aid:

Reagan Wants Green Light To Invade Nicaragua

MARCH 25—We may be witnessing another "Gulf of Tonkin incident," as Ronald (I'm a Contra) Reagan whips up a war fever, lashing out wildly against what he calls the Soviet "evil empire" from the Mediterranean to the Caribbean. U.S. presidents have had a problem lately dragging the country into war against the so-called "Communist menace"—namely, the reluctance of the American people to die for the greater glory of a Yankee empire. Back in 1964, Democrat Johnson wanted to send U.S. troops into Vietnam—so he invented a North Vietnamese attack on American warships in the Gulf of Tonkin, and Congress dutifully voted a resolution that served as the "legal" basis for the war, with its 50,000 American dead and two million Indochinese killed by the imperialists. Today, Reagan strikes against Libya. Is this a prelude to a full-scale assault on Nicaragua?

On Thursday, March 19 the U.S. House of Representatives narrowly voted down President Reagan's request for $100 million in weapons and logistical aid to the Nicaraguan contras. This CIA mercenary army is the spearhead of the U.S. attempt to "roll back" the Nicaraguan Revolution and overthrow the radical-nationalist Sandinistas, as

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Reinstate Bermúdez! No Retrial!

Berkeley Students Rally for Guillermo

The cop/administration vendetta against University of California/Berkeley student Guillermo Bermúdez, a member of the Spartacus Youth League, is being met by widening protest on the campus. At a March 12 rally in UC's Sproul Plaza, over 200 people heard activists from a wide range of organizations denounce the administration's suspension of Guillermo from school and the Alameda County D.A.'s decision to once again drag our comrade through the courts for leading a militant protest against Marine recruiters a year ago.

Arrested at the January 1985 protest, Guillermo was choke-holded and had his arm broken by the cops. In classic frame-up fashion, the victim was then charged with assaulting the police and resisting arrest. The attempt by Reagan and Meese's flunkeys in the D.A.'s office to railroad SYLer Bermúdez to jail was temporarily derailed when his trial ended in a hung jury this February. Having failed in court, the administration overrode its own Student Conduct Committee and suspended Guillermo on these same lying charges. The next day, the D.A.'s office announced that it would retry Bermúdez. The vindictive retrial is scheduled to begin May 8.

The March 12 rally, initiated by the SYL, was an impressive display of united opposition to administration/cop attacks on student protest. It was endorsed by members of the UC faculty, student senate, and a number of campus organizations and activists. As Guillermo told the rally, "The administration's plan is to intimidate everyone who justly protests the crimes of this government.... This is aimed directly at all of you, and that is why we must fight together." The administration and D.A. targeted Guillermo, cynically calculating that few would defend an outspoken revolutionary Marxist. But the wide political protest is proving them wrong. Speaking at the rally, Rodney Ward, representing the Campaign Against Apartheid, itself a target of administration attack, said:

> "We can't let this happen. You've got to support Guillermo whether or not you like the Spartacus Youth League, because next they're going to come after you. They're going to come after me. They're going to come after all of us if they can get Guillermo."

Other speakers included members of the SL, Labor Black League, *Grassroots* newspaper, the "ROTC 5," and ILWU Local 10.

The protest against the cop/administration vendetta against Guillermo has come from every quarter on campus. Two student members of the Student Conduct Committee wrote a "letter of censure" to the administration for its suspension of Guillermo, which was read at the rally by Chrystalla Haili, one of the two. The *Daily Californian* (6 March) published a powerful editorial condemning administration attack on the right of student protest and the suspension of Guillermo. The student senate, following an earlier protest of the suspension, passed two more motions demanding "No Retrial," "Rescind the Suspension," and "Drop All Charges Against Guillermo" at its March 19 meeting. In addition, dozens of students have helped circulate a petition defending Guillermo, which has already garnered more than 1,300 signatures on campus.

The administration's obsessive determination to "get" Guillermo has made him a symbol for all those determined *not* to be bound and gagged by the administration in the service of Reagan reaction. All those who defend the right to political protest must unite in action to demand: Drop the charges against Guillermo Bermúdez and other protesters! No retrial! Rescind the suspension of Guillermo Bermúdez! Down with administration/cop attacks on student protest!

Funds are urgently needed for Guillermo's defense. Make checks payable to Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund, and mail to Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, California 94101. ■

Young Spartacus

March 12: Over 200 people rally at UC Berkeley in united defense of Guillermo Bermúdez.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Defend the Unions, Defend the Soviet Union

Today, as the rulers of America seem hell-bent on provoking a world war with the Soviet Union, defense of the gains of the October Revolution is critical. James P. Cannon, veteran communist and a founder of American Trotskyism, said in a speech on 15 October 1939, shortly after the outbreak of World War II, that key to understanding the "Russian question" is to think in terms of struggle: what attitude do class-conscious workers take toward a bureaucratically led union in the midst of a strike? He concluded, "We are the party of the Russian revolution."

The question of the Russian revolution—and the Soviet state which is its creation—has drawn a sharp dividing line through the labor movement of all countries for 22 years.... Our position on the Russian question is programmatic. In brief: The theoretical analysis—a degenerated Workers' State. The political conclusion—unconditional defense against external attack of imperialists or internal attempts at capitalist restoration....

The Soviet Union emerged from the October revolution as a workers' state. As a result of the backwardness and poverty of the country and the delay of the world revolution, a conservative bureaucracy emerged and triumphed, destroyed the party and bureaucratized the economy. However, this same bureaucracy still operates on the basis of the nationalized property established by the revolution. That is the decisive criterion for our evaluation of the question.

If we see the Soviet Union for what it really is, a gigantic labor organization which has conquered one-sixth of the earth's surface, we will not be so ready to abandon it because of our hatred of the crimes and abominations of the bureaucracy. Do we turn our backs on a trade union because it falls into the control of bureaucrats and traitors? Ultra-leftists have frequently made this error, but always with bad results, sometimes with reactionary consequences.

—James P. Cannon, *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* (1943)

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No. 400 **28 March 1986**

Letter

Chicago Union Ranks Support Tribune Strikers

March 4, 1986
Chicago

Workers Vanguard

Dear Editor:

When 17,000 unionists come out to assist you on the picket lines, you might assume your strike's a winner. As reported in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 395, 17 January), the enormous January 4 turnout by Chicago labor at the struck *Tribune* production plant had all the potential for setting off a workers' "massive retaliation" against Reagan, local Democrats and not least of all the enormously wealthy *Chicago Tribune*.

But this outpouring didn't evoke feelings of class solidarity in everyone present. It scared the hell out of some of them! I'm talking about the union "leaders"—the ones who restrained thousands of IBEW members a mile away from the picket line, while *Tribune* trucks drove in and out unmolested; the ones at the loudspeaker who cop-baited the militants battling the strike-breaking cops! This labor bureaucracy has now led the *Tribune* strike to defeat.

Last week the leadership of International Typographical Union (ITU) Local 16 accepted the unconditional surrender demanded by the *Tribune*, directing printers to cross strike picket lines! Local 16 is to supply five printers per week to work alongside the "permanent replacements" hired by the *Tribune*, until a total of 63 ITUers are back at work. Meanwhile, members of the Web Pressmen's Union, Mailhandlers Local 2 and ITU Local 16 are still picketing the plant! One spokesman for the coalition of striking unions told me that this union-sponsored scabbing is their "new approach to picket lines." It violates every axiom of trade-union solidarity. To top it off, the AFL-CIO tops down in Bal Harbour, Florida glibly added the *Tribune* to their "official list of unfair employers," an obituary column for soldout strikes.

The Chicago Federation of Labor officials who called the January 4 mobilization had no intention of repeating it, but many unionists were left itching for the kind of fight we needed to shut down the scab paper. Some of us working in the Chicago Transit Authority knew our union locals could play a key role in shutting down the *Tribune*. At our initiative, Local 308 of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) unanimously voted on January 14 to donate $300 to the *Tribune* strikers and to "organize contingents from our Local on a daily basis to help build mass picket lines at the *Tribune* and [call] on all Chicago labor to mobilize its members to join the picket lines to stop the scabbing and shut down the *Tribune*." Unfortunately, Local 308 leaders have procrastinated while the strike withers on the vine.

Most of the Trib strikers are older, white workers who harken back to the days of "handshake" labor relations under Mayor Richard Daley. Instead of relying on its own strength, the labor movement looked to its so-called "friends" in the Democratic Party to broker the deals. In a January 30 letter Mayor Harold Washington offered his "good offices" to the unions and management, but he made clear that any

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Asylum for Refugees from Death Squad Terror!

Defend the Sanctuary Movement!

After four months of testimony from prosecution witnesses in the Tucson, Arizona trial of eleven church men and women accused of smuggling Central American war refugees into the United States, the defense rested March 14 without calling a single witness to the stand. "The prosecution has really proved our case for us," said Jim Corbett, one of the defendants. The two Roman Catholic priests, one nun, a Presbyterian minister and seven church lay workers are members of the sanctuary movement, which now embraces more than 270 congregations in 33 states. These admirable samaritans, acting on the strength of their religious convictions, have defied the government by coming to the aid of Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees escaping the reign of terror unleashed by U.S.-backed regimes in their homelands. This so infuriated the Reagan administration, directly challenging its crusade against "godless Communism," that Washington decided to clap nuns, priests and pastors in jail. Predictably, persecution has increased public sympathy for the refugees and spread the movement.

In his TV appeal for aid to the CIA's Nicaraguan contra mercenaries, Reagan raised the spectre of a "red plague" spreading through Central America,

UPI

"La Migra" cop: terror at the border.

producing a tidal wave of "desperate Latin peoples by the millions...fleeing north into the cities of the southern United States" (*New York Times*, 17 March). Yet this wave of refugees has *already* occurred, and not because of a "Soviet-Cuban stranglehold" on the isthmus; they are seeking sanctuary from the indiscriminate bombardment, the "search and destroy" army sweeps and the murderous death squads of the "free world democracies." An estimated *500,000* Salvadorans have fled to the U.S. since 1979, *one tenth* of the entire population of that tiny country. Some tens of thousands have been caught by the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service), and before being shipped back to face death and torture they are rounded up in giant holding pens. One of these is located near that sleepy border town made famous by Reagan, Harlingen, Texas.

The situation of Central American refugees is full of ironies. Most have managed to slip into the huge Latin barrios from Los Angeles to New York, and some are now waiting on tables and washing dishes in the fancy Washington, D.C. restaurants frequented by Congressmen debating contra aid and immigration laws. But for Washington, it's more than ironic that they seek refuge in the country which is waging

Melissa Jones

Across the country, thousands of church people offer safe haven to refugees in defiance of Reagan's racist dragnet.

war on their people—to treat them as political refugees would expose the whole basis for the U.S. war in El Salvador. Thus only 328 Salvadorans received political asylum in 1984, out of 13,373 applications—less than three percent; and under one percent of the Guatemalans who have requested asylum have received it. But in line with U.S. anti-Soviet policy, 92 percent of all Afghans and half the Poles who have applied have been granted asylum, and any Russian dancer who wants to achieve stardom by defecting will get his name in lights and an invitation to the White House.

The dramatic plight of "illegal" refugees from the U.S.' dirty war in Central America produced the sanctuary movement. And the Reaganites are going after it with a vengeance as part of their effort to defeat opposition to that war *before* they send in the Marines. What particularly galls the government is the sight of tens of thousands of churchgoing Middle Americans supporting "a willful and casual violation of American law," as Assistant Secretary of State (for Human Rights!) Elliott Abrams put it (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 June 1984). A U.S. Border Patrol official complained, "We think it's an underground railroad or pipeline motivated by strong political beliefs and trying to undermine U.S. foreign policy" (*Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, 15 October 1985). Indeed, it is their defiance of unjust laws, helping the victims escape the wrath of the imperialists and their henchmen just as the original "underground railway" gave escaped slaves sanctuary from the slavemasters, that leads us to express solidarity with this movement of religious resistance.

The New Underground Railroad

"Ana," a Salvadoran refugee, was visiting her uncle, the chairman of a farm cooperative, in 1984 when a death squad arrived. She was forced to watch as soldiers peeled his skin off with machetes and finally murdered him. They then raped her and three female cousins. Later, in the capital, she recognized one of the rapists and murderers, who threatened to kill her entire family. After a nervous breakdown she fled to the United States. Here, however, she was picked up by the INS, and hauled before an immigration judge. He denied her political asylum, saying that one can "read about this same thing happening in any urban area of the U.S."

In El Salvador, security forces and right-wing paramilitary squads have killed 60,000 people in six years of civil war; one in five Salvadorans have been forced to abandon their homes. In Guatemala the military decided to "drain the sea" of peasant support for leftist guerrillas by unleashing an "ethnocidal" campaign against the Mayan Indians that has destroyed whole villages while locking up the survivors in strategic hamlet-type concentration camps and turning the *altiplano* into a free-fire zone. Alone, or together with families and friends, these victims of imperialist reaction risk life and limb to make the long, rugged trip north, preyed upon by bandits and ruthless *coyotes* (professional smugglers), as graphically portrayed in the movie *El Norte*.

On reaching the U.S., those lucky enough to survive the grueling ordeal are subject to the exploitation of sweatshop bosses. Even this precarious existence is constantly threatened by the dreaded *migra*, the INS cops who may send them back, penniless and often without identification papers, to fall prey to the kill-crazed security forces. An American Civil Liberties Union inquiry checked a list of Salvadoran deportees against that of victims of death squad violence and found over 100 matches. One such victim was Santana Chirino Amaya who was stopped for making a wrong turn at a traffic light outside of Washington, D.C., turned over to the INS and deported. A month later his headless, mutilated body was found at a favorite right-wing hit squad dumping ground known locally as "Road of Death."

The sanctuary movement was born as a response to the tragic deaths in July 1980 of 13 Salvadoran refugees who died of exposure in the Arizona desert, robbed and abandoned by the *coyote* who brought them across the border. After the government moved to deport the survivors, Rev. John Fife of Southside Presbyterian Church, Philip Willis-Conger of the Tucson Ecumenical Council Task Force on Central America and James Corbett, a Quaker rancher, began to assemble a network of refugees. In March 1982, on the second anniversary of the death squad murder of martyred Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero, Southside Presbyterian and a handful of other churches declared themselves sanctuaries for refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador. The movement has since grown to involve thousands, as housewives and retirees man checkpoints, transport and shelter 3,000 refugees.

After the indictments were handed down last year, at least a dozen U.S. cities—from Los Angeles to Chicago, from Seattle to Santa Fe—have declared themselves sanctuaries for Central American refugees, instructing local officials, including police, not to cooperate with the INS in rounding up "illegal aliens." In part, this reflects the emergence of the Hispanic population as a significant political force in many of the major American cities. Revelations of government infiltration of congregations and taping of church services have also outraged the public. Last month, COUGAR (Churches Opposed to Undercover Government Actions in Religion) sued the U.S. for intrusion, charging that the INS violated its constitutional right to free exercise of religion and due process of law. The defense fund raised over $580,000 even before the trial started.

The Sanctuary Trial

In March 1984, the INS launched "Operation Sojourner" to infiltrate the sanctuary movement. Phoenix office chief James Rayburn hired two unsavory *coyotes*, Jesús Cruz and Salomon Graham, paying them $30,000 for their finking. Rayburn claimed the movement was involved in transporting "terrorists." Over the next ten months Cruz and Graham, wearing body bugs, made some 100 hours of tapes while attending church services, bible study classes and sanctuary meetings. Based on this evidence and the testimony of the paid fingermen, 16 members of the

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Sports Bosses Keep Your Noses Out of Players' Business!

Down with Meese's Drug Witchhunt!

Mr. Witchhunt himself, Joseph McCarthy, would have been proud. Ronald Reagan's top cop, U.S. attorney general Edwin Meese, and Judge Irving R. Kaufman early this month denounced a vast "conspiracy" supposedly threatening the "national security" of the United States. According to the President's Commission on Organized Crime, headed by Kaufman, the estimated *one-quarter* of Americans who use marijuana, cocaine and other drugs are complicit with "organized crime" and agents of "international terrorism." The Commission's deputy executive director, Rodney Smith, proclaimed, "All the bullets, all the bombs, all the murders are funded $20, $50, $100 at a time out of the pockets of teachers, lawyers, doctors, journalists" (*Washington Post*, 4 March). Meese and Kaufman's solution: they want to impose universal drug tests on the American population.

Under the guise of fighting "organized crime," the Reagan administration is seeking to impose totalitarian state measures. Reagan's Commission, appropriately headed by Kaufman, the judge who aided the frame-up and ordered the execution of the Rosenbergs in 1953 in the infamous Cold War "espionage" show trial, called for compulsory urinalysis of government workers and employees of government contractors, and urged private companies to do the same. This is part of a pattern of police state infringement of fundamental liberties so gross that ultra-Reaganite columnist William Safire complained, "they want to do away with the little technicality known as the presumption of innocence" (*New York Times*, 14 March). If the Meesketeers get their way, you will have to undergo annual drug tests, monthly lie detector tests... and an AIDS test every time you go out on a date!

According to the *Washington Post* (2 February), drug testing is already practiced by an estimated 25 percent of top U.S. companies as a means of intimidating workers and regimenting

UPI

Yankee boss Steinbrenner sticks it to victimized pitcher Al Holland.

the workplace. A number of school districts have attempted to make this a condition of school enrollment. The Commission calls for mass prosecution and incarceration of individuals possessing small quantities of drugs and demands more cops, more wiretaps and more jails. To complete the Orwellian nightmare, government accumulation of personal biographic information —from criminal records to political affiliations, urinalysis results and job records, centralized through computer networks such as the National Crime Information Center—portends the South Africa-style police state institution of an internal pass system.

Downing/Newsweek

Dept. of Justice

Reagan's witchhunter Ed Meese (left) and Judge Irving Kaufman, who ordered execution of the heroic Rosenbergs at height of Cold War.

The anti-drug hysteria is part of the Reagan administration's effort to regiment American society, the domestic side of the anti-Soviet war drive. The Commission report urges increased use of the military and secret police, especially the National Security Agency, to combat "airborne, amphibious and overland invasion of this country by drug smugglers." According to Reagan, Castro's Cuba and Sandinista Nicaragua are the source. In actual fact, U.S. spy agencies have for decades been in cahoots with traffickers running drugs into this country: from the Cuban gusanos (and before them Batista pals Lucky Luciano and Meyer Lansky) to the Meo "secret army" in Laos to Afghan mujaheddin and Nicaraguan contras, the CIA's boys have always been into the "guns-for-drugs" business.

The Commission's 5 March "final report" on drug enforcement met with widespread indignation and repugnance. Many Commission members angrily protested the drug testing provision, which none had seen, as it was written in at the last minute by the Commission staff. Even the *Wall Street Journal* (6 March), in deference no doubt to its up-scale readership, for many of whom cocaine is "the real thing," called the proposal "an example of enforcement mentality run amok." And at a March 18 hearing, Congressman Gary Ackerman dramatically exposed this arbitrary invasion of privacy by directing the deputy director of the Crime Commission, Rodney Smith, to provide a urine sample before testifying, so that it could be tested for marijuana, cocaine, amphetamines and barbiturates! When Smith fulminated that he had been given no warning, Ackerman pointed out that neither would government employees forced to undergo such tests.

Sports and Hypocrisy

But virtually no one has spoken out in defense of professional and amateur athletes, who have been most prominently singled out to submit to this violation of their rights and privacy. Last month professional basketball star Micheal Ray Richardson became another sacrifice on the altar of supposedly sacred "athletic virtue." Richardson, an all-star guard for the New Jersey Nets, was banned from basketball for two years in the midst of his finest season after failing his third urine test in two years. In the name of "rehabilitation," Richardson's past two years were made a living hell of torment and harassment, before they finally destroyed his career and stole his livelihood from him.

The taste of Richardson's blood has aroused the rest of the sports world's ghouls. Football czar Pete Rozelle has announced his plan to strengthen the current testing program. The National Collegiate Athletic Association already has instituted the use of such tests. Center spotlight, however, has been on slick baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth who recently suspended eleven prominent players for past use of cocaine. To avoid the suspensions players must agree to drug testing for the rest of their careers and donating up to 10 percent of their salaries and hundreds of hours of time to "community service" drug prevention programs.

Ueberroth, the glamour boy of the 1984 L.A. Olympics, is the perfect choice to mobilize professional baseball in this "national security" effort. He was *Time* magazine's Man of the Year for 1984, for turning a $215 million profit on the "free world"/free enterprise Olympics. This "miracle" was based on recruiting a workforce of 50,000 unpaid volunteers. Ueberroth's Cold War Olympics were exploited for Reagan's terror-scare militarization of Los Angeles and anti-Soviet hysteria, and Moscow told him to shove it. He reportedly took the baseball commissioner job specifically to tackle the drug issue and take on the unions. The *Wall Street Journal* (18 October 1985) said Ueberroth's strikebreaking, drug-busting, flag-waving exploits lead some to view him as "presidential timber," although others portray him as a tyrannical Captain Queeg. Clearly *he* sees his drug purge as a rung on the ladder to the White House.

Most of the players have already knuckled under to Ueberroth's terms. Given their performance at last summer's widely publicized narcotics trial of former Philadelphia Phillies black caterer Curtis Strong, convicted of providing cocaine to players, the rest will probably accede. Strong was made the fall guy while the players were pressured to denounce their prior cocaine use and repurchase their "respectability" by "naming names" of other players. The late Bill Veeck, former owner of the Chicago White Sox and Cleveland Indians, appropriately called the trial the "week of the rat fink" and contrasted the spineless players with the brave individuals who refused to cooperate with the 1950s McCarthy hearings.

The purported concern for the well-being of the athlete is laughable and hypocritical. Team physicians routinely provide amphetamines to help players get "up" for games. Like cattle being fattened for the slaughterhouse, high school and college as well as professional athletes are pumped up with steroids which cause intestinal bleeding, prostate blockage, sterility and possibly fatal liver damage. Injured players are forced to risk permanently crippling injuries by playing with the aid of painkillers. And when not lurking behind lockers at the stadium, the sports press corps, which went through Prohibition without drawing a sober breath, can be found ringside grooving on the spectacle of black and Hispanic boxers pounding one another to bloody pulps.

While decrying the general drug testing proposed by the President's Commission, the liberal *New York Times* (4 March) condemns Ueberroth's sanctions as *too lenient*, citing the Richardson case as proper precedent. We need "stern action," the *Times* editorialized, for those who "fail baseball." Fail baseball? The vicious hypocrisy of this current "clean team" campaign was exposed by *Times* sports writer Ira Berkow in his 8 March column. Denouncing the "mistaken belief" that players should be "role models outside of the baseball field," he noted: "If that is the case, then the greatest baseball player of all time, Babe Ruth, would have been the greatest role model, and all of us would grow up seeking to drink, wench, read no books, stuff ourselves sick on hot dogs, smoke big black cigars and grow plump." He's got a point about not reading.

In the Reagan years, public adulation of professional athletes—especially in

Trotman/Sports Illustrated

Micheal Ray Richardson, hounded out of pro ball.

baseball, that "American as apple pie" sport—requires that they be ideologically and morally "safe." Historically cultivated as blindly obedient to authority, conservative and intentionally undereducated, professional athletes provide perfect role models for American youth being groomed for boot camp. The drug "cleanup" of sports also seeks to restore the traditional domination over the players that the owners lost with the free agent system, to demonstrate by example that the bosses and their cops still have the whip hand. And just look who is doing the enforcing: Yankee owner George Steinbrenner, for one, is a convicted felon, who gave illegal campaign contributions to CREEP, Nixon's Committee to Re-Elect the President, and was banned from baseball for a year in the aftermath of Watergate.

The baseball establishment and their media mouthpieces yearn for the lost days of supposed "purity" under baseball's first commissioner Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis, and drug-proof

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Feds Frame Up Mob

They're out to regiment America. Ed Meese's endless commissions are trying to get a witchhunt going over "drugs" (anyone who ever smoked a joint) and "pornography" (did *you* ever look at a *Playboy* centerfold?). To tie it all together and equate "organized labor" with "organized crime," the Reagan gang's launched a vendetta against "the Mob": over 60 Mafia trials across the country, including three high-publicity show trials staged by the feds in New York City, and a mammoth affair scheduled for this spring known as the "Commission Case," which they brag will in one fell swoop bag the heads of the "five families" who supposedly control all organized crime in America.

But this crackdown doesn't have much to do with justice: they are actually trying to *frame* the Mob. The RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) "conspiracy" dragnet lets the G-men pick and choose who they feel like setting up and when; they don't need evidence of any actual crime. The Reaganites want to institutionalize the frame-up principle, and what easier target for a frame job than vicious parasites like gangsters?

Why are we Marxists commenting on these mobster trials? For one thing, we don't believe justice is only for the innocent. Even a murderer has the right to a fair trial, to be tried for some real crime and defended by counsel, as the U.S. Constitution supposedly guarantees. But the government has a different theory of law. They decide they want to go after somebody, invent the charges and convene star-chamber proceedings.

For months now the NYC media has reveled in the "pizza connection" ("Bonnano family") conspiracy case; the Paul Castellano affair ("Gambino family"), in which 20 people are charged with various criminal conspiracies (Castellano himself was gunned down in mid-trial in front of Sparks Steak House); and the "Colombo family" trial in which ten people, including Carmine Persico, have been indicted for extortion and bribery conspiracies. In New York, hotshot U.S. attorney Rudolph Giuliani announced new federal indictments on March 21 against Anthony Salerno ("Genovese family") and 14 other men for labor racketeering, construction bid-rigging, gambling and other conspiracies.

Giuliani is running the sinister prosecutions with a big dose of degradation of his targets: after Castellano was bumped off, reportedly because he might "sing" to the grand jury, his body was left out on the street by cops so the press could get a good "photo opportunity." Arch-reactionary New York City cardinal O'Connor then denied his family a church funeral mass. When actor James

AP

Teamster head Jimmy Hoffa (right) targeted by Robert Kennedy's union-busters.

Gorgoni/Contact

Rudolph Giuliani, hotshot federal prosecutor.

Caan dropped in to observe one trial, greeting a friend among the defendants, he was promptly slapped with a subpoena, an outrageous and chilling attempt at intimidation.

Further, Persico (who objects vehemently to Giuliani's calling him "The Snake") has been in prison for decades already on another conviction. So the object here isn't just incarceration; there's a lot of sheer vindictiveness. Though Giuliani labeled others in official documents as "Frankie the Beast," "Andy Mush," etc., we bet he didn't include the prosecution's star informants' "street names" like "King Rat" Buscetta and "Jimmy the Weasel" Fratianno.

Giuliani's other big operation is the New York City corruption probe. Coming off an FBI "sting" operation in Chicago, they hooked into the NYC Parking Violations Bureau, portraying Donald Manes, the "King of Queens," as the heavy. Pointing to the utter hypocrisy of this prosecution, columnist Pete Hamill noted that "If Donny Manes is charged, convicted, and given a mere 30 days, we should never forget that these would be 30 days more than Nixon did" (*Village Voice*, 18 February). Manes was never charged, but with a little help from Mayor Koch, who called his former borough president pal a "crook," Giuliani got a "conviction" anyway when Manes or someone drove a kitchen knife through his heart.

The RICO Racket

Reagan and his attorney general Edwin Meese III are trying to achieve a full-scale judicial counterrevolution, but to get the ball rolling they've made use of a whole range of legal dirty tricks already on the books. Remember the ABSCAM (short for "Arab Scam") set-ups of Congressmen under Democrat Jimmy Carter? Even if FBI agents disguised as Arab sheiks couldn't bribe or corrupt elected officials, the mere hint that one was targeted was enough to permanently smear a reputation. The *Wall Street Journal* (24 January) editorialized about the abuses of dragnets like "The RICO Racket." Under this purposely vague "conspiracy" law, the government can seize the defendant's assets as "proceeds of crime" before any trial has taken place, thus wiping out the frame-up victim's chance of defending himself. So if they decide to get you, you can be sure that your widow is going to go on welfare.

The FBI recently tried to get maverick auto maker John DeLorean, entrapping him in a cocaine bust, simply because some of the powers that be decided they didn't like his style, and they had a greedy professional informer next to him who wanted to make a buck. But the big corporate tax evaders reap millions. When E.F. Hutton talks, Meese obviously listens: the bright boys there who came up with a really creative money-switching scam got away with a slap-on-the-wrist fine and no indictments. Meanwhile they go after South Korean ultra-right-winger Rev. Sun Myung Moon on trumped-up income tax charges, and former Oregon guru Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, grabbed in North Carolina for alleged immigration violations.

It's not new—Al Capone, who died in Florida reputedly of syphilis after a lifetime of murdering hundreds of people, many personally, was got by the government on income tax evasion. This despite his services advising the state on how to get the "commies": as "Public Enemy No. 1" said during the protests over the Sacco and Vanzetti frame-up, "Bolshevism is knocking at our gates.... We must keep the worker away from red literature and red ruses" (Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais, *Labor's Untold Story* [1955]).

There isn't any real "justice" in this society, except what the rich can buy. Bribes line every city government's pockets. Frame-up is standard operating procedure in the crowded courts,

UPI

Gunned down in midst of grand jury probe of Mafia, Paul Castellano's body was left on street by cops for gruesome "photo opportunity."

even for those who are guilty of real crimes, in part because it's just easier for the cops that way. The Bill of Rights is just another one of those "technicalities" that stand in the way of the cops, who shoot down blacks, jail strikers and take bribes from the Mob as a matter of course. This state has created a whole class of laws and penalties that have nothing to do with crime—and are used selectively to boot, at the government's pleasure. It turns out you don't have to be a red or a homosexual to get willful, malicious invented charges thrown at you.

Frame-up and nebulous conspiracy charges come in particularly handy when the government is going after its perceived political opponents. They put away H. Rap Brown on a "crossing state lines to foment a riot" conspiracy charge when he looked like trouble—though they left Elijah Muhammad alone because he seemed to be a stabilizing factor among blacks and they needed him. And what they did to William Z. Foster, the American Communist Party leader, was really disgusting: his social security benefits stripped away, charged with "thought crimes" under the Smith Act, an old and ailing man, he was forced to appear in court on a stretcher.

Reagan's Deadly War on Labor

The Reagan administration has a broader purpose in its current multi-million-dollar RICO extravaganza: gearing up the machinery that's intended to crush working-class and socialist organizations, while smearing them as "criminal enterprises." This capitalist state has been trying for a while to make an equation between "organized crime" and "organized labor"—and indeed potentially any sort of "organized" political opposition to its deadly policies. The Spartacist League's lawsuit against the FBI's "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" fought this sinister amalgam—and we won a gratifying victory when the FBI agreed to change its definition of our organization from its previous witchhunting language to exactly what the SL is, a Marxist political organization (see *WV* No. 385, 9 August 1985).

Targeted now for special investigation as creatures of "organized crime" are the trade unions, specifically the Teamsters, International Longshoremen's Association, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees, and the Laborers Union. Reagan and Meese's Organized Crime Commission has recommended that the courts be given the power to *take over* unions "found" to be controlled by the Mob, thus giving the government yet another tool to smash workers' organizations. The arch-establishment *New York Times* (8 March) praised the Commission for having "redeemed itself" with this union-busting, after "embarrassing itself" by calling for mandatory drug tests for federal employees. The labor movement must clean its own house; the capitalist courts are the class enemy!

One of the first big government frame-ups, before RICO, was the vendetta against Teamster head Jimmy Hoffa. Using illegal wiretaps and a Teamster official facing heavy indict-

ments, they finally entrapped Hoffa on jury tampering after five years of harassment. The furious "get Hoffa" campaign wasn't purely Kennedy macho, of course: they outlawed the Teamsters' powerful weapon, the secondary boycott, in the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act, and Hoffa was jailed shortly after winning the first national over-the-road master contract in 1964. And the FBI hounded ILA leader Tony Scotto for 20 years, spending millions of dollars as part of a vindictive effort to bust the longshore union. They destroyed the life of a decent man, convicting him in 1979 for the "crime" of recognizing it's impossible to live in New York City on less than $100,000 a year.

The Reaganites get along much better with current Teamster president and FBI fink Jackie Presser, the only major union figure to endorse Reagan in both 1980 and 1984. Indeed, it's something of an embarrassment to Reagan's "war on crime" that while Meese is having cozy lunches with Presser, the federal commission on organized crime is criticizing the administration for stalling on investigating Presser.

Capitalists and Crooks

Reagan and Meese intend to get "the reds" too. Reagan made this perfectly clear in an "unprecedented" article (reporters noted he actually wrote part of it himself) titled "Declaring War on

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

the first step in a war drive whose main target is the Soviet Union itself. The next day Reagan struck back, ordering American naval forces to begin an "exercise" in the Mediterranean explicitly aimed at provoking Libya, so they could "clobber" Qaddafi. And the same day the U.S. launched its missiles in the Gulf of Sidra, the White House claimed Nicaragua had invaded neighboring Honduras, and announced it was providing $20 million in emergency aid and American planes to ferry Honduran troops to the border.

Only the blind could ignore the global interconnections, as Reagan hopscotches from Lebanon to Grenada, from Libya to Nicaragua, employing guns and lies to get a blank check for the anti-Soviet war drive. In Central America, the "news" of a Nicaraguan invasion of Honduras (by a measly 1,500 Sandinista troops!) came straight from the White House. Not only Nicaragua, but Honduras repeatedly denied there had been any Nicaraguan incursion. A Honduran government spokesman was quoted as saying, "It is part of the political and propaganda tactics of the Reagan administration to obtain the approval of all Americans for his proposals to help the (Nicaraguan) Contras" (UPI, 25 March). But it went down well in Washington, as Congressional Democrats and Republicans condemned the Sandinistas and supported Reagan. When contra aid comes up for a vote in the Senate next week, it is now expected to pass easily.

Sure, his "freedom fighters" are counterrevolutionaries trying to destroy the Sandinistas, Reagan said last week. "God bless them.... It makes me a contra, too." (Earlier he had described that band of sadists, rapists, torturers and murderers led by former members of dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guard as the "moral equivalent of the founding fathers.") After five years of war preparations in "Fort Honduras," Reagan is gearing up for "go" against Nicaragua. He wants to erase the "Vietnam syndrome," the reluctance of the American people to get dragged into another losing military adventure, by committing the United States to the ouster of the Sandinistas "one way or another." The lunacy of Reagan's rantings was underlined by Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega, "The fact that he identified himself...as a contra gives the impression that he has lost his senses. It is dangerous if the head of a superpower, the head of a nuclear power, has lost his reason" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 17 March).

Big Lie and the Big Stick

On March 16, as part of a media blitz of redbaiting rhetoric orchestrated by the White House's own Goebbels, Pat Buchanan, Reagan appealed to the public over the heads of Congress with a Big Lie TV speech that would have put Hitler to shame. According to Reagan's fantasy, the Sandinistas firebomb Jewish synagogues, traffic in drugs, provide a center for "international terrorism" which is feared throughout Latin America and "export revolution" from Brazil to Mexico. This barrage was too much for even the servile U.S. press to swallow at one gulp.

The 19 March *New York Times* ran a series of articles refuting these "misstatements," noting that numerous investigations showed no anti-Semitic acts by the Sandinistas (the synagogue was destroyed under Somoza); Reagan's own Drug Enforcement Administration says it has no information to support charges that Nicaraguan officials are involved in drug trafficking (though the contras are up to their necks in it); and the Brazilian Foreign Ministry expressed "irritation" over Reagan's assertion that Nicaragua was training reds to take over Brazil. Still Reagan and his Cold Warriors proceed from the Nazis' policy that a lie big enough, and repeated often enough, can be made to stick.

In his prime time TV pitch for contra aid, the Great Prevaricator posed the Nicaragua question in a way guaranteed to make the Democrats squirm: "For our own security the United States must deny the Soviet Union a beachhead in North America." Since even the White House military advisers assess the contras' chances of overthrowing the Sandinistas as slim or nonexistent, it was clear that the debate was not over $100 million to this ragtag "army" that's only good for killing civilians. As liberal Democrat Michael Barnes observed, "One would have expected a declaration of war at the end of the speech given the intensity of it."

But that is exactly what the contra aid bill is all about. As soon as Congress signs on, U.S. advisers will begin openly "training" the killer commandos, as White House spokesman Larry Speakes admitted. And from there it's a straight line to U.S. air strikes or the deployment of American ground troops. Worried that such a scenario would bog down the U.S. in a "quagmire," liberal Democratic leader "Tip" O'Neill characterized the issue as "a Tonkin Gulf vote." "They have made a determination that this is where the showdown with the Soviet Union is going to be," said the House Speaker. "It's going to cost the lives of tens of thousands of Nicaraguans"... and plenty of Americans as well.

Gentile/Picture Group

WV Photo

Soviet-built MI-8 helicopters are crucial as crack Nicaraguan troops wipe up CIA-backed contras.

Bipartisan Anti-Soviet War Drive

Round one of the Nicaragua/contra debate saw Reagan fall six votes short in a House vote, but no one expects it to end there. The administration's redbaiting barrage had its effect as Democrats left and right marched in step with the anti-Soviet war beat. The liberals went out of their way to agree with Reagan on all the fundamentals, merely asking if the contras can turn the trick. Senator Jim Sasser said in the Democrats' response to the Reagan speech: "We agree that the Sandinista government has betrayed the promise of its revolution, has suppressed the freedom of its own people and has supported subversion in El Salvador. We agree that Nicaragua must never become a base for Soviet military adventurism in this hemisphere.... Our disagreement is with the means the President has used to achieve these goals." Speaker O'Neill has scheduled a vote on a "compromise" package for April 15.

In Nicaragua the Sandinistas were low-key in their response to the Congressional vote. Still smarting from last June's sudden reversal by House Democrats who freaked out when Ortega went to Moscow, Ortega said, "The fact that a certain vote has been taken does not mean the war will end. The aggression is continuing." In a televised interview, one prominent Sandinista commander, Deputy Interior Minister Omar Cabezas, correctly read the Congressional debate as having reached a "consensus to destroy us." He went on to say:

> "The Democrats and Republicans agree that they should give money to kill us. Some want to kill us one way, others want to kill us another way. They only differ on how or when to give the aid. It's like saying, Omar, how do you want to die? Do you want a Pepsi-Cola with arsenic, which is faster, or a Coca-Cola with strychnine, which is slow?"
>
> —*New York Times*, 24 March

The petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Sandinista National Liberation (FSLN) may be slowly learning about U.S. politics, but they still harbor dangerous illusions about their bourgeois "friends" in neighboring Latin American and West European governments. These capitalist regimes may protest, even propose a United Nations resolution. But none will lift a finger to actively oppose a U.S. invasion. And the Contadora "peace" negotiations are merely a device to tie the Sandinistas' hands and weaken their defense against the Americans. At bottom, the struggle in Central America is a *class* question as the imperialists and local bourgeoisies seek to stem the tide of revolution, to crush the workers and peasants and keep the American continent safe for Wall Street.

Defend Nicaragua—Smash U.S. Imperialism!

From the beginning of this administration, the Reaganites have sought an "easy win" over "Communism" in Central America. First they aimed to crush leftist insurgency in El Salvador, but the quick knockout punch eluded them as Salvadoran guerrillas have fought the U.S.-backed army to a standoff. When that failed, Washington turned on the Sandinistas. So far, their only "victory" was the invasion of tiny Grenada by a U.S. force one-fifth the size of the entire population of that black Caribbean island—and even then they had a hard time overcoming the resistance of a few hundred middle-aged Cuban construction workers. We have said repeatedly that Central America is on the front line of American imperialism's war drive against the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state. Today defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Nicaragua!

Despite all the Reagan administration talk of "Nicaraguan communism," the petty-bourgeois Sandinista government tries desperately to maintain its precarious balancing act, proclaiming "political pluralism, mixed economy and nonalignment." Meanwhile the mythical "patriotic" bourgeoisie is acting as the internal contras. Genuine communists say that the Nicaraguan Revolution can be defended only by completing it—expropriating the capitalist fifth column—and spreading workers revolution throughout the region. In the U.S., the reformist left and rad-libs of the "solidarity" milieu concentrate on lobbying the Democrats and wailing as the latter cave in to Reagan. Trotskyists insist that it will take an independent class mobilization to defeat the *bipartisan* imperialist war drive.

American workers must prepare now for political strike action against a U.S. invasion in Central America. The American population is overwhelmingly hostile to Reagan's dirty war in Central America: they reject contra aid by more than two-to-one, and massively oppose the sending of U.S. troops. Yet that is precisely where Reagan is heading. All opponents of imperialist war must take a clear stand in defense of Nicaragua, and against the anti-Soviet war drive. The hour of danger is at hand! ■

Sevcec/Spanish International Network

Wohl/Sygma

Reagan's cutthroat "freedom fighters": specialists in torture and murder.

Reagan's War Provocations...

(continued from page 1)

exercise"! But when news of the U.S. "exercise" in the Med first came out last week, Pentagon spokesmen openly declared they wanted to provoke a fight with Qaddafi, who Washington considers a "Soviet surrogate." CBS News (18 March) reported it had been told "that the Reagan administration hopes Qaddafi does attack and, in the words of one official, 'if and when that happens, we'll clobber him'."

Predictably, Democratic "doves" in Congress practically stumbled over each other to line up with their president, turning a blind eye to the convenient political timing of Reagan's prefabricated military "crisis." As the *New York Times* (25 March) noted in passing, the Navy provocation comes "four days after President Reagan suffered a serious political setback in the House," which rejected his contra aid bill, and it "appeared to divert attention from Nicaragua in the same way that the United States invasion of Grenada... drew attention away from the explosion that killed more than 230 Americans in Lebanon." But of course the *Times* editors backed Reagan's Libyan action anyway, calling it "just reprisal." And Democratic Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill rubber-stamped it, waving the flag over "protecting America's armed forces." Firmly committed to Reagan's anti-Soviet line, the Democrats will soon be voting for the dirty contra war in Nicaragua as well. The imperialist drive toward war with the Soviet Union is a bipartisan effort.

A couple of months ago, using as a pretext a gruesome attack by Palestinian nationalists in the Rome and Vienna airports, the U.S. threatened to "retaliate" against Libya in the name of fighting "terrorism." When Reagan pulled back, limiting himself to empty economic sanctions, frustrated Reaganites vowed that next time they would go in with guns blazing. As we warned then: "If Reagan looks stupid and weak over this one, he is still commander in chief of U.S. imperialism with his finger on the nuclear button. A frustrated Reagan is dangerous, so watch out world!" (*WV* No. 395, 17 January). So now the Pentagon is "clobbering" Qaddafi as a trial run against Soviet weapons. And we all recall Reagan's "joke" about "declaring war on Russia...the bombing begins in five minutes." It's no joke.

Telegram

25 March 1986

Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi
Chief of State
Tripoli, Libya

We deeply respect and support just cause of Libyan independence and territorial integrity against assault by U.S. imperialist aggression.

Spartacist League/U.S.
international Spartacist tendency

Naked provocation: U.S. Navy spy ships were six miles inside Soviet waters, probing Sevastopol naval base (right). Gulf of Sidra (left), scene of U.S. acts of war against Libya.

U.S. Provocation in the Black Sea

Last week two U.S. spy ships deliberately sailed for two hours well inside Soviet territorial waters in the Black Sea. In an "exercise...ordered by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the name of Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger," the guided missile cruiser *Yorktown* and the destroyer *Caron* went "up to six nautical miles" inside the 12-mile coastal limit near Sevastopol in the southern Crimea (*New York Times*, 19 March). In the past, whenever the U.S. got caught out in such activities, it was standard operating procedure to issue a cover story protesting innocence—i.e., the ships were allegedly "lost" or otherwise had "accidentally" intruded. But this time the Pentagon dramatically upped the ante, openly admitting they were sent to "test Soviet defenses"!

Supposedly this naked provocation was to assert a "right of innocent passage" through Soviet territorial waters, since the U.S. ships weren't firing guns or launching warplanes. Some "innocent passage"! The *Yorktown* is equipped with the computerized Aegis fire control system, and the *Caron* carries special gear to "probe the shore surveillance and defense capabilities," including the ability to "induce a nation to switch on shore-to-sea, ship-to-ship, and air-to-sea radar" (Jeffrey Richelson, *The U.S. Intelligence Community* [1985]). The *Caron* has previously been used for provocative spying missions in the Gulf of Fonseca, off Nicaragua, and the *Times* quoted Pentagon officials saying the ship "had been loaded with additional sensors and listening devices" for this operation.

Moreover, Sevastopol is not just any port—it is a major naval base, headquarters of the Soviets' Black Sea Fleet, comparable to the U.S. Navy's complex at Norfolk, Virginia. In the Crimean War of 1854-55, rivers of Russian blood were shed in defending Sevastopol in an eleven-month siege against some 200,000 English, French and Turkish troops—the war was "distinguished by more hand to hand encounters than all the wars of Napoleon together," Engels wrote at the time ("Aspects of the War," October 1855). During World War II, the port was captured by the Nazis, but the Russian fleet escaped to continue harassing Hitler's forces. So the U.S. Navy's intrusion into the Crimea would understandably arouse the deepest fears in the Russian people for the safety of their country.

The Soviets refused to rise to the bait. They issued a restrained protest note, pointing out that the U.S. action "was of a demonstrative, defiant nature and pursued clearly provocative aims" (*New York Times*, 19 March). That's putting it mildly. Perhaps Reagan and Weinberger were angling for a rerun of the USS *Pueblo* incident (the U.S. Navy ship caught spying off North Korea in 1969) as an excuse to "clobber" the Soviet Union. Reagan thinks like Teddy Roosevelt—remember "Remember the *Maine*!" that rallying cry for the Spanish-American War on Spain, the excuse for which was an explosion of unknown cause on a U.S. warship in Havana harbor. But the Russians could do some clobbering of their own.

And what the hell is this "right of innocent passage"? It's the imperial assertion by the Western powers, based on a 1958 convention among themselves, that they can intrude on anybody's territorial waters. According to the *San Diego Law Review* (1978), "the naval strength of these nations and political commitment to the suppression of communism contribute greatly to this outlook," and it was rejected by the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Poland and East Germany, among others. The Soviet bloc position "appears to be that warships should not enjoy an absolute authority to pass through a State's territorial waters any more than an army could cross the land territory." The article notes the U.S.' "visible hypocrisies," since the U.S. itself claims the right to carry out customs inspections up to 62 miles out to sea, and to ban fishing trawlers within a 200-mile limit.

Up to 1945, the U.S. had denied there was any such "right of innocent passage" for warships, and reversed itself only after emerging as imperialist victor in World War II. For centuries, the matter was settled by the so-called "cannon-shot rule," described in the minutes of English-Dutch negotiations of 1610 as follows: "no prince can Challenge further in the Sea then he can Comand with a Cannon except Gulfes within their Land from one point to an other" (*Stanford Law Review*, July 1959). In the 18th century, this was taken to mean three nautical miles, although in reality the effective range of cannon at the time was considerably short of that. Today, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union recognize a 12-mile limit. Given the range and accuracy of modern weapons, the U.S. Navy would be prudent to just stay the hell out of the Black Sea and the Gulf of Sidra.

"Forward Strategy" Insanity

But Reagan is the opposite of prudent. Even anti-Soviet liberals are now worried he's gone off the deep end. After the U.S. commander in chief's latest rantings about the "menace" of tiny Nicaragua, liberal columnist James Reston noted that "members of Congress on both sides of the aisle have to wonder what the old man's doing" (*New York Times*, 19 March). The same day, Pentagon officials blithely told the *Times* that the two naval provocations, in the Black Sea and off Libya, were "intended to buttress President Reagan's appeal to Congress for approval of an increase in military spending":

> "In previous incidents in which the United States flexed its military muscle, the officials said, the President's popularity jumped and his policies received new support in Congress."

They're risking setting off World War III...in order to raise the Pentagon budget! This cynical manipulation of public opinion rivals Goebbels, with the difference that the Nazis didn't brag about their provocations in public, and Hitler didn't have nuclear weapons.

This *program of provocation* is an integral part of a U.S. bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, and it *will* lead to war unless it's stopped. Every aspect of Reagan's military program is infused with the "logic" of the "first strike," from Star Wars schemes to the "forward strategy" of Navy Secretary John Lehman. This involves not merely "bottling up" the Russian fleet at the traditional "choke points," which Reagan cited recently as vital to U.S. interests, but taking U.S. aircraft carriers headlong into the lair of the Russian bear, to attack the Soviet navy's home bases, from the Kola Peninsula to Vladivostok to the Black Sea. In a TV documentary in the *Frontline* (1 January 1985) series on "The Battle for the Norwegian Sea," former CIA director Stansfield Turner warned that such a strategy would be a suicidal "mistake of historic proportions." But that is what the mission of the *Caron* and the *Yorktown* was all about.

And that is what the people who run this country are fantasizing about. We can't help wondering, does Reagan think he's playing the role of the president in Tom Clancy's thriller, *The Hunt for Red October* (published by the Naval Institute Press), in which a Soviet submarine captain defects with his nuclear sub and heads for Norfolk? At one point in the book the U.S. president berates the Soviet ambassador because another Russian sub giving chase is found 300 miles off Norfolk; the ambassador notes this is well within international waters, to which the president responds threateningly, "So is the Gulf of Finland...and, I believe, the Black Sea." The Navy's hottest "novel" was described by *USA Today* as a "White House bestseller"; Ronald Reagan called it "the perfect yarn."

But why now? There may be at least a psychological relationship to the Challenger disaster. When the space shuttle blew up in Reagan's face on January 28, it was a severe setback for American prestige, and for the president. The U.S. managed to score an "own goal," as they

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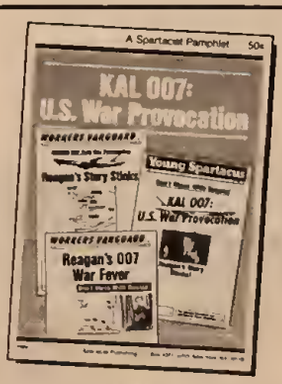

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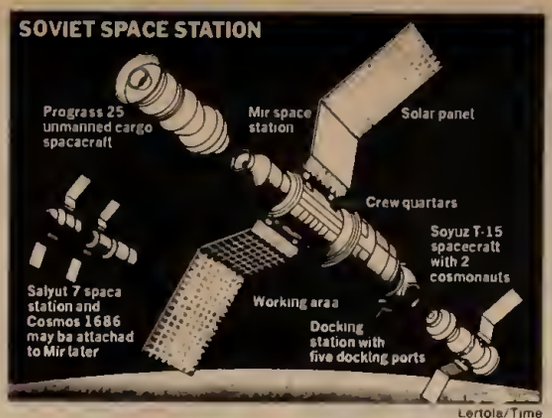
Reagan's War Provocations...

(continued from page 7)

say in soccer, kicking the ball into their own net and chalking one up for the Russians. We almost expected NASA to "discover" a Russkie plot to shoot down Challenger with a beam of elusive neutrino particles. Instead they discovered a Sandinista plot to take over America. Reagan has a track record of responding to such disasters by manufacturing a military crisis—e.g., the rape of Grenada right after 200-plus Marines were blown away in Beirut, or the anti-Soviet hysteria campaign after his KAL 007 spy plane was shot down.

Meanwhile, the Soviets successfully launched an elaborate space station a few weeks after the American shuttle exploded. The station, named *Mir*—a Russian word meaning world, peace or commune—has six docking ports for spacecraft. The feat was proof positive that the Soviet Union is light years ahead in space exploration. *Aviation Week & Space Technology* (10 March), unofficial mouthpiece of the U.S. Air Force and the aerospace industry, was dripping with jealousy, quoting analysts who said the Soviets are "poised for a technological quantum jump" in space. In 1985, the magazine noted, the Soviets conducted "98 space mission launches" while the U.S. "launched only 17 missions." The Pentagon brass must be kicking themselves for putting all their eggs in the space shuttle basket as part of Reagan's "Star Wars" fantasies.

To top it off, when Halley's comet made its historic return this year, international scientists did not gather in the U.S. for observations—NASA had dropped its plan for a comet fly-by for budgetary reasons—they gathered instead in Moscow, where Soviet officials opened the doors of their Space Research Institute so the world could witness the pictures from the two Russian spacecraft, Vega I and Vega II, as they flew by the comet to provide man's first close-up view of that age-old space traveler. U.S. scientists even had an experiment on board the Soviet craft, which they kept very "low profile" for fear the White House would nix it on some bogus charge like providing the Russians with sensitive technology.



Lertola/Time

Soviets are light years ahead in space. Russian permanently manned space station, the world's first, is already in orbit. Reagan's Star Wars "Challenger" is at the bottom of the Atlantic.

And despite the best efforts of the presidential cover-up commission on Challenger, talk of a "Shuttlegate" hasn't been suppressed. There was a noticeable frenzy in White House spokesman Larry Speakes' denial of any connection between the rush to launch the shuttle in cold weather and the president's State of the Union speech that very day lauding the accomplishments of high technology. The persistent rumor is that "White House chief of staff Donald Regan had called the space agency, allegedly saying 'Get that thing up'" (Cable News Network, 26 February). And Democratic Senator Ernest Hollings has demanded White House "logs of calls between NASA and nine presidential assistants," including chief of staff Regan (*New York Post*, 21 March).

A lot of people, including many self-proclaimed socialists, don't think Reagan is serious about his war talk. They think he talks loudly, but carries a small stick. Yet in the last five years, the U.S. has staged one provocation after another against the Soviet Union. Russian submarines were struck by American ships in November 1983 and March 1984; a Soviet carrier was sideswiped by a U.S. Navy vessel in April 1984; in November of that year, the USS *Nimitz* and *Arkansas* went to within five miles of Cuba to tow out a disabled U.S. spy ship; and in December 1984, two Navy carrier battle groups staged maneuvers only 50 miles off Vladivostok, hub of the USSR's Pacific defenses, causing the Soviets to launch a full-scale defensive alert. There is a method in this madness. As we wrote in *WV* No. 385 (9 August 1985):

> "When the American cabinet is sitting around trying to see if Reagan's awake, they don't think they can just push the button and somehow the Russian missiles have a no-go for white middle-class American persons. They're not that psychotic. But they do think if they continue the escalation—politically, economically, militarily—they can win. They think: keep pressing, keep squeezing, grind, grind, grind, and when the pressure gets high enough the Russians will chicken out and the U.S. will prevail. This is arguably a mistake. Try it out on Marshal Ogarkov."

We added: "Hitler already tried it, and lost."

Reagan's antics are not the insanity of a single individual but the desperation of a dying class. American rulers dream of destroying the Soviet Union, and "rolling back" the first successful workers revolution. Especially in light of the present lunacy in the White House, the fate of mankind is intimately linked to the defense of the Soviet Union, in spite of its bureaucratic, dangerously conciliatory misleaders. When Reagan proclaims himself a global counterrevolutionary, the working class must respond with revolutionary class struggle around the world. And the Pentagon must be made to understand: if you try a first strike, watch out for the Soviet second strike. Not détente, but international workers revolution will smash the imperialist war drive. ■

Tribune Strike...

(continued from page 2)

deal he helped negotiate would include "concessions" and "worker dislocation," in other words, capitulation by the strikers. At the same time the Democratic administration's cops have been at the *Tribune* plant every day to prevent the pickets from shutting it down. Toeing the line for the Democrats will only mean more working-class defeats, and more poverty and racial oppression for blacks. We need to build a workers party to bust the political shackles on labor and blacks.

Finally, the photo of me with Jim Guyette, the president of UFCW Local P-9, in *WV* No. 398 (28 February) has an incorrect caption. The check I presented to the Hormel strikers came from ATU Local 308, not Local 241. However, last night Local 241 did vote to donate $300 to P-9.

Fraternally,
Mark Vesecky,
member, ATU Local 308

Feds...

(continued from page 5)

Organized Crime" (*New York Times Magazine*, 12 January). "I watched with deep concern as organized crime moved in on the motion picture industry...a few years later it was the Communists who tried to take over S.A.G. [Screen Actors Guild]," recalled FBI informer Reagan of his Hollywood years. "Since then, I've understood those who argue that the tactics used by mobsters and totalitarian ideologues have a lot in common." Actually we thought Woody Allen captured it better when he noted humorously in his essay "A Look at Organized Crime" that "The Cosa Nostra is structured like any government or large corporation—or gang of criminals for that matter."

The American state has had its uses for the Mafia, most notoriously in the CIA plots to assassinate Fidel Castro, in which Chicago don Sam Giancana was prominent. At the same time the Kennedy administration was running its own phony "war on crime" commissions, JFK was running Mafia "contracts" on Castro, while playing with mobsters' girlfriends on the side. But he didn't need Judith Exner for an entrée into the Mob. His millionaire dad made his fortune—and undoubtedly plenty of connections—during his Prohibition days as a bootlegger. Here is the perfect interpenetration of capitalism, the state and big-time crime.

In the early 1950s, during an earlier round of "the crime-busting racket...as old and familiar as the calliope and the shell game when the carnival comes to town," veteran American Trotskyist James P. Cannon wrote:

> "The American underworld is a vicious and ugly social manifestation; but it did not fall from the skies. Graft and crime and extortions and rackets are the symptomatic products of a diseased social system and its false values. These dark and evil symptoms can't be eliminated, or even seriously curbed, until they are tackled at the source."
>
> —"Crime and Politics,"
> *Notebook of an Agitator*
> (1958)

This society is based on the fundamental injustice of capitalism's parasitical expropriation of working people's labor. And violent crime is the necessary, permanent underside of this society, which maintains desperate poverty and a permanent layer of unemployed.

Certainly Mob shakedowns and extortion have taken a few bites out of working people's incomes. But compared to what New York real estate barons like Donald Trump rip off, or the sweet deals Pentagon contractors get down in Washington, it's strictly small-time stuff. Certainly the Mob murders revealed in some of the trials are gruesome and horrifying. But this state has its own terror squads—lots of times they don't even bother with frame-up indictments, they just blow you away. While Reagan complains about Mob violence, it was *his* gang of thugs which set up and cheered the massacre of MOVE in Philadelphia, a wantonly vicious bombing in which eleven people, including young children, died hideous, fiery deaths. They terrorized black America and they did it simply because they *wanted* to. The biggest gang of criminal terrorists in this country is in the White House. ■

TWA Strike...

(continued from page 12)

grounded in 24 hours.

When PATCO went on strike in 1981, the U.S. trade-union tops, particularly "Wimpy" Winpisinger and the Teamsters, could have shut down the airports overnight. The half-million unionists who marched in Washington could have celebrated a stunning victory over the union-busting offensive; five years of defeats for labor and blacks at the hands of Reagan reaction could have been prevented. Instead the pro-capitalist union tops stabbed the air traffic controllers in the back and Reagan was "walking tall" as a union killer. In the airline industry alone, union misleaders have forked over more than a *billion* dollars in givebacks. Two-tier wage schemes are now commonplace. Thanks to the bureaucrats' policy of crossing each other's picket lines, there is a long string of defeated airline strikes. And Reagan's anti-union skies are deadly: 1985 was the worst year in civil aviation history with nearly 2,000 deaths.

Many IFFA strikers sport buttons which say, "United we stand, divided we're Continental," referring to the annihilation of organized labor at that airline. True enough. But "united" doesn't just mean "best wishes." Winpisinger and Kirkland sang "Solidarity Forever" over the dead body of PATCO. Under the blows of Reagan's all-out war on labor and minorities, if "unity" means anything, it better mean class struggle. That's why Spartacist salesmen have been on IFFA's picket lines every day, selling hundreds of copies of *Workers Vanguard*, the paper that fights for the working people and tells the truth: this strike can be won but it won't be by playing by the bosses' rules. The IFFA strikers need leaders who will fight for what was denied to PATCO—mass, militant picket lines to stop the scabbing, and joint *strike action* by all the airline unions. Victory to the TWA strike! ■

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Drug Witchhunt...

(continued from page 4)

stars such as Ku Klux Klan members Rogers Hornsby and Tris Speaker. Landis is a fitting icon for the Reagan era. As a federal court judge he meted out stiff sentences in the World War I trials of the early IWW ("Wobbly") labor organizers. Commissioner Landis ordered lifetime banishment of players acquitted in court of gambling charges. But his most heinous legacy as baseball commissioner was the maintenance of baseball's then rigid race segregation and his sabotage of Veeck's effort to buy the Philadelphia Phillies and field black players six years before Jackie Robinson finally broke the color bar.

Behind the hypocritical double standard of the *New York Times* editorial page is *racism*. For Sulzburger the privacy of white stockbrokers, lawyers and corporate execs is sacrosanct. But sports is the one profession where talented blacks can earn (for a few short, brutal years) six- and seven-figure incomes. And in Reagan's anti-drug hysteria black means junkie. The vicious drug tests and penalties are a reminder that in racist America even million-dollar salaries do not break the chains of racist oppression, and for black youth facing desperate poverty and no future other than cannon fodder for imperialist war, that they better not step out of line. It's no accident that the first contracts including obligatory drug testing and draconian penalties were imposed in professional basketball, an inner-city ghetto sport dominated by blacks.

"The kid's a hot prospect. He's got a good head for merchandising, an agent who can take you downtown and one of the best urine samples I've seen in a long time..."

Borgman/Cincinnati Enquirer

Government Off Our Backs!

It's not surprising that ballplayers, along with the rest of society in their income bracket, cope with the pressures of their profession with the aid of drugs. Before turning fink, Keith Hernandez was a National League Most Valuable Player, and led his team to a World Series championship during his "love affair" with cocaine. Dave Parker was the League's leading hitter for two seasons and considered by many its best player until suffering a knee injury. Now, while Hernandez and Parker collect their million-dollar salaries, Curtis Strong, whose only crime was apparently a desire to do favors for the stars, will be doing 12 years in the state pen. Other major league players have already served time—in 1983 four Kansas City Royals players, including Willie Wilson and Vida Blue, were sent to jail for cocaine use.

Drug testing represents an especially pernicious invasion of individual privacy. The urinalysis test proposed can reveal medical information such as the presence of Dilantin, a medication for epileptic seizures. Some blood tests already being instituted by private companies reveal the presence of antibodies to the AIDS virus, and can be used to victimize workers. Moreover the urine test being proposed is widely recognized as unreliable. The Journal of the American Medical Association reported last year that labs with government contracts reached incorrect conclusions up to 100 percent of the time (reported in *Civil Liberties*, Winter 1986). But a dirty test serves the boss as well as a clean one, providing a means to terrorize the workforce, control worker discontent, isolate and victimize militants.

The prohibition of alcohol in the reactionary social climate of the 1920s created the rampant growth of "organized crime." The illegalization of drugs likewise ensures big bucks for the Mob (and cops on the take) and violent crime by desperate addicts. Laws against so-called "crimes without victims"—drugs, gambling, prostitution, sodomy and homosexuality—threaten the privacy and rights of everyone and should be abolished. The real monkey on Americans' backs is repressive capitalist society and its insane drive toward nuclear war. Labor must mobilize to smash Meese's sinister drug test regimentation. Owners, cops, bosses—keep your noses out of the players' business! ■

Sanctuary Movement...

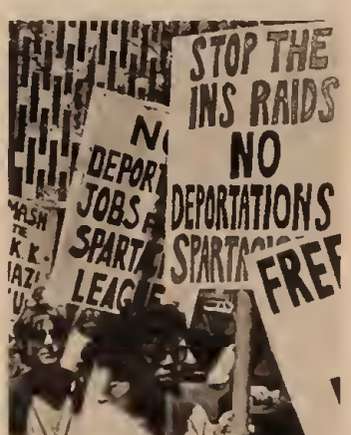
(continued from page 3)

sanctuary movement were indicted in January 1985 on 71 counts of conspiracy and smuggling illegal aliens. (Charges against two were later dropped, and three others pleaded guilty in plea bargains.) Defense challenges have since pared the charges to 33 counts, but the sanctuary leaders still face up to 30 years in jail or more.

The trial, which opened last November 15, has been a hideous travesty of justice, with church workers in the dock on evidence supplied by proven liars and criminals, while refugees are coerced into testifying against those who aided their escape. In his opening argument Special Assistant U.S. Attorney Donald Reno smeared the sanctuary movement as a "three-tiered criminal enterprise" made up of "generals," "transporter/smugglers" and the "Nogales connection." Presiding over this kangaroo court is racist U.S. District Judge Earl Carroll, who from the outset tried to assure a guilty verdict by ruling that defense lawyers could not present their clients' religious or humanitarian motivations, nor testimony about conditions in Central America.

In court, Judge Carroll complained that "people from Latin America perhaps have a difficulty in just answering the question yes or no" (*New York Times*, 19 January). And when defense lawyers argued Central American refugees were discriminated against in violation of the 1980 Refugee Act, he dismissed the law as "wetback legislation." But it's not just racial prejudice. For 25 years Carroll was a partner in a Phoenix law firm which had the union-busting Phelps Dodge Corp. as its primary client. He also owns stock in the company. One of the unindicted co-conspirators in the case, Lucio Chávez, was sheltered by the sanctuary movement after being arrested and tortured in El Salvador for his activities as a union organizer at a Phelps Dodge subsidiary.

In spite of this elaborate set-up, the trial has not gone well for the feds. Before it began the government was forced to pull fink Graham when defense lawyers learned that he had acted as a pimp while spying on the churches. Then, in a last-minute decision, prosecutor Reno withdrew the tapes as evidence for fear of revealing the informers' attempts at entrapment and opening up discussion of the defendants' motivation. This put the burden of the government case on star witness Cruz. During six weeks of cross-examination by defense lawyers Cruz's credibility was completely destroyed. On the stand Cruz was forced to admit that while working for the government on a previous smuggling case, he was paid $1,500 which INS investigator Rayburn allowed him to keep; that he had lied under oath in a 1982 alien



WV Photo

Spartacists demand asylum for refugees from death squad terror.

smuggling trial; that he had thrown out his notes on the sanctuary case after earlier denying he had taken any; and finally, that Cruz had lied several times during the current trial.

The government tried to buttress Cruz's flimsy testimony by calling some of the Central Americans helped by the sanctuary movement as prosecution witnesses. This, too, blew up in their faces. The first witness, a former labor leader in El Salvador using the name Alejandro Rodríguez, testified with the threat of deportation hanging over his head. Although Reno and Carroll tried to exclude testimony about conditions in El Salvador because it might "prejudice and confuse the jury," Rodríguez was able to get out that he had been jailed and tortured for his union activities. Another prospective prosecution witness flatly refused to testify for fear that her testimony would be disclosed to Salvadoran officials. Judge Carroll put her under house arrest until the end of the trial.

From Sanctuary to Social Revolution

Sanctuary, a movement of white, middle-class religious people, is hardly the bunch of flaming radicals the government makes them out to be. Many want to stress they are within the law, it's the Reagan administration that's violating the 1980 Refugee Act and the UN charter. Susceptible to INS charges that they are engaging in political acts, they hesitate even to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America. "Ain't nobody here but us religious folks, boss!" was how a sanctuary pastor from Iowa characterized this capitulation to red-baiting. Yet a movement founded on the belief that "in this case collaboration with the government is a betrayal of our faith" (as Quaker Jim Corbett said to the Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson when they voted on becoming a sanctuary) and that actively defies the government's laws is going to have a hard time being apolitical. And in the face of the government's crackdown, some of the most committed may become radicalized by their experiences.

Largely Protestant in character, the sanctuary movement is often associated with "Liberation Theology" in the Catholic church. And liberal Catholic groups such as the Maryknoll Order have declared their support for sanctuary. Often these groups have shown more steadfastness and gumption than various left groups who seek not to defy the government but to pressure it. Thus in the aftermath of the murder of four American church women in El Salvador in December 1980, while the rad-libs and "solidarity" groups were chanting "American guns kill American nuns," the superior general of the Maryknolls went on TV to say that it was accidental that the victims held U.S. passports; they were internationalists, and their deaths would be no less a crime had they been Salvadorans.

Nevertheless, providing sanctuary is essentially a symbolic act, a religious "witness." As the *National Catholic Reporter* (1 February 1985) noted, "The sanctuary movement...can do nothing to help the vast majority of Salvadoran refugees, other than announce that they exist. Every week, the U.S. government deports or repatriates more Salvadorans than are housed nationwide in sanctuary churches." Those who seriously seek social justice for the poor and oppressed will have to look beyond the confines of their theology, however much they may talk of liberation. They might look, for instance, to the original "underground railroad," which spirited escaped slaves across the Mason-Dixon line. Soon they had to continue on to Canada, for there was no refuge in the "free" North under the Fugitive Slave Law. Ultimately it took the Civil War, the Second American Revolution, to abolish slavery—and even then blacks were deprived of basic democratic rights after the demise of Reconstruction.

What's required is an international struggle for workers revolution, from Central America to the United States. To liberate those oppressed by death squad terror, you have to get rid of the system that spawns the death squads. And whatever their tactical differences over contra aid, the partner parties of capitalism will unite to maintain this system of exploitation, racism and imperialist war. Democrats and Republicans alike have enforced racist, anti-communist immigration laws which were designed to keep out "reds" and blacks, and Latins. Labor has the *power* to successfully defend Central American refugees, not through "conscientizing" the rulers (like the reactionary agribusiness bosses now in power in Washington, grown wealthy off illegal "wetback" labor), but by class struggle. The Spartacist League calls on labor to mobilize for: Asylum for refugees from death squad terror! Full citizenship rights for all undocumented workers! Defend the sanctuary movement! ■

**Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth League
Public Offices**

—*MARXIST LITERATURE*—

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GE-Lynn Settles, Rail Pickets Snarl Hub

Boston Strikers Hit Back

BOSTON—At General Electric's huge Lynn, Massachusetts jet engine and turbine plant, 9,000 International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) members struck for four weeks in defense of their union against GE's reign of terror on the shopfloor. On March 20, some 4,000 Local 201 members approved a settlement engineered by the IUE international and the local leadership, despite the vocal opposition of some Lynn workers who knew they had GE over a barrel in this strike.

The Lynn GE strike, like the fight waged by the Hormel strikers in the Midwest, also inspired railroad workers fighting concessions demanded by the Maine Central Railroad, who tied up critical Boston commuter rail lines with roving pickets. At one point during the GE strike, over 1,000 management scabs who had been crossing the Lynn workers' picket lines were stranded high and dry when the railroad workers shut down the lines to the plant.

The month-long strike by Local 201, which was sparked by the suspension of a steward, could have been a powerful blow against the bosses' war on labor. Lynn GE is a key industrial union local, and during the strike a billion dollars in military projects for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive were sitting idle in the plant. And the Lynn workers, who voted against the IUE tops' givebacks last July, could have led GE workers across the country who have been under assault.

But the settlement, coming after "IUE International President William Bywater conferred with top GE officials and gained a clearer understanding of what solutions GE would accept" (*Boston Globe*, 20 March), consists of the same old arbitration schemes, and "training courses" for stewards and foremen designed to promote class peace on the shopfloor. This after GE bosses beat up and suspended stewards and workers left and right for months!

The ranks at Lynn struck back hard and solid—from Aircraft to Turbine to Everett and Medford—and GE knows it. But the company-loyal IUE bureaucrats, by keeping the strike isolated to Lynn and settling for a bunch of lousy promises based on the same giveback contract, sabotaged the chance Local 201 had to smash GE's union-busting schemes and take the offensive in a national strike to rip it up.

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

The strike against Maine Central Railroad by members of the Brotherhood of Maintenance and Way Employees (BMWE) has received solid backing from rail workers throughout New England, who have honored BMWE's picket lines and shut down the entire northern tier of Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority (MBTA) commuter lines into Boston.

After working without a contract for two years, and watching their ranks decimated by layoffs, the 115 track laborers in BMWE struck Main Central on March 3. The railroad is owned by Timothy Mellon, whose Guilford Transportation Industries has been gobbling up railroads around the country. Mellon is demanding a 20 percent pay cut, the slashing of health and welfare benefits and new contract language to scuttle the seniority system.

What this scion of the 19th-century robber baron didn't count on was rail unions from Maine to Boston to upstate New York honoring the roving pickets sent out by BMWE. Picketing in ones and twos for periods as long as 36 hours, the strikers' lines have been honored by thousands of rail workers who know that if BMWE is busted, they are next. But the union's illusions in the bosses' "legality" (a clause in the anti-union federal Railway Labor Act allows pickets at rail companies under the same ownership) has begun to backfire. BMWE lawyers have caved in to the MBTA's threat of an injunction, and allowed the resumption of maintenance work at the Boston Engine Terminal and partial service on two of the commuter lines.

To hell with the bosses' injunctions and "cooling off" laws, which were written to smash transportation strikes! What's needed is mass pickets and a joint strike of all rail unions to shut down all Mellon's rolling stock, freight and passenger. The powerful MBTA unions must stop the scab bus replacements for the struck commuter lines, turning the tide in the BMWE strike and launching a fight against the use of part-timers in the MBTA.

Boston could use a healthy dose of old-fashioned class struggle. While populist demogogue mayor Ray Flynn brags of a "new spirit" in Boston, racist attacks continue unabated. The glittering new office buildings and hotels in downtown Boston mask the deterioration of life for workers and blacks. The labor misleaders preach reliance on the liberal Democratic Party politicians, but arch-liberal Ted Kennedy joined Reagan in smashing the national railroad engineers strike in 1982, and it was the Boston Democratic Party machine which led the racist reaction against busing here ten years ago.

The solid strike at Lynn GE and the gutsy fight of the Main Central workers can point the way for New England labor to smash the years of givebacks and union-busting. Picket lines mean don't cross! Victory to the BMWE strike! ■

WV Photo

GE strikers rally in Lynn, March 5.

Hormel...

(continued from page 12)

of calling on labor to "hot-cargo" Hormel products; and *suing the UFCW International in the bosses' courts*, which will only increase government control of the unions.

Power Not Pressure

In the Hormel strike, the top labor misleaders acted openly as agents of the companies within the union movement. The urgent desire of the AFL-CIO tops to liquidate the P-9 strike came from a strategy that sees the welfare of American working people directly tied to the health of the capitalist system. In the World According to Wynn, if capitalism's in trouble the workers should be willing to starve. The UFCW International has over the last few years helped the meatpacking bosses cut workers' paychecks to ribbons. Some packing-house workers saw their pay plummet to $6 per hour! Kirkland, Wynn & Co. were worried that any big labor victory would have unleashed a wave of strikes against the givebacks, threatening their own positions. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats' strikebreaking against P-9 makes it clear that any serious strike must be a rebellion against the union tops. And the Hormel strike was just that, a challenge to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.

The question was: what *program* could beat this lineup against P-9. The reformist strategy relied on public opinion and the supposed "good will" of the capitalist state. Like Wynn and Kirkland, the local leadership, their "labor advisers" and assorted supporters all were tied to the Democratic Party, seeing DFL governor Perpich as a "friend of labor." And they all accepted the "logic" of the capitalist system: UFCW and AFL-CIO tops enforced givebacks in order to "restore profits"; P-9 leaders refused to seize the plant or mobilize labor to drive out the National Guard because they accept capitalist "legality." This strategy ultimately allowed the strike to be smashed, liquidating it into another endless, losing boycott.

Levison/Minneapolis Star and Tribune

National Guard versus workers in Austin, Minnesota.

Rather than a strategy based on mobilizing union *power*, they sought to *pressure* the bosses by building a public outcry based on moral indignation. P-9 adviser Ray Rogers, of Corporate Campaign, Inc., focused on PR gimmicks, like picketing banks. Lately Rogers has been pushing "civil disobedience," like sitting down outside Hormel corporate headquarters or in the street but not *in the plant*. Outside Austin, a conglomeration of lower-level union officials and reformist pseudo-socialists, NRFAC (National Rank and File Against Concessions), talked of solidarity but refused to bring out their ranks to stop the scabs and drive out the Guard. And they refused to organize political strike action against Perpich's strikebreaking. The various strike support rallies, such as those recently held around the country and the April 12 rally planned in Austin, push consumer boycotts instead of *union action*.

This strike could have been won: the key Austin plant was shut down for months, workers at the large Ottumwa, Iowa plant (Local 431) overwhelmingly honored P-9's pickets, and Hormel workers responded favorably to P-9 pickets at Fremont, Nebraska and Dubuque, Iowa, as well as other plants around the country. Beleaguered workers everywhere had their eyes glued to the anti-concessions fight centered in Austin. A victory would have lit up the labor movement like a flare in the dead of night. That's why Wynn, backed up by the entire AFL-CIO apparatus, went all out to kill the strike. All American workers will pay for this treachery. But as the wife of one P-9 striker told *WV*, whether the strike won or lost, "a new labor movement has started." She added, "We were the guinea pigs, the ones who made the sacrifices."

A Test of Leadership

There was one aspect of P-9's strike that set this struggle head and shoulders above the vast majority of labor strikes and gave it a significant chance of success: the roving pickets. Coal miners during their bitter 1978 strike made effective use of this class-struggle tactic: by fighting to extend the strike to the non-union mines of Kentucky and elsewhere, the coal strikers transformed their strike in part into a UMW organizing drive, faced down the Carter/Mondale administration's Taft-Hartley injunction and frustrated for several months the efforts of the UMW leadership to sell out the struggle.

But it was only in January, five months into the Hormel strike, that P-9 pickets hit the road. The pickets had been prepared in October, but Guyette held them back after Wynn promised to sanction the tactic if Hormel failed to "bargain in good faith." Of course, Hormel didn't "bargain"—they were out to smash P-9—and Wynn didn't sanction the roving pickets. A critical two months were lost in extending the strike to other plants.

The real test of the strike leadership's program came in mid-January, when Hormel reopened the Austin plant and began to hire permanent replacements for the strikers. This was a dagger pointed at P-9's heart. On January 20 a mobilization of P-9ers and their allies shut down the plant. That night Perpich brought in the National Guard, and then the leadership and their NRFAC "supporters" were put to the test. As we wrote:

> "Labor organizations from all over the Upper Midwest must mobilize to flood Austin with thousands of unionists who can send the scabs scurrying! There must be political strike action to beat back the National Guard strikebreaking!"
>
> —*WV* No. 396, 31 January

But the response of Rogers and his Corporate Campaign, Inc. was to discourage militant mass picketing, push the consumer boycott and start a campaign of civil disobedience. And the only "solidarity" P-9 got from the NRFAC officials was hot air.

A week later, P-9's roving pickets shut down the Ottumwa plant, but the Guard kept the critical Austin plant open. We wrote:

> "Having sampled the power of labor solidarity, P-9 members can see victory almost within reach. Yet it is clear to all that the situation in their home plant increasingly threatens to undermine and defeat the strike.... *The hard truth is that the Austin plant must be shut down, and soon, or the strike will lose.*"
>
> —*WV* No. 397, 14 February

Under the circumstances the only way to shut down the plant was to take it out of the company's hands, the very same way the Hormel strikers did it in 1933. A plant seizure would have thwarted Hormel's strikebreaking plans: the forces of capitalist "law and order" treat strikes much more respectfully when the workers are holding millions of dollars worth of equipment—equipment financed with the givebacks robbed from the workers! But Guyette and Rogers were hardly ever in town. They had substituted coast-to-coast "Boycott Spam" speeches for class-struggle action in Austin. The vacuum left by their absence from Austin simply invited a

Report from Austin

AUSTIN, Minnesota—Sunday's meeting was a Rubicon for the Hormel strike, qualitatively signaling its defeat. On Thursday, after months of backstabbing and downright *scabbing* on courageous Local P-9, the UFCW (United Food and Commercial Workers) International drove the knife in, declaring the strike "unauthorized" and cutting off all benefits. The local leadership found itself in a situation that left no retreat: unlike the British miners, they couldn't form ranks and march back to work, defeated but defiant. Their jobs had been taken, and only an audacious and well-planned plant seizure could get them back. But Jim Guyette and the local leadership had consolidated around a reformist program of playing by the bosses' rules. And when that led to a dead end, on Sunday they turned decisively away from labor struggle to a consumer boycott and *calling on strike-breaking judges to run the union.*

Unfortunately, there was no opposition to this strategy from the membership. In the weeks after the February 15 NRFAC (National Rank and File Against Concessions) rally, we had a vestige of hope that an element of P-9 would rebel against the leadership's diversionary strategy. On the weekend of March 1, a *WV* team from Chicago showed the video of "Labor's Turning Point" (about the victorious Trotskyist-led 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike) to a number of strikers and strikers' wives. They were inspired by the battle of '34, and agreed that militant action in Austin was long overdue. A few days later, we got a call saying that a group of strikers was considering seizing the plant. During these weeks, reports kept coming in from contacts in and around P-9 that on such-and-such a day they were going to "shut it down." None of this panned out, but it indicated an appetite for class struggle within the local.

We had time before the Sunday membership meeting to stop by the union hall. The change in atmosphere struck you in the face. There were only 20 somber people there. The P-9 exec board was having a meeting, but the membership wasn't exactly clustered nearby waiting. A couple of friendly retirees manned the reception desk. The bulletin board near the entrance was dominated by lists of P-9 members who had resigned and members who had crossed the picket lines without bothering to resign. There were no signs that the union hall continued to serve as a social center for the local, which was not surprising since it also didn't serve as an organizing center to the extent it had in January. (We couldn't help but notice that most of the beans provided by the support committee were still neatly stacked downstairs; the strikers are obviously "beaned-out.") A suggested resolution on the National Guard being distributed from the lit stand near the entrance said that "the Guard should only be used if...."

WV Photo

Local P-9 pickets and supporters stopping scabs at Austin Hormel plant, February 1. Strikers were stabbed in back by AFL-CIO tops.

The meeting was held at a church community center, and we got there early to sell *WV*. The press says there were 800 at the meeting, which sounds right. P-9ers were serious, unenthusiastic. We sold about two-thirds of the papers on the basis of interest in the fight in the ILWU (West Coast longshore/warehouse) over "hot-cargoing" Hormel goods. Two hours later the strikers came out. They seemed desperately optimistic. There were elated shouts of "fuck the International!" The cause of all this celebration was *not* a commitment by P-9 to shut down the plant, hut a decision to take the UFCW International to court. In other words, the local is inviting the government to dictate internal union affairs—the same government that issued strike-breaking injunctions and placed Austin under virtual martial law!

There was a press conference in the community center gymnasium where the meeting had been held. Guyette sat down at a table surrounded by the P-9 negotiating committee. He announced essentially a three-pronged strategy: consumer boycott, Martin Luther King-type civil disobedience and a lawsuit against the UFCW International for "irreparable harm to Local 9, maliciously hurting the strike and undermining our bargaining position with Hormel." Halfway through the press conference, *Workers Vanguard* asked Guyette if it wasn't true that the strike would be won or lost on the picket lines, and that suing the International—no matter how bad their betrayals—was a violation of the trade-union principle that you've got to keep labor independent of the government. He began defensively, saying this was a special situation, there was no way out, etc. As he warmed up, he changed themes, saying P-9 wouldn't let anyone stand in its way, and so on. He didn't bother to indicate how they were going to win this strike.

It's notable that the bulk of the left considered it more important to stay in the Twin Cities preparing for that night's benefit concert for P-9 than to come to Austin to influence the course of the strike. The Workers League showed up with a leaflet which had no address, no phone number, no date, no "labor donated" and of course no union bug. Significantly, any hint of class struggle was buried between the letter-writing, contribution-sending and WL's predictable calls for "congresses of labor" organized by the backstabbers like UFCW chief Wynn or the AFL-CIO's Kirkland. At the press conference WL/*Bulletin* reporter Cory Johnson jumped in to cover Guyette's ass by asking if P-9 had exhausted every possibility of appeal, as if that would excuse crossing the class line by suing the UFCW.

At the benefit in St. Paul later that night we talked to one of the strikers who had seen "Labor's Turning Point." He was initially impressed with P-9's legal strategy, but began to come around when we explained that suing a union in the bosses' courts is a *class* question, which inevitably leads to greater capitalist control over labor. He also conceded that the Hormel consumer boycott probably would never have much effect, since a very large portion of the company's meat products are bought up by the military. But if labor had been mobilized to shut down the plant and hot-cargo scab Hormel products, even the military never would have gotten its Spam. ■

strikebreaking intervention by the backstabbing UFCW tops.

Face Reality Squarely

When the local voted for reconciliation with the International, and Wynn gave his "screw you" reply, Guyette came back to Austin and the P-9 leadership consolidated a program of defeat. A non-struggle policy of boycotts and civil disobedience was capped off with taking the union to court. P-9 is asking the same court system of "Hormel Judge" Stone, whose injunctions made real picketing illegal, to rule against the International for causing "irreparable harm" to the strike! This lawsuit is not just a diversion—*it is a betrayal.* The courts, the cops, the National Guard, are all agencies of the capitalist state. Labor must clean its own house!

The key lesson of the Hormel strike is that for the workers to beat back the bosses' attacks on the economic front, they must be organized to fight the bosses all down the line, that is, *politically*. To have independent, intransigent unions, workers need a party that serves as a general staff of the class struggle. They need a *workers party* which can lead the working people to political power, to the establishment of a *workers government* that expropriates the corporations and banks and organizes a planned economy to place the wealth of this country at the service of labor and the oppressed. A militant trade-union tactic like the sit-in anticipates the revolutionary expropriation of the capitalists under a workers government. The successful strikes of the early 1930s, like the Wobbly-led Austin meatpackers sit-in and the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamster strikes, were led by leftists. As Leon Trotsky wrote in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

"The fight's going on," said P-9 president Jim Guyette on March 16. But the job of revolutionaries is to "face reality squarely... to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be," as Trotsky wrote in 1938 ("Transitional Program"). Speaking the truth about American labor today means recognizing the defeat at Hormel for what it is, and drawing the proper lessons. The critical task posed by the Hormel strike is the need to forge a consistent class-struggle opposition to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who are strangling the labor movement.

This means a fight to keep the bosses' government out of the unions; to build picket lines that no one *dares* cross; to fight for jobs for the unemployed (from whom Hormel recruited its scabs), for 30 hours work at 40 hours pay. It means fighting racial oppression, used by the bosses to divide the working class; black workers are often the most militant sector of the industrial proletariat, and integrated picket lines can be the starting point for mass labor/black defense squads against racist attacks and police terror. It means opposing the anti-Soviet war drive, which is intimately linked to the war on labor and minorities at home; and breaking with the Democrats, who are no "lesser evil" and certainly no "friends of labor" but a capitalist party that sends in the National Guard to break strikes.

In the fight to oust the pro-capitalist misleaders of labor a revolutionary workers party must be built, a multiracial party that will link up and lead the struggles of the oppressed into a powerful assault on the whole system of capitalist exploitation. ■

ILWU Militants:

"We Bitterly Condemn and Protest Defeat of Hormel Strike!"

At the March 20 membership meeting of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in San Francisco, Stan Gow, a member of the Militant Caucus, put forward a motion nailing the labor bureaucracy for its betrayal of the P-9 meatpackers strike.

Earlier, Gow had fought for Local 10 to defend the strike, through refusing to handle any Hormel scab goods on the docks (see our last issue). But the Local 10 bureaucrats, with a little help from their fake-socialist friends, scuttled any real defense of P-9 by postponing action for three crucial weeks.

The ILWU International, meanwhile, adopted a grotesque "statement of policy" on the Hormel strike, knifing P-9 in the back by declaring "the International Executive Board of the ILWU feels that it is inappropriate for the International to take a position either for or against the Hormel strike" (*Dispatcher*, 10 March). The labor fakers' treachery will not be forgotten by the working class.

We reprint below the Militant Caucus motion.

We bitterly condemn and protest the defeat of the Hormel meatpackers strike.

In a sequel to the PATCO strike, it was deliberately isolated and stabbed in the back by the labor traitors that currently make up the top leadership of the American labor movement.

All American workers are going to pay for this treacherous defeat. Next time there had better be a massive show of force by the labor movement to smash the union-busters.

Stan Gow, 4498

WORKERS VANGUARD

All Labor Will Pay for This Treacherous Defeat!

Hormel Strike Knifed

MARCH 24—For seven months the striking meatpackers at Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minnesota waged a tough and defiant battle that inspired American labor from coast to coast. TWA stewardesses, GE workers in Lynn, Massachusetts, cannery workers in Watsonville, California looked to the gutsy Local P-9. But P-9 was up against not just a union-busting company; they also faced the labor traitors of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) and Lane Kirkland's AFL-CIO, the capitalist Democratic Party and the armed fist of the bosses' government, particularly the National Guard. Despite their determination and militancy, P-9 didn't have the class-struggle program necessary to win against this unholy alliance. And so after a hard, bitter fight the heroic Hormel strike has been smashed.

The members of Local P-9 said, "Hell no!" when UFCW leaders told them to eat Hormel's takeaways. When the company moved to bust the union and replace the strikers with scabs, P-9 countered by dispatching roving pickets to other Hormel plants in an attempt to shut the entire chain down. The UFCW hureaucracy tried every trick in the book to end this strike on the company's terms—from withholding money sent for the P-9ers to publicly denouncing the strike as "mass suicide" to actively herding workers across P-9's picket lines. The AFL-CIO fat cats meeting in Florida denounced the "rogue local" and wouldn't let Hormel strikers speak. So P-9 sent rank-and-file delegations directly to local unions around the country to appeal for solidarity. Minnesota's liberal Democratic governor Rudy Perpich enlisted in the war against P-9 by sending the National Guard to Austin to protect Hormel scabs. Still the strikers stood their ground

UPI

Austin, Minnesota, March 20: cops drag away Hormel strikers blocking plant gate.

But "hanging tough" was not sufficient to win this fight. Ever since Hormel reopened the plant January 13, some 500 ex-members of P-9 (derisively called "P-10ers" by the strikers)—more than one-third of the local—have crawled through the picket lines as scabs. P-9's failure to shut down the Austin plant—and keep it shut—fueled a defeatist opposition in the local that argued for capitulation to Hormel. On March 13, this opposition narrowly won a vote within P-9 calling for reconciliation with the backstabbing UFCW tops. The very next day, as Hormel executives maintained there were no jobs for strikers, International president William Wynn gave a scab order to end the strike and take down the picket lines, cutting off the strikers' $40 per week strike benefits and threatening to place P-9 in receivership. Indignant strikers in Austin tore the UFCW initials from their picket signs.

In the face of the International's move to smash the strike, only a program for all-out class struggle—to spread the strike, seize the plant and bust through the UFCW/AFL-CIO traitors' stranglehold—could lead the way to victory over Hormel. But at a mass membership meeting on March 16, P-9 president James Guyette decisively rejected labor struggle, turning to civil disobedience instead of a militant fight to shut down Hormel; to a consumer boycott instead

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Screw the Injunction—Airlines Unions Must Stand Together!

TWA Strike: Honor the Picket Lines!

Machinists and Teamsters Scab

The strike by 6,000 flight attendants against Trans World Airlines is in trouble. When the walkout began March 7, thousands of airport mechanics, members of the powerful International Association of Machinists (IAM), spontaneously honored the picket lines and TWA was crippled But when TWA predictably got an injunction against the Machinists' action, the IAM tops instantly ordered their ranks back to work and the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) was left standing alone. TWA's union-busting chairman, Wall Street raider Carl Icahn, now has 2,000 scab flight attendants on his payroll and hundreds of flights are taking off every day. The IFFA ranks don't lack for spirit and determination *but they can't win alone!* IFFA militants must call on the IAM and Teamsters *now* to shut down TWA. Scabbing pilots ought to be grounded by union flying squads. Picket lines mean don't cross!

Before the strike, IFFA bargainers offered the company givehacks amounting to 15 percent of the union members' wages and benefits—some $50 million. Such concessions, however, only embolden the bosses and so Icahn demanded more: $100 million in concessions. On the MacNeil-Lehrer Report (March 11), Icahn stated his intention to squeeze additional hundreds of millions out of TWA's pilots and Machinists on top of what they've already "given" back. There's no end to it! The flight attendants finally had enough and their strike could spark a counteroffensive by airline unions against all givebacks and concessions. The question is: will the ranks of American labor defeat the treachery of the wretched AFL-CIO tops and come to the aid of the TWA strikers in time?

Many Machinists are angry with the IAM misleaders' scabherding, but so far the bureaucrats have kept this anger from being translated into action. As one Machinist at TWA's Kennedy airport terminal in New York put it to *WV*: "They should say 'fuck you and your injunction, we ain't going back,' but I know they won't." Right, *so it's up to you!* For the AFL-CIO's "Lame" Kirkland and the IAM's "socialist" president William Winpisinger, "solidarity" amounts to hot air and a consumer boycott. Real solidarity means respecting picket lines. And everybody knows that if the Machinists and Teamsters refused to cross the flight attendants' picket lines, *TWA would be*

WV Photo

Striking TWA flight attendants at rally for Hormel strikers in New York, March 14.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 401 | 11 April 1986

Reagan Strikes at Libya, Nicaragua, Afghanistan

Aircraft carrier USS Saratoga in Gulf of Sidra. Turnley/Newsweek

Flashpoints for War

Defend the Soviet Union!

APRIL 7—The White House declared "Operation Prairie Fire," the brazen American attack on Libya, an unqualified success. A Navy armada, with three aircraft carriers, 30 warships and hundreds of planes, managed to sink some Libyan PT boats and hit a missile site where Russian technicians were reportedly installing Soviet SAMs. The Teflon president had found the no-risk military option, so the U.S. could flex its muscles "without loss of life or damage to American planes or ships," War Secretary Weinberger crowed. The Reaganites' war "game" in the Gulf of Sidra was supposed to teach the "bully" Qaddafi a bloody lesson and send a message to Moscow. In this confrontation, the world's working class had a side: with Libya against the insane war provocations of U.S. imperialism.

Of course, the Libyan boats never fired a shot, and the only evidence of SAMs being fired were blips on a radar screen that were not reported to journalists on board the USS *Saratoga* at the time because the Navy wasn't sure they were real. Commenting on the Gulf of Sidra action, Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, noted: "I would say these operations may lead us to revise our opinion of Gadaffi's rationality. Once we made it clear that we were determined to stay there, he withdrew his forces, and I consider that a very rational act" ([London] *Sunday Times*, 30 March).

The next week, however, when a bomb blew a hole in the fuselage of a TWA jetliner over Greece, killing four, and another blast in Berlin destroyed a disco frequented by GIs, the U.S. declared it would "hold Qaddafi responsible" for these wanton acts of indiscriminate terror. No matter that the Libyan strongman had condemned the TWA bomb as "an act of terrorism against a civilian target, and I am totally against this." It fit a "pattern" of Libyan terrorism,' said Washington. The pattern is that Reagan will blame anything' and everything on Qaddafi (and Gorbachev) if it furthers the anti-Soviet war drive.

The U.S. aggression against Libya came on the heels of an even more insane war provocation in the Black Sea, in which two Navy spy ships invaded Soviet territorial waters near the port of Sevastopol, headquarters of the "Red Banner" fleet. And just as American F-14s were firing their Harpoon and HARM missiles over the Mediterranean, halfway around the globe in Central America U.S. Army Chinook helicopters were ferrying Honduran troops to the Nicaraguan frontier, doing their best to set off a border war in order to get Congress to approve $100 million in aid to the CIA's contra terrorists. When at first Honduras declined to claim it had been invaded by the Sandinista army, Washington

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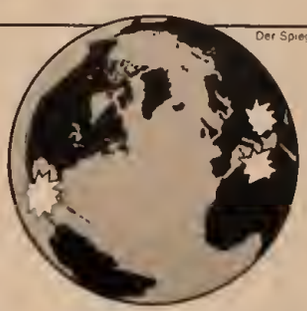

Der Spiegel

U.S. invades Soviet waters in Black Sea, attacks Libya, escalates contra war against Nicaragua.

Under Reagan's Guns in Libya

Report from Tripoli

6 April 1986

A journalistic team of the international Spartacist tendency arrived in Tripoli on March 26. We were there with our physical presence to establish our proletarian internationalist commitment to the military defense of Libya against the barbaric attacks of U.S. imperialism and its allies. As war-crazed Ronald Reagan flexed his trigger finger, we came prepared to help in any way we can where the U.S. war drive is hottest right now—and to denounce before the world's working class the acts of aggression against Libya by the imperialist terrorists.

Our arrival was preceded by a telegram sent by the iSt from New York addressed to Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi. The statement read: "We deeply respect and support just cause of Libyan independence and territorial integrity against assault by U.S. imperialist aggression."

As we arrived Reagan's massive Sixth Fleet armada—with its 30 naval vessels, including three carriers and 240 warplanes—was carrying out its assault against the Libyan people. The

continued on page 6

WV Photo

Tripoli, March 28—Libyan women students in uniform march in defiance of U.S. imperialism.

MOVE Survivor Ramona Africa Speaks from Prison

Grelish/Philadelphie Inquirer

Ramona Africa

Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the hideous massacre of the black back-to-nature MOVE group on 13 May 1985, remains in prison on $200,000 bail, and is facing sentencing April 14. She was convicted on the incredible charges of "criminal conspiracy" and "riot," and faces 14 years in prison. Ramona's only "crime" is she survived *the genocidal terrorism of Reagan. Meese and Philadelphia's "Mayor of Murder," Wilson Goode. Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners! We print below excerpts from a statement by Ramona written following the report of Goode's hand-picked commission.*

To: The Workers Vanguard

From: Ramona Africa, Minister of Communication for *MOVE*

Ona MOVE! People question *how* and *why* the August 8, 1978 confrontation *and* the May 13, 1985 confrontation came about. Well open your eyes and look around you. Look what is happening *rite now* and you will have your answer. For *years, too many* years, MOVE people of *all* ages have been *victimized, terrorized* by system officials who want *desperately* to stifle the *truth*. We have been beat almost to death, in some cases *to death*, in *un*-provoked police attacks, we have had our *babies deliberately murdered* by police, we have officials, including *judges, ignore* crimes against us....

I am talking about hundreds of bloodthirsty, revenge-seeking cops, along with the presence of state and federal officials (according to Gregore Sambor), surrounding our home on May 13, 1985. I am talking about cops *armed* with water, teargas, smoke, 357 magnums, 9 mm Uzi machine guns, Browning automatic *rifles*, 22 caliber rifles with silencers, 12 gauge shotguns, 30.06 sniper rifles, M60 machine guns, 50 caliber machine guns, 45 caliber Thompson submachine guns, 20 mm armor piercing antitank guns, high power explosives and bombs; I'm talking about cops shooting *10,000* rounds of ammunition at us in 90 minutes (according to *their* official records), using high power explosives on and around our house when officials *believed* we had explosives and *knew* we had flammable material in our house, dropping a *bomb* on us which ignited a fire, *deliberately* allowing the fire to burn as a means of affecting the arrest of only *four* of many people in our house (including children) on warrants that alleged crimes that the prosecutor could *not* substantiate and were dismissed on November 22, 1985, and finally, shooting at MOVE men, women, and children to keep us from coming out of the burning house and causing my brothers and sisters of *all* ages to be burned alive *or* shot down in the alley while trying to escape the fire. All this criminal sadism spit on this family for years and *not one* official has ever gone to prison for crimes against this family....

We know exactly what the purpose of that commission is—to *pacify* folks, *trick* folks into *thinking* that something is being done when it was clear from the beginning that the mayor's commission can *say* anything but has no authority to *indict* or *prosecute*. We of *MOVE* are *John Africa* taught and we ain't tricked by the commission's report even though it is interpreted as a stinging indictment of Goode and his administration. What the mayor's commission is *saying* now was obvious to people *since* May 13, 1985 and in fact was being said by people May 13, 1985. But people were pacified with phrases like "*wait* and see what the commission reports." Now that the report is official, people are being encouraged to *wait* 'til the district attorney's office investigates whether or not they should impanel a grand jury to investigate some more.

While all this waiting is going on, I am waiting in prison. I have been tried and convicted of crimes I am *not* guilty of, my family is in prison for 900 years for a crime they are *not* guilty of, our family has been murdered and we are still being asked to *wait!* Wait for what! Nobody *waited* to arrest me, on May 13, 1985 I was arrested *without* investigation; on August 8, 1978 my family was arrested without investigation. During all this waiting, officials of U.S. Department of Justice boldly announced the possibility of problems with getting indictments against officials involved in the massacre of my family because they can *not* use evidence collected by the commission. This is not something that suddenly occurred to these officials; they knew it when the commission was created by the mayor but it was announced at a convenient time as a feeble *excuse* for their failure to do what they *never* intended to do in the first place.

Remember, the federal government provided 37 1/2 lbs. of C-4 [plastic explosives] to Philadelphia police without a request for it *according to them*; Edwin Meese, the Attorney General of the U.S., stated publicly—before the smoke even cleared—that Philadelphia officials did an admirable job; and while officials all over the world expressed shock and horror about the tragedy of May 13, 1985, *to my knowledge* the president of this country has remained *silent*—none of this is coincidental. Remember, it was a *state* helicopter being flown by *state police* officials who got permission from their supervisors, according to Gregore Sambor—that were directly involved in dropping that bomb on men, women, and babies, so obviously they do not want a serious investigation....

The Mayor is talking about putting *MOVE* behind him and carrying on. How are system officials going to carry on like normal when the *main issue—innocent* MOVE people, *15 innocent* MOVE people now instead of *14*, being put in prison—has yet to be resolved? Do system officials, including the mayor, really believe that *MOVE* is just gonna *forget* about *innocent MOVE people* who are sitting in prison because of *nothing* more than *politics*? System officials are willing to do *anything*—including kill MOVE people thru *bombs* and *fire* or thru the *slower*, more *subtle* torturous death of prison—officials are willing to do *anything but* the *righteous* thing of investigating the August 8, 1978 confrontation and releasing *innocent* MOVE people from prison. The problem has been *compounded* instead of solved because in addition to keeping *innocent* MOVE people in prison, these officials have now spilled more MOVE blood, their hands are *dripping* with the blood of MOVE people who righteously demanded the release of our family because our family is *innocent*. As long as innocent MOVE people are in prison, officials will never be able to "put *MOVE* behind." The blatantly prejudicial attitude system officials are demonstrating against MOVE *now*, in refusing to prosecute those that have committed crimes against us, makes it obviously *imperative* for us to *protect, defend* ourself. It became obvious to *MOVE* years ago that we can not rely on this *system* for justice and protection because it is *this system* that is committing crimes against us: killing our babies, heating pregnant women into miscarriage and deliberately *trying*, convicting and sentencing innocent MOVE people to prison for a total of *900* years....

Long Live John Africa's Revolution and Down with This Rotten Ass System. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Unity of World's Workers and Colonial Oppressed

In April 1951, when America's anti-Soviet, colonial Korean War was at its height and Cold War reaction raged domestically, James P. Cannon, veteran communist and founding leader of Trotskyism in the U.S., in a speech to university students linked the struggle against imperialist war to the proletarian class struggle.

And finally, the workers of the United States haven't said their last word yet by a long shot. The foreign policy of American capitalism is united with its domestic policy. The war program carries with it the program of militarizing and regimenting the country, already under way; of stamping out liberties, which is in the design; and of driving down the living standards of the workers, which is in progress with the wage freeze on the one side and skyrocketing inflation on the other. All this, in my opinion, will meet resistance in the United States....

So I wouldn't advise young people to bet their heads on the victory of American imperialism.

There is an alternative. In my opinion this alternative is to recognize the social reality of our time, to see capitalism as a world system in its death agony, completely reactionary and beyond salvation by any means. The alternative to support of this doomed social system is to ally oneself with the future, with the socialist and labor movement, and with the great colonial revolutions in process and still growing. The alternative is to work for a union of the world's workers and the colonial peoples, to put an end to imperialism and open the way for the socialist society of the free and equal. That is the way to secure peace and progress and a good life for all.

—James P. Cannon, "Youth and Foreign Policy," *Speeches for Socialism* (1971)

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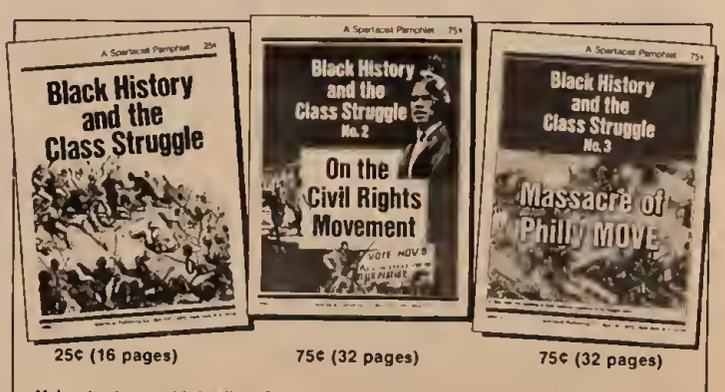

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SL Sues Rupert Murdoch's Channel 5

Fascist Smear Job

The Spartacist League has served a libel lawsuit complaint against the owners of WNYW-TV, New York's Channel 5, and the producer of the station's "10 O'Clock News," demanding $1,005,000 in damages. The suit charges WNYW-TV with falsely attributing to the SL the painting of swastikas on the door of the Austrian Consulate General in New York City March 31. The SL categorically denied that it or any of its members was involved in, or that it urged others to initiate or participate in, the reported events. Further, the suit charges that this defamatory broadcast sets up the Spartacist League as a target for police repression and right-wing violence.

In its million-dollar suit, the SL noted that the Channel 5 newscast "falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously" defamed the SL in its report of the defacing of the Austrian consulate. According to the 10 O'Clock News, a "caller claimed it was the work of a left-wing group, the Spartacist League." This lying charge was made as the TV screen filled with close-ups of red swastikas scrawled on the consulate doorway, its front steps and the sidewalk directly outside. A press statement issued by the SL on April 5 said of this insidious smear:

> "The newscast's false statements and the images of swastikas, prominently and repeatedly displayed, are a lethal double whammy, portraying the SL as terrorist crazies who go around vandalizing the property of a foreign government, and simultaneously trying to tar us with the brush of fascism, equating our Marxist political organization with the hated swastika, symbol of anti-Semitic terror and genocide."

The SL suit charges that the March 31 newscast "grossly departed from usual and normal standards of journalism." The station made no effort to check with the Spartacist League as to the veracity of the claim of the anonymous "caller." Any investigation would have disclosed that the Spartacist League does not and would not paint swastikas on the consulate of a foreign government or elsewhere. In fact, the next day a man was arrested and charged with attempted criminal mischief as he was preparing to throw cow's blood, eggs and potatoes at the Austrian consulate.

Moreover, the SL's political work and program is not unknown to WNYW. The newsroom evidently did not bother to check its own files, where they would have found extensive material from the Spartacist 1985 election campaign, amply documenting our Marxist politics. In 1984, Channel 5 received our press release entitled, "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists," announcing the SL's successful legal challenge to the FBI's "Domestic Security/Terrorism" guidelines. While the station chose not to cover these newsworthy items, the slanderous smear by an unnamed "caller" was broadcast on the airwaves in maximally sensationalist fashion.

It is no accident that this display of gutter journalism comes just a few weeks after Channel 5 was bought by Fox Television Stations, owned by Rupert Murdoch, who also publishes the scandal-mongering *New York Post*. Murdoch is a notorious union-buster who is currently seeking to destroy the British newspaper unions. Five thousand striking London printers have been thrown out of their jobs by the ruthless Murdoch, whose computerized printing plant in Wapping is protected by legions of armed police and surrounded by barbed wire.

The legal complaint, signed by SL General Counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and attorney Jonathan Lubell, charges:

> "The SL has been grievously injured in its good name, reputation, character and standing as a Marxist political organization; its members branded as vandals, criminals, provocateurs and terrorists and as some sort of Nazis, and characterized as criminals outside First Amendment protections, all causing the SL and its members to be isolated, stigmatized and targeted for law enforcement and/or extreme right-wing surveillance, harassment, prosecution and violence...."

The damage inflicted on our reputation could, the suit specifies, create a climate of "fear and revulsion, causing individuals to refrain from joining or being a member of the SL," resulting in "a loss of membership financial support and a loss of subscribers and readers of the SL's publications." We don't know the source for this malicious slander, nor the motivations of the station in promoting it. We do know that we will use all the legal, financial and political resources at our disposal to protect our organization, win this case and make them pay.

WV Photo

Mass Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by SL stopped KKK fascists from parading in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982.

Deep Abhorrence of the Nazi Insignia

We can only speculate on the sort of groupings and individuals who might have found it expedient to smear swastikas on the consulate, among them right-wing Zionist fanatics, Nazi provocateurs or Austrian political opponents to the right of former UN secretary general Kurt Waldheim. The Channel 5 account of the criminal vandalism against the Austrian consulate went on to report recent accusations that Waldheim who "is running for president of Austria...tried to hide a Nazi war record." It is not out of the question that a misguided radical filled with hatred against the horrors of Dachau and Auschwitz was moved to express his outrage.

Our objections are not based on abstract moral aversion to spray-painting directed at symbols of imperialism and fascism. We don't believe such antics are very effective. While we deeply despise the policies of Ronald Reagan and seek to sweep away this entire racist capitalist system, we do not go about this by using the doors and windows of various government buildings as our billboards.

Moreover, the Spartacist League recognizes that in today's world, divided as it is among nation-states, the basis for any international relations is the diplomatic convention of the "extraterritoriality" of embassies. For this reason we were less than enamored of the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Iran. Our article "Teheran Embassy Revisited" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984) noted that while it was certainly "a preeminent symbol of American imperialism," we agreed with the Soviets' statement that the embassy seizure was "not in keeping with the international convention on respect of diplomatic privileges and immunity." The article concluded, "We necessarily share this view, as must any state power or aspirant to state power, such as the international Spartacist tendency."

WV Photo

SL and Partisan Defense Committee announce successful settlement of lawsuit against FBI, November 1984.

Above all, we keenly resent the Channel 5 broadcast because it smeared our party's name with the swastika, Hitler's symbol in Germany, leading to the Holocaust against the Jewish people, the smashing of the German working class, the invasion of the Soviet Union and unspeakable terror against the peoples of Eastern Europe. As communists, we have a deep abhorrence of the Nazi insignia. In a 7 April letter to the Austrian consulate expressing our anger and disgust at the vandalism, the SL noted that "In fact, during the past year, the Spartacist League office in New York has been the target of a campaign of criminal vandalism in the form of defacement with various offensive political slogans and symbols, including a swastika carved into the door."

Waldheim Accused of Nazi War Crimes

Charges that Kurt Waldheim is a Nazi war criminal were made by the World Jewish Congress in March, which exposed Waldheim's 1939 enrollment in the SA, the paramilitary Nazi Brownshirts. Later, Waldheim was an officer in the German Army Command 12 based in Salonika, Greece, which carried out mass deportations of Greek Jews, and was sent to Belgrade at a time of bloody reprisals against the Yugoslav partisans. It is reported that Waldheim, an Italian-German interpreter, served as staff aide to Austrian general Alexander Löhr who was executed as a war criminal in Belgrade in 1947.

According to the *New York Times* (4 March), "documents show that in July 1942, after a campaign against Yugoslav partisans, Mr. Waldheim was awarded a high military decoration of the Nazi puppet state of Croatia.... The Croatian state was known for persecuting Jews, Serbs and gypsies through deportations, forced labor and mass murders." The article recounts, "the deportation of 42,830 Jews from Salonika to death camps at Auschwitz, Treblinka and Lublin was carried out by German forces under the command of General Löhr, Mr. Waldheim's commanding officer, between March and May 1943, part of which time Mr. Waldheim was in Salonika." Waldheim claims he never formally joined the SA, and that from 1942 on he was in Vienna studying law, and that he was not aware of the deportation of Jews from Salonika at the time.

But in recent weeks, evidence has mounted pointing to Waldheim's guilt. Of particular significance is a March 26 Yugoslav government statement documenting that Waldheim was wanted by that country as a war criminal after World War II. Simon Wiesenthal, the noted Nazi-hunter based in Vienna, expressed skepticism, initially calling the charges against Waldheim "unlikely." At the same time, he remarked of Waldheim's service under Löhr, "It is hard to imagine that in his position Waldheim knew nothing at all" and "I don't understand why he is lying." Wiesenthal (a well-known supporter of the same Austrian People's Party as Waldheim) is now pursuing his own inquiry into the Yugoslav government's evidence and a file on Waldheim which surfaced in the UN archives on those accused of Nazi war crimes.

Whether or not Waldheim is proved to be a Nazi war criminal, Austria is not a fascist dictatorship. To be sure, it is infested with "former" Nazis in its ruling circles, as Wiesenthal himself has exposed. Whether or not Kurt Waldheim is the next president, Austria will still be a nasty little "parliamentary democracy" crawling with the same sort of people who lay wreaths at the Bitburg graves of the Waffen SS.

As Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1939 essay, "For Grynszpan," when fascism marched through Europe:

> "Not the lone avenger can free the oppressed but only a great revolutionary movement of the masses which will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression and racial persecution. The unprecedented crimes of fascism create a yearning for vengeance wholly justifiable.... For that it is necessary to set in motion millions, tens and hundreds of millions of the oppressed throughout the whole world and lead them in the assault upon the strongholds of the old society."■

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We Will Not Forget Danny Smith and Yusuf Bilal!

Racist L.A. Cops Kill Workers

LOS ANGELES—A 38-year-old Black Muslim and RTD bus driver, Yusuf Bilal, was shot in cold blood by the cops here March 18. Bilal was stopped by the California Highway Patrol in Watts, at the corner of Florence and Broadway; after beating him, the cop pulled out his .38 and repeatedly shot him. One man who had gathered with others nearby the scene of the murder said angrily, "You don't want to be black and be stopped by the police." It was wanton racist murder. And every black person who has been pulled over by the strutting Highway Patrol or the paramilitary LAPD, which marauds around the black and Latino neighborhoods of Los Angeles like Green Berets on a search-and-destroy mission in Vietnam, has to be thinking, "I could be next."

Smith Family

Danny Smith

LA Herald Examiner

Yusuf Bilal

It was the second cop murder of a black bus driver in five months. Last October 10, Danny Smith, 34, was gunned down in front of his home after the cops were frustrated in their hunt for one of his buddies. Last year the racist police killed 19 people and shot 59, most of whom were black and Hispanic. It has reached the point where you aren't safe in your own backyard. In July 1985, Francisco Gutiérrez, an undocumented Mexican worker, was murdered by the cops when they came to "investigate" reports of kids playing with starter pistols. Like the rest of the victims, Gutiérrez too was unarmed. And on October 3, in an incredible display of police violence, the cops descended upon the GM auto plant in Van Nuys: 47 black, white and Hispanic auto workers were beaten up and subsequently arrested while on a lunch break for allegedly "disturbing the peace."

Ho/LA Times

"The Tank": LAPD armored vehicle with 14-foot battering ram used to smash into black people's homes.

In open shop Los Angeles, the murderous LAPD has declared open season on workers and oppressed minorities. Last November the racist terrorists-in-blue initiated a new training procedure that "requires officers to fire two-shot bursts into a suspect's chest, then follow up with another shot to the head" (*Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, 6 March). In other words, these increasingly bonapartist scum are gearing up for racist murder on a far larger scale.

Yusuf Bilal, who lived in Watts, was stopped by the Highway Patrol for allegedly running a red light, an occurrence about as common in L.A. as the "Blue Thunder" helicopters that hover day and night over minority neighborhoods. According to the police, CHP cop Gary Moats shot Bilal as he "was in the process of getting out" after a "struggle" over a baton Moats was using to "pry" Bilal. One witness said that while in his car, Bilal "looked as if he was trying to ward off blows from the baton when the cop dropped the nightstick, drew his .38-caliber police revolver.... He just started firing and firing. He didn't stop until that man was dead" (*Los Angeles Sentinel*, 20 March).

The cops are claiming that many of the witnesses' accounts are "inaccurate" because people supposedly were caught up in the "excitement" of the moment. But black people and opponents of cop terror know that this was cold-blooded racist murder. On March 21, nearly 200 Black Muslims demonstrated at the CHP headquarters demanding that Moats be tried for murder. Again on April 5, some 100 people marched to RTD headquarters and rallied at a park nearby. We say: Jail killer cop Moats! For labor/black mobilization to stop cop terror!

If there had been labor/black mobilizations when Danny Smith was murdered, the killer cops would have been served notice that their racist atrocities will not be tolerated by decent hard-working people in this non-union hellhole. Danny Smith was a black bus driver and former Black Panther who was known to our party as a militant fighter for union rights and black freedom. We met Brother Smith on the picket lines of the RTD strike in September 1982, where there was a lot of opposition to the sellout contract. Smith was one of two dozen drivers who subscribed to *WV* during the course of the strike.

Last October 3, Danny Smith was shot six times in the back by the cops. They were looking for a friend of his who allegedly possessed stolen leather goods. Los Angeles SWAT teams stationed themselves around Smith's house in south-central L.A. They demanded that he come out of the house with his hands over his head, and when he did, cop Kelly Shea blew Danny Smith away with a shotgun. His body was left bleeding in a driveway in front of his home, and for six hours they prevented paramedics from going near his body. They killed Smith because he was black, and the cops were frustrated.

On November 12, at a meeting called by the Equal Rights Congress, an offshoot of the Stalinist Communist Labor Party (CLP), the Spartacist League intervened with a program for labor/black mobilizations to smash racist cop terror and for a mass labor rally at City Hall demanding the cop murderer of Smith be jailed. Another SL comrade spoke of the Congress's "petition for police accountability," saying it "breeds illusions in the supposed neutrality of the bourgeois state and the cops, who cannot be reformed any more than the system of which they are a part." The CLP/ERP petition called for the "introduction of policies that make it mandatory for mental evaluation units, or PET, to be present on police calls regarding suspected mental disturbances regardless of the cause." So, if these "mental evaluation units" pronounce a person "weird," the cops supposedly would be justified in murdering you?!

There is a reformist logic behind these class-collaborationist schemes. Their aim is to pressure the city government of black Democratic Party mayor "Uncle Tom" Bradley. This is the same city government which jointly with Reagan and Meese put together the 1984 "Blue Thunder" Olympics, turning them into a screaming "America über alles" festival of anti-Soviet frenzy, with threats to Soviet-bloc athletes who finally told them to shove it.

Tom Bradley has been mayor for 13 years and the fake-lefts like the Communist Party and the CLP have been supporting him for as many. It's no accident that under the reign of former top cop Bradley, "The Tank" has been unleashed against black people. This six-ton armored vehicle with a 14-foot steel battering ram is the newest superweapon in the LAPD's arsenal. In February 1985, Bradley's chief of police, the racist maniac Daryl ("Choke Hold") Gates, personally "christened" the battering ram, riding aboard as, cameras rolling, it crashed through the front room wall of a house in Pacoima the cops said was a center of cocaine dealing. Gates crowed, it went through the wall "like butter." A police SWAT team was inside the house in six seconds. There they found two women and three children frightened to death—and they would have been killed if they hadn't gone into the kitchen moments before to eat ice cream!

From the five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, gunned down watching TV in his bedroom in Orange County, to black kids in the den of their San Fernando Valley home—no black person is safe from the racist terrorists in blue! It was Bradley's top cop Gates who lauded Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode for the racist firebombing of MOVE. The black Democratic front men for Reagan reaction and anti-Soviet austerity are the class enemies of the workers and minorities. And now with Bradley running for governor against Deukmejian, you can bet the reformists will be even more craven in their capitulation to the "progressive" exploiters and their black lackeys.

There must be mass militant mobilizations of bus drivers, auto workers, phone workers, longshoremen, minorities and others throughout the Los Angeles area against this growing wave of police murder and terror. There is a felt need right now for such labor/black action. We need to build a powerful integrated labor movement, organizing the unorganized, fighting for full citizenship rights for undocumented workers, and breaking labor from the Democrats. To avenge the murder of the MOVE martyrs, Danny Smith, Yusuf Bilal, and the thousands upon thousands cut down by the capitalist police, we must forge a multiracial vanguard party to lead the working class to power through a socialist revolution. The revolutionary workers government will extend its long arm of justice to those who have murdered our brothers and sisters! ■

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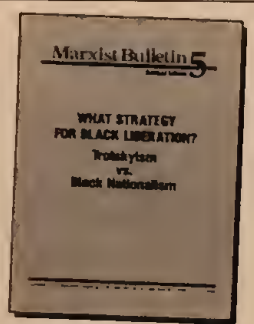

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Don't Let Flight Attendants Strike Stand Alone!

Airlines Unions: Ground TWA!

WV Photo

New York's JFK airport, April 5: Striking flight attendants stand up to TWA boss Carl Icahn.

After one month on strike, the rank and file of the hard-pressed Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) remains determined to win against Trans World Airlines. At a coast-to-coast teleconference on April 1, IFFA's membership overwhelmingly threw the airline's latest "offer" back in the face of company chairman and notorious Wall Street raider Carl Icahn. Icahn demanded that his proposal, virtually identical to the one rejected by the flight attendants a month ago, be put to a rank-and-file vote "without comment" from the union's leadership. The ranks voted nearly unanimously that Icahn's *diktat* not even come to the floor.

Icahn is going after the largely women flight attendants not only as a typical wage-gouging capitalist but also as a brazen male chauvinist pig. Demanding the stewardesses take a *45 percent* pay cut, Icahn declared: "These girls aren't breadwinners, they will give me what I want." This infuriated the flight attendants and made them even more determined to stand up to Icahn. Paul Basista, a full-time union rep in the New York headquarters, told *WV*:

> "...he is sexist and these comments do reveal his true attitudes towards the workforce, but his position as a financier brings it down to much more basic terms. He feels we are a replaceable workforce and the market should determine what we should be paid. It took this union, over the years, to bring it to the respectable profession that it is, and we don't intend to go backwards."

But spirit and determination alone will not win this strike. Flight attendants have little, if any, economic power, and even IFFA officials concede that as much as 90 percent of TWA's flights are now getting off the ground. If the Machinists and other airline unions at TWA don't honor the IFFA's picket lines, the flight attendants strike is dead.

When the walkout began on March 7, thousands of airport mechanics, members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), *did honor* the picket lines and the airline was crippled. But as soon as TWA got an injunction from the bosses' court, the Machinists' "socialist" president, William Winpisinger, ordered his membership back to work, and the IFFA was left hanging. The general attitude among the flight attendants is to accept that the Machinists are going to work TWA and to go it alone. Basista told *WV*:

> "I think not having the IAM support has turned this fight into a longer one than it might ordinarily have been, but I think we're showing that we can do it alone."

But the IFFA cannot do it alone. A victory for the flight attendants today requires a fighting leadership which will defy the injunctions, organize *mass pickets* that nobody dares cross and above all organize *joint strike action* by all airline unions that will stop the scabbing and shut down TWA. And that requires a *political* fight within the labor movement, to oust the scabherders like Winpisinger and the rest of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, and to forge a class-struggle leadership that is prepared to fight to *win* against the bosses, their parties and their state. This strike can still be won but it will take solid labor action, not playing by the bosses' rules. ■

USWA Tops Abandon Industrywide Contract

Steel Workers: Don't Buy LTV Sellout!

CLEVELAND, April 5—In what could be an ominous harbinger for the upcoming round of contract negotiations in basic steel, the United Steelworkers (USWA) bureaucracy announced that it had narrowly succeeded in forcing a horrendous concessions package down the throats of 30,000 steel workers at the nation's second largest steel producer, LTV. By slightly more than a three-to-two margin (with about a third of the workforce not voting), LTV workers approved a contract which gives the go-ahead to the rest of the steel bosses to take it out of the hides of their workers. Even so, the company cops in the USWA bureaucracy may have their hands full in policing this rotten contract for LTV.

The contract is the kind of grand larceny that Ferdinand Marcos would admire: an outright wage *cut* of $3.15 per hour, the elimination of the cost-of-living escalator, seniority rights and a week's vacation pay—a total of $7,500 per worker and $140 million per year into LTV's pockets. But LTV workers, 8,000 of whom remain laid off after eating concessions to "save jobs" in 1983, are not looking forward to being sacrificed for the company's profits. While desperate Pittsburgh locals voted it up on the illusion it will save their plants, workers in Chicago and Cleveland voted solidly against the givebacks.

On March 22, over 1,000 angry, chanting workers came to two mass meetings in downtown Cleveland to oppose USWA District 28 director Frank Valenta, who had launched a pro-concessions media blitz with LTV vice president of public affairs David L. Carroll. Militants shouted "No! No! No!" and "Bullshit!" and carried placards calling for a thumbs-down vote. One sign read "Concessions Mean Depression." This was the first time that the USWA bureaucracy has allowed a rank-and-file vote on a national contract, and they almost failed to get the vote they wanted.

In a year that has seen sharp labor battles go down in bitter defeat at the hands of the pro-capitalist labor tops, what are being called the "basic steel wars of 1986" are in reality an attempt by the steel giants *and* the USWA tops to destroy three decades of industrywide unionism in steel. They have set up a revolving-door bargaining timetable offering individually "tailored" deals for each company between now and the contract's expiration August 1. Advising union chief Lynn Williams in designing the massive "givebacks" package is Lazard Frères & Co., the Wall Street investment bankers.

As for the joke that "concessions save jobs," no one is laughing. U.S. Steel took its millions in concessions in 1983 and invested them in the then-lucrative oil industry while "divesting" itself of thousands of steel workers. Even the capitalist press is cynical about the future of the steel industry. *Business Week* (31 March) said that the massive LTV givebacks would only "buy some time," but "tens of thousands of the USW's current 220,000 members at large and small steelmakers may lose their jobs in upcoming years. That's not an encouraging thought for union workers trying to decide how to vote at LTV." It sure isn't. LTV steel is the product of the desperate mating of two decrepit dinosaurs, Republic Steel and Jones & Laughlin. The USWA tops sold the givebacks on the promise that workers would be repaid for their sacrifice in worthless stock in the all-but-bankrupt LTV.

Steel workers remember a similar stock ownership fraud that was tried at Wheeling-Pittsburgh, which went ahead and declared bankruptcy, tearing up its union contract. The bitter 98-day strike that followed shattered 25 years of class "peace" in steel, and its defeat established a new low in basic steel wages to which LTV, U.S. Steel and the rest of the industry aspire. The USWA tops isolated and knifed the W-P workers, and now they're going after the rest of the union.

The "steel wars of 1986" must be met with the fight for a class-struggle leadership, which is prepared to shut down the entire industry, meeting the steel barons' offensive with solid strike action in defense of the industrywide contract. Where the bosses threaten to close mills they must be met with plant occupations and the massive mobilization of labor in their defense. Particularly in the Midwest, tens of thousands of blacks have been the victims of the massive layoffs in steel. A class-struggle fight in steel would spark a mobilization of labor and blacks which could smash the givebacks, union-busting and racist assaults which have been the signature of the Reagan years.

UPI

LTV plant in Cleveland: run-down American steel industry can compete with Japanese only by wage-gouging.

The centerpiece of the bureaucracy's strategy is racist protectionism against imported steel—the LTV contract provides for a $300,000 annual contribution from the company for a "steel crisis" fund to push for tariffs! For years steel has been the most "protected" of all U.S. industry. And for years the capitalists have raped the plants of their value, turning the steel belt from Pittsburgh to Chicago into a rust bowl, taking their profits and running, while half of the steel workforce was thrown on the slag heap.

USWA president Lynn Williams whips up protectionist poison, especially against Japanese and Korean steel workers, in loyal defense of American capitalist profits. And Williams' calls for trade war lead straight to support for U.S. imperialism's war drive.

The whipsaw tactics used by Williams to ram home givebacks against USWA members are what United Food and Commercial Workers president William Wynn used to set up meatpacking workers for slaughter. And when the defiant and courageous P-9 strikers at Hormel fought in defense of their union, Wynn—backed up by the treacherous AFL-CIO tops—openly scabbed and eventually knifed the strike. For steel workers, as with the Hormel strikers, the fight to defend their jobs must be part of a political fight to oust the protectionist, pro-capitalist labor traitors.

But the "dissident" USWA officials who posture as an alternative to the USWA tops, like Ron Weisen of the Homestead Local 1397, are even more rabid in their defense of "American profits" through protectionism. Weisen, like P-9 president Jim Guyette, is a leader of the National Rank and File Against Concessions, which *diverted* P-9ers from the crucial fight to mobilize labor to shut down the Hormel plant. Instead the strikers were led into useless civil disobedience, a powerless consumer boycott, and eventually dragging the union into the bosses' courts.

Like the Williams gang, Weisen's program of jingoism, coupled with useless stunts like leaving dead fish in the mailboxes of steel executives, is founded on hostility to class struggle and a reliance on Democratic Party capitalist politicians.

There is a will to fight in the American working class. But from Morenci, Arizona to Austin, Minnesota, hard strikes have been smashed by a traitorous labor bureaucracy. It took "reds," leading workers in hard class battles against the bosses and their agents in the labor movement, to establish industrial unions in this country. The future for steel workers lies in the fight for a workers party and a workers government to accomplish the reindustrialization of America under a socialist planned economy. ■

Report from Tripoli

(continued from page 1)

frenzy whipped up by Reagan and the bourgeois press was at its peak. The cold-blooded order to shoot and kill was aimed not only at Libya but at the Soviet Union as well. Soviet personnel were servicing the missile site at Sirte bombarded by U.S. planes. The U.S. missile cruiser *Yorktown*, the warship that led the attack on the Gulf of Sidra, had just returned from carrying out the provocation against the Soviet naval base at Sevastopol on the Black Sea. Military support to this small country under Reagan's guns is integrally linked to the burning need of the international proletariat to rally to the defense of the Soviet Union.

The iSt team included an Italian, an American of Jewish background and a French woman. We wished to cut across lines of national hatred and demonstrate solidarity from the working-class movement of imperialist countries that have ravished Libya and other colonial peoples. We made clear our desire to interview survivors and relatives of the victims of the barbarous aggression as well as official representatives of the government, and expressed our willingness to speak to any audience about the class struggle in our own countries.

At the airport in Tripoli we delivered our statement from the iSt to Libyan officials there. They smiled and shook our hands. Later they drove us along with other journalists to the Al Kahir Hotel overlooking Tripoli harbor. It was obvious that the Libyan government genuinely extended itself to invite reporters into the country. Normal visa requirements were waived. There were upwards of 150 reporters and cameramen at the hotel, mostly from the U.S., British, French, Italian and Japanese

Nogues/Sygma

Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi

press. From the beginning it was clear that the government had taken many steps to guarantee the safety of the foreign journalists whilst their own people were facing the American Sixth Fleet. It turned out that this was not so necessary but we appreciated their efforts.

We were somewhat surprised to find out in Tripoli that we were the only Western left-wingers in town: one would have expected that some of the various groups, some claiming to be socialists and even Trotskyists, would be present. The Italian CP paper *L'Unità* is one of the major dailies, and they didn't have a reporter there. This absence, however, was not accidental: Libya happens to be right now one of the hot spots of the confrontation between the USA and *the Soviet Union*. It's certainly easier to be a gung-ho guerrillaist from an armchair in Rome or Paris than to express concrete solidarity with this people targeted by the anti-Soviet war drive.

Every night on Libyan television you could see demonstrations against U.S. aggression held in Arab countries, as well as Greece, Spain and Italy—and the absence of such rallies in the U.S. testified only too well to the support given by liberal Democrats and most of the American left to Reagan's virulent anti-Soviet war drive. (Interestingly, one message of solidarity came from the Afghan government. One can be quite sure that Reagan's CIA-financed Islamic fundamentalist guerrillas there do not take Muslim Libya's side against the Afghan-feudalists' American imperialist benefactors.) In particular, while the Libyan media featured long lists of solidarity statements, there was nothing from the U.S. except for a brief mealy-mouthed statement from Jesse Jackson. Clearly people understood that the reporters were for the most part mouthpieces for imperialist propaganda. So the presence of an American socialist there counted for quite a bit.

WV Photo

Placard shows fist of Qaddafi's "Green Revolution" smashing U.S. Sixth Fleet.

Expressing the feelings of the delegation going in, one comrade said, "On the one hand it felt extremely dangerous, frightening, not so much from the standpoint of what could happen to us in Libya, but rather from what the crazy people who run American policy these days could do. On the other hand we were conscious of the opportunity we were given of expressing directly the solidarity of our revolutionary organization to the Libyan people against U.S. imperialism and we felt proud of that." Our presence attracted interest and some sympathy from the Libyan officials we spoke to. One of our guides appreciated the "Crush the Contras! Defend Nicaragua!" badge we wore. When one of our members required hospital treatment, he received prompt attention from Libyan officials.

Popular Mobilization Against Imperialist Attack

One of the first things we learned was that a private plane carrying journalists had been harassed and driven out of the area by the Sixth Fleet. However, at the beginning we were cautious. The bourgeois press was claiming that Qaddafi was out to kill all Westerners and had whipped the population into an anti-American frenzy. This was simply a bald-faced lie. Throughout our stay we were never assaulted, jeered at or threatened by any of the populace, even when walking through Tripoli without Libyan guides. Nor did we hear of any such incidents involving other journalists. In fact, the Libyan people were generally relaxed and eager to pose for photographs and demonstrate their pride in standing up to the American war machine.

In his 28 March speech, Qaddafi underscored this point, saying that American and other foreigners who worked in the country were welcome guests and were to be treated as such. (Our flight in was shared by a number of Scottish technicians working in the oil fields.) In fact, it was Reagan himself who sought to order Americans out of Libya in clear violation of U.S. law. The journalists in Tripoli were those who generally covered the Middle East—many had been to Libya before. One American correspondent who had previously interviewed Qaddafi said, "But of course he always draws a distinction between the American government and the people." This, however, did not prevent the bourgeois press from launching its endless scare stories about Libyans being trained as "human bombs" to launch themselves at Americans, etc.

While we were in Tripoli we attended two mass rallies. But these were hardly the only rallies that took place during this time. On television every day there were reports and film footage from other cities such as Benghazi. On one occasion a comrade walking in Tripoli came upon a rally that the reporters had not been informed of—you never knew where something might break. There was clearly a mobilization of a population prepared to defend their country. Wall posters and slogans, mainly in Arabic but some in English, were prominent throughout the city—not only around the airport and Al Kabir Hotel frequented by journalists. One popular placard depicted a big green fist (stylized after Qaddafi's "Green Revolution") smashing a U.S. aircraft carrier. Reagan was portrayed as a Dracula in several posters. Under one of these was the slogan in English: "The Evil Doers—The unkempt barbarian Reagan is a necrophilic (obsessed with death) because his approach suffocates humans."

Despite the real concern over the U.S. provocations, there was no frenzy or hysteria in Tripoli. Shops, schools and businesses were open as usual. There was no curfew and the visible police presence was low key. In the parking lot across from the hotel soccer games were being played. There were motorcades that occasionally came by the hotel at night with horns tooting and militants shouting slogans, and the evening prior to the big demonstration there was a fireworks display set off near the hotel. One journalist we spoke to aptly characterized the general attitude of the people as contempt for Reagan. Reagan had threatened to teach the Libyans a bloody lesson and there wasn't much to show for it. Despite the bombastic threats of the U.S. warlords and the anger at losses suffered by the Libyan people, they clearly did not perceive themselves as defeated or humiliated.

When we arrived, the Western press was boasting of a huge victory for Reagan: four Libyan naval vessels sunk, the SAM-5 missile site at Sirte wiped out, and no American losses. The Libyan government conceded that one of its ships was sunk while saying that they had shot down three F-14s; they also accused the U.S. of vindictively sinking a fishing boat and a trawler attempting to rescue Libyan sailors. While we were obviously not in a position to verify the military claims, we did note how the Pentagon's stories kept changing. While still in Tripoli we were informed that they now claimed only two Libyan boats. Qaddafi said that one of the American missiles fired at Sirte had not exploded and that he was turning it over to the Soviets. The U.S. was then insisting that all the missiles had detonated on target. (One friendly journalist in fact told us he had seen the missile being delivered to the Soviet embassy.) After leaving Libya we noted that the bourgeois press was now admitting that the Sirte missile base was operational and offering excuses that maybe all of the American missiles didn't explode. In fact, our sense was that the American government was so paranoid about taking any losses that they chose to avoid a serious engagement with even Libya's modest forces.

Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam: Defeats for U.S. Imperialism

On 28 March we attended the demonstration of upwards of 10,000 people addressed by Qaddafi at the military barracks in Tripoli. This demonstration, while part of the general mobilization, was specifically to celebrate the sixteenth anniversary of the expulsion of British military bases from the country. There was a cross section of youth, militarized students, a contingent of nursing students, soldiers and sailors, military bands and representatives of various ethnic groupings including Bedouin horsemen. There was a heavy security presence, with soldiers posted on surrounding rooftops, army personnel with red and blue berets carrying Kalashnikovs, and civilian militia as well. (The red berets we later learned are apparently Qaddafi's personal guard.) The crowd included large numbers of women, mostly younger in green uniforms (some armed) and a number in traditional veils. At the front of the barracks there were four Soviet-built tanks visible and apparently ready to operate.

Qaddafi spoke in Arabic for a little over an hour. We did recognize several times the words "Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam." Qaddafi is undoubtedly popular here. There were numerous placards with his picture and he was repeatedly interrupted with chants in English such as "Down, down USA!" and Arabic equivalents. A couple of times he indicated the crowd should stop, without receiving immediate attention. People overall looked not too tense, talking to each other, laughing and apparently having some fun. At the end of the demonstration a cow with the tag "Reagan" was slaughtered, accompanied by militant chanting and waving of weapons in the air.

We were able to move about freely during this demonstration. When military personnel did not want to be photographed they indicated so firmly and politely. Weapons were shouldered quite professionally with the muzzles pointing down. There was no evidence of craziness, jumpiness or hysteria. At various points there were photographers who put their hands on soldiers to climb up or down platforms. To operate with crazy, gun-toting cops in such a fashion at a demonstration in Rome or New York would be to take your life in your hands.

The next day we obtained a translation of much of the speech from the daily JANA (Libyan news agency) bulletin. A Soviet TV journalist to

Report from Tripoli

whom we had made available a copy of the iSt statement and our pamphlet on Reagan's Korean Air Lines spy plane atrocity informed us that in fact there had been no Soviet casualties at Sirte and tipped us off that Voice of America was claiming that Qaddafi was daring the Americans to come back again. In fact, Qaddafi's speech was fairly low key and restrained (this accorded with our sense of the crowd reaction). Qaddafi had counterposed Libya's "modest and defensive" forces to the bloody record of U.S. imperialist aggression. He correctly noted the U.S. designs on Nicaragua as well as Reagan's fiasco in Lebanon. JANA reported: "Trivial and ignorant Reagan, he said, should have recalled the American defeat in Vietnam and consulted figures to see the number of American casualties after which they came out defeated and Vietnam became a united powerful and respected socialist state. But America suffered a political and military defeat for which, and without justification, thousands of Americans paid with their lives for that defeat."

The JANA news release also said: "Colonel Muammar al Gathafi confirmed that the madness of the Nazi force made Hitler imagine he can conquer the world and turn the Soviet Union into Colonies, occupy Africa and the North Pole.... Where are the empire of Alexander of Macedonia, the Ottoman empire, Hitler's empire which he wanted to build by force and on the skulls of nations? Where are the empires of Portugal, Holland and Britain?"

Libya Ravaged by Imperialism and Colonialism

The memory of bloody imperialist rampage and spoliation is burned into the Libyan masses. The Turko-Italian war of 1911, in which thousands of Arabs were butchered, was a barbaric conflict over the possession of Libya. For the first time in a war, airplanes were used—against a population whose most advanced form of military transport was camels. It was, as Lenin called it, "A perfected, civilised bloodbath, the massacre of Arabs with the help of the 'latest' weapons" ("The End of the Italo-Turkish War," 28 September 1912). This conflict set off a 20-year resistance against Italian imperialism in which almost 6,000 Libyan fighters were executed by the Italian government.

WV Photo

Libyan women protest U.S. military attacks.

During World War II Axis and Allied troops ravaged Libya for years, without any respect for the population or the country. In the massive North African campaign between 1940 and 1943, some cities like Benghazi changed hands four or five times. And every time one army would retreat they would poison wells, loot, burn stores and granaries. The Australian troops were particularly notorious for their brutal treatment of Arab women. Tripoli, Tobruk and other cities were all sites of interminable air raids that indiscriminately incinerated civilian targets. No matter who "won" the Libyans lost. Quite logically, the Libyan people do not make much of a distinction between the belligerents: they surely don't see in the Allied troops any kind of "liberators." It highlights in a stark fashion the correctness of the Trotskyists' position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides during this imperialist war.

Neither the demise of the Italian imperialist presence nor the later evacuation of the British and Americans from their military bases has meant an end to the horror of this war for the Libyan people. In 1943 the German general Rommel alone laid down upwards of 150,000 mines in the area west of Sirte in a futile effort to contain a British counteroffensive. These mines were laid too late to stop the British, but along with similar "defensive lines" established by Allied troops they have been responsible for killing and maiming thousands of innocent men, women and particularly children since then.

As recently as 1980 five boys from Ghadames tripped an undetonated mine—two were killed outright, the others crippled. The Germans, Italians and British have all refused to pay reparations for their grisly handiwork in a war justly characterized by the Libyan government as a "war that was fought on their land between people who were strangers to it and who—after having struggled against each other for a long time—left Libya, became reconciled and have become friends."

The Italian comrade on the delegation told *Workers Vanguard*: "I was proud to go to Libya as part of a revolutionary communist delegation to express our proletarian solidarity with a country under imperialist threat. Seventy-five years ago another man bearing my name was sent by Italian imperialism to help fight a war that was not his: my grandfather was ever since a socialist and an atheist, toiling daily as a dock worker to provide a living to his wife and children, among whom was my father, who became a communist quite early and together with my mother, herself a communist, gave me my basic social and political education."

Libya and Nicaragua: The Difference Is Revolution

One of the comrades on the delegation had earlier been part of an iSt delegation to embattled Nicaragua. She remarked on the different perceptions of the two countries: "Between Nicaragua and Libya there are really enormous differences, two countries on two completely different roads. When I was in Nicaragua, a very poor country, one had endless contact with the population because there is a revolutionary situation. People were politically mobilized both against U.S. imperialism and to build something. In Libya, while there was the same spirit of fighting against U.S. imperialism, it is not a revolutionary situation. I was impressed by the level of development in the country—lots of housing complexes being built, many of the poor neighborhoods in the process of being torn down. But you can see clearly that here religion and the state go together, and it is felt particularly deeply around the woman question. You can see lots of women wearing a veil.... I noticed that most women without a veil were either young women or foreigners."

In the course of their short stay, our comrades could only get a glimpse of the daily life of the Libyan people and of the social conditions in the country. The standard of living is higher than in many other Arab countries; the nationalization of the oil industry in this thinly populated country in the 1970s provided an increase in social wealth. The streets

WV Photo

March 28—Mass rally at military barracks hears Qaddafi remind Reagan of U.S. defeat in Vietnam.

are filled with cars, many of them new, and the roofs of houses are crowded with TV antennas. The one hospital we saw was modern and clean, and medical care is free for all.

On a social level, there is a quite obvious effort to mobilize the population against the U.S. aggression, and reportedly all students, men as well as women, undergo military training. On the other hand, we noticed a great deal of enforced separation between the sexes: no cafes where men and women can mingle. Many women wear the *baracan*, the white veil typical of the area, which is less strict than the Iranian *chador*, in that the face may be uncovered. Alcoholic drinks and pork cannot he consumed anywhere. (One French businessman told us you could get a bottle of whiskey on the black market for 150 pounds!)

As we were leaving, the government announced that it was closing down the English and French departments of Al Fatch University in Tripoli and English and French language books were burned. This was courageously resisted by some students. We also found that it was virtually impossible to find any papers or reading material in languages other than Arabic, and that even at Tripoli airport announcements were not translated into other languages. Even more disturbing were the posters we noticed as soon as we arrived at the airport, of American missiles with the Star of David painted on them, thereby identifying U.S. imperialism with the Jewish people.

Libya thus remains a backward country which has to depend on the export of its only source of wealth, oil. And this subordination to the ups and downs of the world capitalist system—which led last year to the expulsion of 30,000 Tunisian workers, made the scapegoats for food shortages—cannot be overcome within the borders of a country of four million people, still suffering from the legacy of decades of imperialist exploitation. This can only be overcome through international proletarian revolution to open up the perspective of worldwide socialist economic planning. In particular, it is the duty of the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries to militantly struggle against its own bourgeoisie's attempt to re-enslave the semicolonial peoples and restore capitalism to the deformed workers states. The position of revolutionary communists toward Libya under imperialist guns today is akin to that expressed by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Soviet Union, in relation to Mexico in 1938 at a time of acute hostility and threats from Britain and the U.S. over the Mexican government's nationalization of its oil fields. Trotsky wrote:

> "The international proletariat has no reason to identify its program with the program of the Mexican government. Revolutionists have no need of changing color, adapting themselves, and rendering flattery in the manner of the GPU school of courtiers, who in a moment of danger will sell out and betray the weaker side. Without giving up its own identity, every honest working class organization of the entire world, and first of all in Great Britain, is duty-bound to take an irreconcilable position against the imperialist robbers, their diplomacy, their press, and their fascist hirelings."
>
> —"Mexico and British Imperialism," 5 June 1938 (*Writings 1937-38*)

In a statement delivered to Libyan officials on departure, we made very clear the political context of our trip and our aims:

> "The terrorist actions of the U.S. imperialists against Libya are part and parcel of the war preparations of the USA and NATO forces against the Soviet Union, Nicaragua, Cuba, Afghanistan, Poland, and any other country that is perceived as an obstacle to imperialist domination."

In leaving Tripoli, we pledged to "undertake every effort to propagandize the need for the world working class to take the side of Libya against U.S. imperialism."

The war drive of Reagan, Thatcher & Co. is aimed at restoring untrammeled imperialist domination all over the world, by "rolling back" the expropriation of capitalism in the degenerated and deformed workers states and re-establishing in full their sway over the former colonial subjects. In their mad pursuit of this counterrevolutionary end they are quite ready to blow the world apart. Let's stop them! Workers of the world, unite to smash the capitalist system! Open the road to a peaceful, free world where every human being can enjoy life! ■

Flashpoints for War...

(continued from page 1)

threatened to cut off its dollars. When they saw the light in Tegucigalpa, the U.S. promptly supplied the Honduran military with $20 million in unsolicited aid. And the next day the Senate dutifully approved the contra aid bill.

The Reaganite Cold War hawks were off and running. In addition to their "show of force" in the Black Sea, the Med and Central America, the U.S. set off an atomic bomb in Nevada in March, rejecting Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's offer of a moratorium on nuclear testing, and word leaked out that the CIA is delivering Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries attacking Soviet-backed Afghanistan and Angola. They're planning to do the same for the Nicaraguan contras, it was reported, as well as dispatching Green Beret advisers, as soon as the Democrats on Capitol Hill fall into line. A revote of the contra aid bill is scheduled for April 15, and if it passes, the administration will use it as a "Tonkin Gulf resolution," an elastic substitute for a declaration of war, as they did in Vietnam.

Don't Mess with the Russians!

Ever since Ronald Reagan moved into the White House, we have warned that this anti-Communist nut is driving toward war with the Soviet Union by engaging in provocations and military confrontations across the globe. The events of the past few weeks have demonstrated this so dramatically that even prominent spokesmen for American imperialism are worried that "Ronbo" is pushing things too far. Leslie Gelb, the *New York Times* "national security" expert and a former high-level State Department official, reported that administration officials were saying that Reagan's actions come from "an attitude of confidence and optimism about having the Soviets on the run":

> "Now, the sense is that Moscow is on the defensive and that the United States can be somewhat more venturesome in challenging Soviet interests with less risk of a serious Soviet response. Thus, there are the open and strong military challenges to Soviet client states."
>
> —*New York Times*, 27 March

In other words, Reagan thinks the Soviet Union is a 97-pound weakling, and he is gleefully kicking sand in Gorbachev's face.

Reagan believes that faced with relentless military pressure and an all-out arms race draining its economic resources, Russia will crack. He also believes that the U.S. can commit endless provocations against the Soviet Union, its allies and military clients without fear of escalation (or even American casualties). This is a strategy that could touch off a thermonuclear World War III. Thus the Russians would have been entirely within their rights to blow the two U.S. Navy spy ships off the Crimea right out of the Black Sea. And this might well have occurred. As the USSR deputy minister of defense, Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, recounted:

> "Taking into account the obviously provocative character of the American vessels' operations, the [Soviet] command sent out an order to heighten the battle preparedness of the fleet's strike forces. Ships and aircraft were immediately readied for battle duties....
>
> "The strike forces of the fleet were prepared immediately to stop the provocative operations of the American warships in Soviet waters. But we distinctly understood the severity of the possible consequences. And this time, we showed patience and restraint."
>
> —*Izvestia*, 23 March

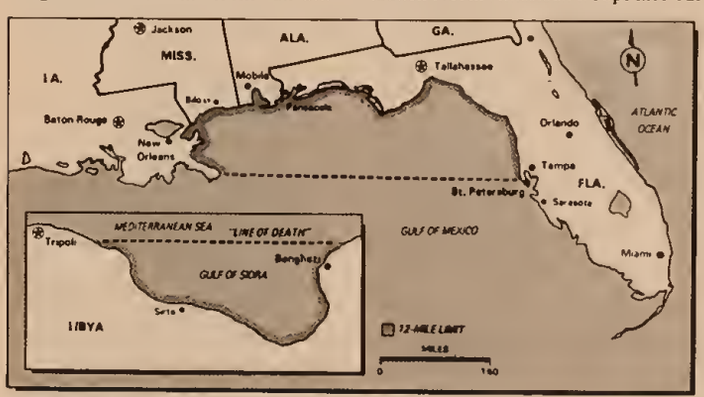
In Central America, too, the Pentagon is playing with fire. Commenting on the ominous escalation of U.S. helicopters moving into battle zones, Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega warned that American personnel who supported the contras ran the same risks as those mercenary terrorists. "I would not be surprised if tomorrow a U.S. helicopter was shot down by our combatants or if U.S. officials or military advisers appear dead." Nicaragua, he said, would shoot down U.S. helicopters in Nicaraguan airspace or attacking from Honduran airspace, "even if it would mean they launch North American troops into our territory." Such a Yankee invasion "won't be a military field trip," said Sandinista commander Omar Cabezas. "We have 350,000 rifles distributed and a people ready."

Meanwhile, in Afghanistan, the U.S. is desperate to counter a buildup of "highly trained Soviet special forces," known as *spetsnaz*, who are "turning the tide against the mujahedeen resistance" in the past year, according to the *San Francisco Examiner* (7 March). For years the CIA has supplied the fanatic Islamic "freedom fighters" (who shoot schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read) with Soviet-made light missiles. The idea was to maintain "plausible deniability" of direct U.S. involvement. But supplying American-made "Stingers" to the Afghan cutthroats, who will use them directly against the Russian army, turns a "proxy war" into a direct U.S.-Soviet confrontation. This major escalation has sparked opposition even within the State Department and the CIA.

U.S. military provocations, from the Gulf of Sidra to the Gulf of Mexico, are by no means the product of far-right anti-Communist fanatics. Liberals *hailed* the attack on Libya, and the Democratic-controlled House is almost certain to vote aid for the Nicaraguan contras. What unites liberal Democrats with Reaganite right-wingers is their bipartisan commitment to defend capitalism, and therefore to seek the destruction of the Soviet Union, whose proletarian revolution of 1917 was the first and greatest blow in liberating the workers and oppressed of the world from this war-driven imperialist system. Despite its subsequent bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, the USSR still stands today as the main obstacle to U.S. imperialism's mad ambitions to dominate and exploit the entire world. It was fear of Soviet military power which prevented Kennedy from invading Cuba and Johnson and Nixon from nuking North Vietnam.

Young Spartacus

Spartacist League marches in Berkeley protest March 25, after Reagan's war provocations against Libya and Nicaragua.



Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia Inquirer published suggestive map: what if Soviet warships sailed deep into Gulf of Mexico, as U.S. did in Gulf of Sidra?

Class War to Stop Imperialist War!

The Reagan gang likes to pretend that the American people have turned into a bunch of Rambos, itching to reinvade Vietnam or go into Nicaragua or the Crimea. In reality, the "Vietnam syndrome"—the revulsion produced by that long, losing, dirty colonial war—remains very much alive in this country. Even after Reagan pulled out all the stops for contra aid, polls show a large majority in this country still oppose it. They know it's a major step toward sending in U.S. combat troops. And that they don't want, in a big way.

It was not only Vietnam which turned the American people against foreign military adventures. Reagan can't even overcome the "Lebanon syndrome." When the U.S. sent a small contingent of Marines to Beirut following the Israeli invasion of 1982, expecting to cow the contentious Arabs and impose a Pax Americana in the region, a one-man truck bomb that blew away 240 U.S. soldiers was enough to end it. The strong popular reaction at home was to blame Reagan for wasting the lives of American youth. Washington managed to get out of this tight spot by its rape of the black Caribbean island of Grenada. But a few months later the "macho man" in the White House ate crow and withdrew the Marines from Lebanon.

There is no stomach in this country for a military adventure in which Americans, not just foreign hirelings, will be killed. And they will be killed, by the hundreds and perhaps thousands, if the United States invades Nicaragua. Social democrat Irving Howe noted: "Consider the probable costs of an invasion: significant, perhaps large-scale resistance at home, with the campuses aflame once more and many churches aroused as never before" (*New York Times*, 3 April). We have already seen a revival of student protest on the campuses, mainly against apartheid in South Africa. But America's rulers vow they will have no repeat of the '60s: they're out to crush in the egg any radical student dissidence.

While campus protests may upset the men in the Pentagon war room and CIA headquarters, it does not threaten their power. Years of mass student demonstrations, building takeovers and campus strikes didn't stop American imperialism from killing two million Vietnamese. The notion that the antiwar movement forced the U.S. to withdraw from Vietnam is a myth peddled for their own self-serving purposes by both rad-lib "doves" and right-wing "hawks." The former want to claim victory for their popular-front alliance with bourgeois defeatist Democrats, while the latter want to hide the fact that the U.S. armed forces were beaten on the battlefield by the incredible heroism and sacrifice of the Vietnamese peasants and workers.

The campus-centered radicalism of the '60s never went beyond protest because it failed to link up with the one social power which can destroy the imperialist colossus from within: the organized working class. Now, as American rulers escalate toward World War III with Russia, we are experiencing an upsurge in working-class resistance to Reagan reaction on the home front. Ever since the PATCO air controllers union was smashed in 1981 (while the wretched AFL-CIO tops stood by), U.S. capitalism has waged a "one-sided class war" against the labor movement. However, a series of militant strikes in recent months have courageously taken on the bosses and their state, and defied the International labor *traitors*, from Lane Kirkland on down: the long and bitter Hormel strike, the hard-fought battle of predominantly Mexican cannery workers in Watsonville, California, TWA flight attendants standing up to notorious Wall Street raider Carl Icahn.

Significantly, the recent strike wave has also included workers at major armaments producers such as Lynn, Massachusetts GE, which makes turbine engines for U.S. warplanes, and Colt Industries in Hartford, Connecticut, manufacturers of the standard-issue M-16 rifle for the American infantry. Despite all the hoopla about a "new patriotism" abroad in the land, these workers are willing to stand up to the Pentagon. True, they are fighting first of all to defend themselves against union-busting and wage-gouging. But the war at home against the workers, black and Hispanic poor has the same root cause as U.S. war provocations around the globe: the drive of decaying capitalism to destroy the Soviet Union.

The same force which is sabotaging the workers' struggle from within is also mobilizing them for war: the rabidly anti-Communist labor bureaucracy and its masters in the Democratic Party of American capitalism. There is no future for humanity under a system in which an insane warmonger like Ronald Reagan has his finger on the nuclear button. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, coming out of the slaughterhouse of the first imperialist world war, opened the road to a future without war, social oppression and capitalist exploitation. Only an American workers revolution, led by a communist vanguard party, can prevent World War III. ■

Spartacist Forum

Eyewitness Report:

Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. Imperialism!

Speaker: Nicaragua brigadista
Jon Lawrence,
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Wednesday, April 16, 7:30 p.m.
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Saturday, April 19, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Envoy Room
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CHICAGO

Nazi-Style "Final Solution" Next?

Pentagon Wants to Brand AIDS Victims

A team of mad scientists wants $12.5 million from the U.S. Defense Department to prove that the terrible disease AIDS can only be contained by "mandatory and overt identification" of AIDS victims, what a project memo calls "a 'Star of David' concept," the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported February 9.

It's a Nazi-like proposal to brand AIDS victims. What's next—is this team of American would-be Dr. Mengeles preparing a "final solution"? The "research" proposal, which has passed initial stages of Defense Department funding, aims to "prove" what medical science has fairly conclusively *disproved*: that AIDS can be casually transmitted. The "researchers" also seek to subject millions of U.S. enlisted men, already intimidated by Pentagon threats to discharge anyone discovered to be either sick with AIDS or gay, to a new AIDS test. The proposal suggests servicemen are to be barred from any contact with "potential carriers," including prostitutes!

The sinister project was initiated by two Bay Area-based centers with a long history of military research. One of them, the AIMS (Advanced Investigation of Medical Science) Group, has done classified work on biological and chemical warfare. Centrally involved are senior scholars from the Hoover Institute, the anti-Soviet think tank which lists Ronald Reagan as an honorary member. One of them, Rita Ricardo-Campbell, was a leading contender for a Reagan cabinet post as head of Health and Human Services, to replace Margaret Heckler who was insufficiently rabid against abortion.

Ramparts

Pentagon would stigmatize AIDS victims with Hitlerite "Star of David concept"!

These witchdoctors are not interested in facts. They claim that AIDS can be transmitted by "a mosquito bite or something as simple as touching a door knob" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 9 February). But concurrent with news of this "research" proposal was an editorial in the authoritative *New England Journal of Medicine* reporting a study of families of AIDS victims, showing that even close day-to-day contact with AIDS patients does *not* spread the disease.

The "Pentagon researchers" propose to brand those who carry the AIDS virus, just as Hitler forced Jews to wear a yellow star. And they won't have to look far for their AIDS symbol: the Nazis branded homosexuals with pink triangles. Thousands of them died in concentration camps in the Nazis' hideous massacre of millions of Jews, Communists, gypsies and others on their death list. In a grotesque column on the *New York Times* (18 March) Op Ed page, "former" U.S. intelligence operative and veteran witchhunter William F. Buckley, Jr., called for *literally* branding AIDS victims:

> "Everyone detected with AIDS should be tattooed on the upper forearm, to protect common-needle users, and on the buttocks, to prevent the victimization of other homosexuals."

Why not numbers on the wrist, like the Nazis did in the concentration camps?

Today, as the hysteria over AIDS reaches epidemic proportions, a fascist "mark of death" for gays is frighteningly real. "Gay bashing" has been on the rise across the country, while mob hysteria has acted to bar AIDS children from school. After a long court battle, Kokomo, Indiana junior high-schooler and AIDS victim Ryan White managed to go to school *for one day* until crazed parents ran him out again. Now a Harvard professor has suggested that a desolate Massachusetts Bay island, a former leper colony, be turned into an "AIDS colony," under provisions of an ancient state law. And rabid Rabbi Yehuda Levin, candidate for NYC mayor on the "Right to Life" ticket, equated homosexuality with murder and rape in the pages of the *New York Times*.

Largely because of the spread of AIDS among intravenous drug users, in the big urban centers on the East Coast close to half of the AIDS victims are black and Hispanic. And in this deeply racist and anti-homosexual society—which imprisoned thousands of Japanese in concentration camps during World War II—the prospects of a fascist mobilization of hate against AIDS victims is a terrifying possibility.

Although no cure to AIDS has yet been discovered, on March 7 scientists announced the isolation of the enzyme crucial to the virus's reproduction cycle, facilitating research into medicine which can deactivate the enzyme. The challenge that AIDS presents to medicine makes it all the more urgent that *billions* of dollars be poured into this research. Yet Reagan continues to *cut* funding for AIDS research—while the Pentagon is seriously considering giving $12.5 million to the Palo Alto cabal of crackpots for their fascistic "modest proposal."

Smash the anti-gay, anti-sex witchhunt! Billions for AIDS research!

Full Democratic Rights for Gays!

After a bitter 15-year battle against the forces of anti-homosexual bigotry, a gay rights bill was finally passed in the New York City Council March 20, by a vote of 21 to 14. The bill, known as "Intro 2," is a simple statement of civil rights, banning discrimination against individuals based on "sexual orientation" in housing, employment and public accommodations. A banner headline in the New York *Daily News* summarized the outcome of two controversial votes the previous day: "Gays, Yes—Contras, No." The White House was up in arms over the passage of the NYC gay rights bill and Congressional rejection of aid to its Nicaraguan contra terrorists. Ronald Reagan himself attacked Intro 2, complaining about those who are "demanding an acceptance of their particular life style." Reagan, of course, only wants to impose his version of the "American Way of Life" on Nicaragua at bayonet point!

Passage of the gay rights law was a minor victory for human decency and democratic rights, particularly coming amidst the climate of anti-homosexual hysteria surrounding the AIDS crisis. In early March, New York City's Human Rights Commission reported complaints of violence and discrimination more than doubled in the past year. In the weeks leading up to the City Council vote, Cardinal O'Connor ranted against homosexual "sin" in his weekly sermons at St. Patrick's Cathedral. Religious bigotry was ecumenical, however, including crazed "right-to-life" reactionary Rabbi Yehuda Levin, who ran for mayor under the symbol of the fetus, and members of the Brooklyn Hassidic community who turned out en masse to confront homosexual rights advocates at a City Council showdown.

Mayor Edward I. Koch, who glories in union-busting and cop terror against blacks, supported the bill, which has been a long-standing cause for New York homosexuals, a big constituency which votes overwhelmingly Democratic. But Koch was quick to reassure bigots that "the sky is not going to fall," and is seeking amendments to water it down. Earlier, Koch capitulated when O'Connor got a court ruling overturning the mayor's executive order banning anti-gay discrimination by agencies with city contracts, such as church-run day care centers. Leading black Democratic pols like Herbert Daughtry and Bronx councilman Wendell Foster also attacked the bill. Only when it was clear the bill would pass with a big margin did Foster vote for it, all the while railing that gays "frighten" and "intimidate" him.

The Spartacist League has consistently fought for passage of the homosexual rights bill as a basic democratic measure. On March 18 we rallied outside City Hall along with 2,500 other New Yorkers. Spartacist placards called for

WV Photo

Spartacists at rally for gay rights bill at New York City Hall last month.

"Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals! Pass Intro 2!" "Labor Must Defend Democratic Rights of Gays!" and "Down With All Porn/Sex/Drug Laws! Government Out of the Bedrooms!" And in the 1985 NYC elections, the Spartacist platform demanded: Free abortion on demand—free quality health care! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Billions for AIDS research! For the separation of church and state! ■

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Strike Upsets Aquino "Honeymoon"

U.S. Bases Out of the Philippines!

The Philippines was to be the success story of 1986 for U.S. imperialism. Liberal Democrats congratulated the Reagan White House for bringing "democracy" to the former American colony and site of the two largest U.S. military bases in the world outside North America. These bases are the linchpin of the U.S.' anti-Soviet Pacific strategy. A hated, pro-American dictator who had ruled for 20 years, Ferdinand Marcos, was dumped and replaced by liberal opposition leaders even more dependent upon Washington.

The Pentagon no doubt thought its Subic Bay Naval Station and Clark Air Force Base were now more secure, protected by the "popularity" of Corazon Aquino and the intact Philippine military under ex-Marcos flunkeys Defense Minister Enrile and General Ramos. So when American war minister Cap Weinberger made his proconsular tour of the Philippines this week, he probably expected to be greeted like a benevolent godfather. He suffered a rude awakening. As the Pentagon chief was driving away from the presidential palace in Manila, protesters surrounded his motorcade, pounding on his bullet-proof van and chanting, "Go home!"

On the day of Aquino's inauguration as president in late February, we wrote that "a more 'democratic' oligarchic regime can't even begin to deal with the bankruptcy of Philippines capitalism, which has fueled widespread worker and peasant unrest and a deep-rooted popular insurgency" ("Reagan Pulls Plug on Marcos," *WV* No. 398, 28 February). This prediction was dramatically confirmed less than a month later, when more than 22,000 Philippine workers struck the two big U.S. bases.

Forced to work at one-seventh the wages of American base personnel in comparable jobs, thousands of members of the Federation of Filipino Civilian Employees Associations threw up mass pickets and barricades at Subic's main gate on March 22. The action soon spread to Clark Air Force Base and six smaller military installations. For eleven days workers defied the American brass and what strikers dubbed "robot negotiators," who were no doubt emboldened by the union-busting climate in Reagan's America. Subic workers withstood a knife-wielding assault by American sailors and marines trying to strong-arm their way back onto the base, and forced the Seventh Fleet to divert several ships from port calls at Subic Bay.

Unable to contain worker militancy by their own devices, the Navy and Air Force resorted to the mass of social parasites drawn to the U.S. military throughout the Third World like flies to honey. The picket line at Clark was finally broken on March 30 in what union leaders claim was a U.S.-instigated attack by hundreds of prostitutes and taxi drivers from the nearby town of Angeles (which alone employs 10,000 bar girls). They were irate because the strike, by confining U.S. servicemen to the base, was depriving them of their livelihood.

The union called off the strike three days later in return for a hundred dollar bonus for each worker upon the signing of a new contract and a quarterly 110-pound rice subsidy. But initial resistance to the settlement by workers on the picket line may indicate that the U.S. will soon have a harder time quelling the rage of its ex-colonial subjects with paltry dollar handouts and a few sacks of rice.

The Subic/Clark strike appears to be only the most visible episode in an outbreak of worker-peasant unrest that has been mounting in this American neocolony for years, and has assumed epidemic proportions since the fall of Marcos. As of March 21, an estimated 38 strikes were in progress throughout the country, with demands for higher wages and the ouster of Marcos cronies from management positions. Ten thousand workers of the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Co. remain on the picket lines despite a back-to-work order from Aquino's newly appointed minister of labor (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 3 April).

AP

Chanting "Go Home!" Philippine leftists storm car of U.S. war minister Weinberger in Manila, April 7.

With Marcos and his closest cronies fled to Hawaii, the state apparatus of Philippine capitalism in turmoil and the class struggle continuing to mount, the potential for struggle by the Filipino masses to overthrow 90 years of colonial and semi-colonial domination by the U.S. is enormous. Yet this potential is in danger of being squandered by a Stalinist leadership, weaned on the popular-front illusion of an alliance with "progressive" and "patriotic" sections of the national bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), at the head of a mass movement that Reagan's pressure for reforms was designed above all to defeat, has over the past month issued a welter of contradictory public statements concerning Aquino. This is doubtless a consequence of internal disputes between those in its ranks reluctant to abandon a 20-year struggle against U.S. imperialism, and those anxious to jump aboard the Aquino "people's power" bandwagon.

The CPP leadership seems to be tilting toward "conditional" support for Aquino. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (29 March) reports:

> "Ranking communist leaders in the northern Philippines...said the party and the New People's Army would support the government of President Corazon C. Aquino if foreign control over the country were eliminated.
>
> "'We have always maintained the position, from the very start, that we should give the Aquino government the benefit of the doubt,' the rebels said...."
>
> —*Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 29

To call upon a CIA-pedigreed scion of one of the wealthiest landowning families of the Philippines, backed by Washington and elevated to power by the last-minute defection of two of Marcos's most brutal military henchmen, to oppose imperialism is like asking a trained lap dog not to heed its master's voice. Support, however "critical," to a regime whose reason for existence is to preserve U.S. imperialism's Pacific watch is equivalent to accepting continued American hegemony over the Philippines.

The imperialists are focusing above all on the guerrilla insurgency by the 20,000-strong CPP-led New People's Army, which is strong on several islands. Even more importantly, the Stalinists currently exercise hegemony over a trade-union federation comprising hundreds of thousands of urban and rural workers—a force with the potential to rally the Filipino masses and inflict upon Yankee imperialism a blow no less momentous than the Vietnamese triumph ten years ago. The task of achieving genuine national independence, most immediately driving out the U.S. bases, requires above all the leadership of a revolutionary workers party, Philippine section of a reborn Fourth International. ■

Norfolk Busing...

(continued from page 12)

Portsmouth. This makes it all the more urgent for the entire Tidewater labor movement, a beachhead of union power in the "open shop" South, to mobilize that power from the shipyards and docks of Norfolk, Newport News and Portsmouth to the teachers and other city workers, to stop the segregationists and crush the racist terrorist nightriders before it is too late! A rally has been called for April 13, the day before the board is to take up the so-called "compromise." All out to defend busing in Norfolk! Tidewater labor must take the lead!

The stakes are high, for Reagan's racist union-busting war against labor and black people has targeted integrated education in Norfolk. Reagan's top cop, Edwin Meese, and Meese's "civil rights division" chief William Bradford Reynolds (a post akin to "Bantu Affairs" minister in apartheid South Africa) have openly sided with the school board. Reynolds crowed that the Fourth Circuit ruling would mean that "as many as 370 more school systems also probably could qualify to be freed from court-ordered busing" (*Virginia-Pilot*, 19 February).

The big business media, which overwhelmingly lauded the Appeals Court ruling and the Hardy "compromise" capitulation to the racists, has run article after article declaring busing dead, saying that even black parents don't care about it anymore. But when the school board first voted to abolish busing three years ago, 10,000 predominantly black workers and youth poured into the streets of Norfolk for a huge pro-busing demonstration. A 200-strong International Longshoremen's Association contingent was in the forefront with signs that read: "ILA All the Way Against Segregated Schools."

At that time Willis's present Judas role was prefigured when this local head of the "Rainbow Coalition" flew in his mentor, Democratic Party hustler Jesse Jackson, to derail this militant, labor-centered march against Jim Crow. Jackson's first act was to meet secretly with Norfolk's racist government officials, then praise their "courage" to the press as he announced: "I am not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost." The following year Jackson took his campaign to sign up black votes for loser Mondale and busing-hater Ferraro to Montgomery, Alabama where he gladhanded George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace beneath the Confederate flag and bellowed, "The South will rise again!"

No wonder Willis attempted to explain his treacherous wheeling and dealing by quoting a piece of vintage Jackson jive: "If you talk, you don't have to walk" (*Ledger-Star*, 20 March). Willis's talk was music to the ears of Norfolk mayor Joseph Leafe and his law partner, president of the school board, Thomas G. Johnson, Jr., chief architect of the anti-busing program.

When Willis and Hardy came out with their so-called "compromise" March 19, black anger sharpened and the liberal pro-busing forces split. There was widespread outrage over the details of the "compromise" which gives the racists everything they want in return for meaningless "oversight committees," "multi-cultural programs" and other bogus measures. Black public housing residents hit the roof when they learned that one of the proposals was to reduce the number of all-black schools in the new plan from ten to eight...by closing the two schools in their projects!

Several black ministers and other spokesmen have forthrightly denounced Willis and Hardy's capitulation to the anti-busing forces. But the liberals can't provide a strategy capable of defeating the all-sided war on black rights and black people in Reagan's America. Either they're banking on an appeal to the Reaganite Supreme Court, which has been in the forefront of the administration's attack on civil rights, or they're talking about opposing anti-busing candidates in elections to the city council, which appoints the school board.

Because of the liberal leadership of the pro-busing forces, there is a big contradiction between the deep outrage felt by Norfolk blacks over plans to resegregate their schools, and the organized response limited so far to court suits, church rallies and lobbying the school board. Thanks to Reagan's sinister anti-Soviet war drive the shipyards are booming, and Tidewater labor has the power to shut them and the city of Norfolk down. The time to fight is now! The unions must immediately call their ranks into the streets to defend the busing plan and demand its extension to Virginia Beach, Portsmouth and Chesapeake.

One of the leaders of the April 13 rally and the Norfolk Coalition for Quality Education, James H. Harris, said it straight, "Separate by its nature is unequal." But as black teenage unemployment goes over the 50 percent mark and ghetto schools are turned into concentration camps, as cops patrol black neighborhoods in armored cars and drop military explosives from helicopters on black babies, this rotting racist capitalist system demonstrates it can never provide equality for blacks.

Reagan's war drive against the Soviet Union abroad means union-busting and racist terror at home. Nor is the road to black freedom to be found in the Democratic Party of Jimmy ("Ethnic Purity") Carter who paved the way for Reagan reaction. As for Jesse Jackson, according to a recent book on South Africa by senior *New York Times* correspondent Joseph Lelyveld, Jackson is even praised by apartheid ideologues as an "authority for the argument that school integration is an 'antiquated concept'" (*Move Your Shadow*, New York, 1985).

After a string of defeats blacks are looking for answers, for a way to fight and *win*. A winning strategy was demonstrated on 27 November 1982 when black militants from Tidewater labor organized the Nat Turner Brigade and joined in the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that routed the KKK and their planned racist hate march through Washington, D.C. The fight for black freedom requires a fight against capitalism, for *revolutionary integrationism*, under the leadership of a multiracial workers party with a strong black leadership component. For labor/black mobilizations to defend busing in Norfolk, and extend it to Portsmouth and Virginia Beach! For a third American revolution—a workers revolution—to finish the Civil War and free blacks and labor at last from the chains of capitalist slavery! ■

Cop Riot at Berkeley...

(continued from page 12)

Young Spartacus

April 3—Outraged students gather at Sproul Plaza after most violent cop attack at Berkeley since Vietnam War.

During the protest the cops shut off the power to the campus radio station, cutting off live coverage of the events. Protesters also reported that pay phones in the area had been disabled. A police helicopter hovered overhead. News photographers were especially targeted: UPI photographer Lloyd Francis told the press he was picked up by a cop and thrown several feet in the air, landing in the bushes; a photographer from the *Daily Californian*, the campus paper, was clubbed; and David Nuang, a photographer from the campus paper at California State University at Humboldt, was clubbed in the head as he attempted to photograph the blockade of police buses.

The arrested protesters were slammed with an array of misdemeanor charges, including resisting arrest, vandalism, trespassing, lodging without permission, participating in a riot and failing to disperse. Two were held for supposedly possessing "Molotov cocktails" (one of which even the cops admit was an empty bottle). Eighty-six activists have been banned from the campus for two weeks as a condition of their release from jail. (Bail was originally set at $7,250 each, but protesters were released on their own recognizance when a felony "resisting" charge was dropped.)

The Berkeley city council, which covets its image as an oasis of "progressivism," is in an uproar over the participation of Berkeley city cops in the brutal busts on campus. City officials say the Berkeley cops were sent in to aid their fellow thugs in open defiance of guidelines established by the civilian authorities. Vice Mayor Veronika Fukson told the press: "I think that the UC Police Department is provocative, uncontrolled, and brutal." True enough. But busting heads is the cops' job, and the hand-wringing of liberal politicians doesn't get between them and their work.

Lashing out against "nonstudents" and "outside agitators"—the McCarthyite bogeyman of every college president and Southern cracker sheriff during the antiwar and civil rights movements—UC Berkeley chancellor I.M. Heyman has vowed to use police repression as often as "necessary" against campus protests. What's going on at Berkeley is "preventive counterinsurgency" aimed at heading off an explosion of student protest in response to a U.S. invasion of Central America. UC officials were prominent at last September's Washington, D.C. conference on strategies against "campus disruption," attended by officials of the State Department, the South African government and Mobil Oil, as well as university bigwigs from around the country. The game plan for repression comes straight from the White House. Denying that the U.S. military was defeated by the Vietnamese, Ronald Reagan falsely claims the U.S. lost in Vietnam because the government was "stabbed in the back" by protest at home. The ruling class is determined to launch a pre-emptive strike against campus activists as part of its drive toward anti-Soviet war.

In an editorial against the cop/administration rampage, the *Daily Californian* (3 April) noted that "the velvet glove...came off, exposing the iron fist inside." But rather than succeeding in isolating and picking off campus activists one by one, the repression at Berkeley has generated a broad determination to defend all the victims of administration/cop attacks. It is noteworthy that among the 14 demands put to the UC administration by the shantytown protesters were that Heyman rescind the suspension of SYL activist Guillermo Bermúdez and that all charges be dropped against political protesters.

An old labor movement axiom says, "There's more education in the end of a policeman's nightstick than in a hundred college courses." Faced with the organized violence of the bourgeois state, many students are getting a rude awakening to the hard realities of this capitalist society. As students' liberal illusions get shaken up by the blows of cop repression, the SL/SYL has intervened to win the most serious anti-imperialist students to the Marxist program. We reprint below an SYL leaflet issued the morning of April 3. The first leftist leaflet to hit the campus after the cop rampage, it was snatched up by over 3,000 students, dozens of whom asked for multiple copies to give out to their friends.

Heyman's Brownshirts Rampage

Cops Off Campus! Drop All Charges! Defend Student Protest!

Education at Berkeley is increasingly meted out by the billy club, the jackboot, the choke hold and the frame-up. The administration and cops were not satisfied with the flailing of nightsticks, the twisting of arms to breaking point and the grinding of faces into the pavement, the choke-holding and mass arrests with which they smashed the "shantytown." That was just for openers. They are once again hurling the frame-up charge of "assault on a police officer," which can get you sent away for a *long* time. They have *banned* 19 protesters from campus. They've gotten *1,000* "John Doe" restraining orders to use against *anyone* they want to ban. They have taken to swooping down on activists as they pass out leaflets or walk through campus, arresting them on "outstanding warrants." This repression targets all those who want to protest the crimes of this government, its apartheid partners and contra assassins.

What's the next step for the UC administration and its sadistic cops? To patrol Sproul Plaza with South Africa-style "hippo" personnel carriers? To shoot a protester dead, in order to "protect health and safety"? Assistant Reichsehancellor John Cummins admitted they're going all-out to crush campus protest with his declaration that "we don't want to get into another prolonged period of demonstrations...." The violent and dangerous men who run this campus in the service of the capitalist ruling class would be willing to carry out a Jackson State/Kent State-type massacre here if they deemed it neeessary for this war on student protest. They are obedient servants of their masters in the White House, the world's biggest terrorists.

Remember what the country's top cop, Attorney General Edwin Meese, said in 1980 about the young man blown away by a deputy sheriff's shotgun during the 1969 "People's Park" protest: "James Rector deserved to die." It was Meese who directed bloody repression of antiwar protests and murder of Black Panthers under the governorship of one Ronald Reagan. These are the creatures with whom Berkeley students have begun to tangle.

The nightstick smashing into your spine is as likely to be property of the Berkeley Police Department as of the UCPD, as the city's armed thugs join forces with their brown-shirted brothers on campus. No matter how "progressive" the city administration, nothing gets in the way of the cops' fulfilling their function as the armed fist of capitalist class rule. Look at any picket line of striking workers and you'll see which side the cops are on. And remember it was a liberal Democratic governor who sent the National Guard against the Hormel strike.

We demand: **Cops off campus! Drop all the charges! Rescind the suspension of Guillermo Bermúdez! Rescind the banning orders!**

This social order—capitalism—rests on organized violence. Why is the ruling class giving students a stiff dose of this violence here and now? So that next month or next year, when the U.S. invades Central America, protest activists will have been purged from campus. We've been stressing the point about the obsessive administration/cop/D.A. vendetta against Guillermo Bermúdez: the ruling class is hell-bent on regimenting the youth for imperialist war.

If you want to change the world, you've got to understand it. *Why* are the rulers of this country busting unions, carrying out open racist state terrorism like the bombing of the black MOVE commune, and cracking students' heads? *Why* are they gearing up for an invasion of Nicaragua? *Why* did they attack Libya, only days after invading Soviet waters in the Black Sea? What are the material class interests that drive this government?

It is literally impossible to understand the world today without understanding that this government is the instrument of the capitalist class. That capitalism is a sick, decaying system. And that the actions of this capitalist government are guided by the drive toward war against the Soviet Union. This drive is the dominant fact of politics today. It unites the Democratic and Republican parties, two heads on the imperialist beast: the Democrats rallied 'round Reagan's assault on Libya, they have only tactical differenees over *how* to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution (and they're getting ready to vote for Reagan's contra aid).

Reagan and the Democrats don't just "happen" to hate Russia. They *must* seek to destroy the USSR, for the same reason we Trotskyists stand for the unconditional military defense of the USSR: because the Russian Revolution, which established the Soviet Union's planned economy, was capitalism's biggest defeat and the biggest victory for the world working class. Despite the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state, the collectivized economy makes the USSR an economic and military powerhouse standing in the way of total U.S. world domination. Until student activists confront and reject the anti-Soviet, anti-communist and anti-working-class prejudices instilled by this country's rulers, they will be chained to fatal illusions in "reforming" or "pressuring" the American ruling class.

Capitalism (imperialism) cannot be reformed. The U.S. capitalist ruling class cannot be persuaded or pressured into cleaning up the world, be it through "divestment," "disarmament" or any other liberal panacea. What's needed is a revolution, a socialist revolution to replace this rotting, irrational capitalist system with socialism.

The question is one of *power*: to change society you need social power. Students don't have that power. But in South Africa, the six-million-strong black proletariat has the power to bury apartheid slavery. In the U.S. the working class—first and foremost the black workers, concentrated in key industries and facing the American nightmare of racist capitalism—has the social power and material class interest to eliminate racial oppression, poverty and imperialist war. The key, from the U.S. to South Africa, is building a revolutionary leadership, a party like the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

Young Spartacus

SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez, suspended by UC and up on felony charges for protesting Marine recruiters last year, addresses Sproul Plaza rally April 3.

Mobilizing the power of the working class under the program of world socialist revolution is the urgent and unpostponable task. Students can play an important role in this work. To do so they must find their way to the Marxist program and party of the proletarian class struggle. Building the revolutionary workers party is the only road to doing away with the violence inherent in this sick social order—from the violence of police repression here in Berkeley to the racist bombing of Philadelphia MOVE to contra and death squad murder in Central America, apartheid terror in South Africa, and the growing threat of thermonuclear annihilation unleashed by capitalism's insane drive for war.

Spartacus Youth League
3 April 1986

WORKERS VANGUARD

Police Kneecap, Choke-Hold Students

Bloody Cop Riot at Berkeley

BERKELEY, April 7—"Riot at Berkeley," blared the bourgeois media. It was a riot, all right—the worst *police riot* on the University of California campus since the 1960s. In the early morning hours of Thursday, April 3, UC campus cops, backed up by police and sheriff's deputies from *13* Northern California cities, brutally smashed a symbolic "shantytown" built by anti-apartheid protesters, arresting 91. Protesters had rebuilt the shantytown after the police had demolished it, arresting 61, two days earlier. Cops used a sweeping temporary restraining order issued by the courts, which gives the UC administration the authority to virtually ban protest altogether. The police savagery against the shantytown protesters represents a further bloody escalation in the administration/cop campaign to crush student protest. In response, thousands of students rallied in Sproul Plaza Friday, and further protests have been called for this week.

AP Photos

April 3—Massive police attack on Berkeley demonstrators is intended to crush student protest as U.S. imperialism gears up for war.

For Mass Student/Labor Action Against Cop Terror!

Cops dragged demonstrators out of the shanties, often slamming them into the pavement, and shoved them into buses bound for Santa Rita jail. When the crowd piled debris in front of the buses and sat down to try to block them from leaving for the jail, the cops went berserk, clubbing wildly with their nightsticks, smashing heads and breaking kneecaps, which can cripple for life. The crowd responded to the brutal police attacks with a hail of debris. Campus authorities are intent on ensuring that there will never be a repetition of the famous episode during the 1964 Free Speech Movement on the Berkeley campus, in which hundreds of students prevented a police car from driving off with an arrested activist inside. The cops were intent on making a bloody example of the protesters, and were determined to get the arrested activists off campus before thousands of students began arriving for morning classes. Throughout the day, hundreds of police in riot gear patrolled the campus.

Berkeley student and Spartacus Youth League activist Stefan Arnold told *WV*: "The police clubbed people, choke-holded them, pulled their hair, twisted arms, twisted wrists, pushed faces into the pavement, ganged up on demonstrators and heaved them into the air. The cops threw one protester in the air; he landed on a woman, who was knocked down, hitting her head on a stone wall. She went unconscious. I was afraid she was going to die." Another Spartacist militant present at the protest, a veteran of the 1960s antiwar demonstrations at Berkeley, summed up the cops' strategy as "deliberately inflicting injury in order to intimidate people from continued protest." At least eleven demonstrators required medical attention.

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Labor Must Lead Fight for Integrated Schools

All Out to Defend Busing in Norfolk!

The hour of decision has arrived for black people and labor in Norfolk, Virginia. At stake is the survival of the city's 15-year busing program and the very safety of the Tidewater area's largely working-class black population in the face of Reagan reaction and the ominous resurgence of KKK-style race terrorism. On February 6 the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the racist school board's plan abolishing busing for elementary school students and reestablishing Jim Crow "neighborhood schools," a third of which would be 98-100 percent black. In response, thousands of blacks and their white allies have rallied in churches and at school board meetings to stop resegregation.

Ten years after busing was defeated for virtually the entire country by rampaging mobs in the streets of Boston and by Northern liberal Democrats in Congress, this Southern city has remained a bastion of black labor fighting for integrated education. This determination has only been steeled by bitter resentment and outrage at the stab-in-the-back phony "compromise" delivered by one Bishop L.E. Willis, Sr., a prominent Norfolk black political "leader," and Willis's henchman, school board member Rev. G. Wesley Hardy, who capitulated to the racist school board after some backroom maneuvering with Norfolk's white political bosses.

And now the racist terrorists have taken their cue with a series of cross-burnings at the homes of black and interracial families in neighboring

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WV Photo

Norfolk: Longshore contingent marches in demonstration to defend busing in May 1983.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 402

25 April 1986

U.S. Hands Off Libya! Defend the Soviet Union!

Reagan's Terrorism

APRIL 22—With its dead-of-the-night bombing of Libya on April 14, the United States has proclaimed in blood its criminal policy of assassination and mass terror against anyone and any government the White House perceives to be opponents of Ronald Reagan's "free world." This was no "surgical military strike," as the Reaganites claimed, but a *murder mission* to kill Qaddafi and terrorize the Libyan population. As the Pentagon later admitted, Libyan army bases were not the targets—they bombed Qaddafi's residential compound in Tripoli, his alternate headquarters in Benghazi, his personal transport aircraft. The civilian casualties may be embarrassing to Reagan's accomplice, British prime minister Margaret Thatcher (herself responsible for the gratuitous murder of hundreds of Argentine sailors during the Falklands/Malvinas war), but they were expected too. Anti-personnel cluster bombs were dropped on Benghazi. Washington wanted a visible bloodletting. As one reporter in Tripoli noted:

> "The American attacks on a missile base at Surt and on Libyan vessels in the Gulf of Sidra last month, although they may have cost the lives of more than 60 Libyan sailors, made so little impact on this country's major cities that Qaddafi domestically was able to claim the engagement as a victory."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 15 April

So Reagan has his "victory": he managed to kill Qaddafi's adopted baby daughter and to kill and maim more than 100 civilians. After two days of stories of gunfire in the streets and rumors of coups and Qaddafi's death—purposeful wishful thinking by American intelligence—the Libyan leader went on TV to denounce the bombing as barbaric and "crazy." "We tell Reagan that he does not need to protect his children and his people," he said. "We are not like you. We do not bombard cities." Western reporters visited the hospitals where they saw surviving victims of the raid with broken arms and legs, faces and bodies full of shrapnel. In a middle-class residential neighborhood reduced to rubble they spoke to outraged Libyans: "See now who the terrorists are," said one. "This is the terror of the Americans."

USAF

U.S. Murder Mission targeted Qaddafi and family, massacred civilians in their homes. Here, Tripoli after F-111 blitz.

Reuters

In the U.S. it was a media hit, timed so that millions could hear the bombs dropping, live, on the evening TV news. Three-quarters of all Americans reportedly approved of this terror raid according to an instant popularity poll. "Rambo" Reagan flexes his muscles and the public cheers—and then cancels their planned European vacations *en masse* out of fear of terrorist reprisals. For months, with all his "warnings" that American tourists are terrorist targets, his ordering of U.S. citizens to leave Libya, etc., Reagan has been *daring* Palestinian refugees, Qaddafi or anyone enraged by the crimes of American imperialism to respond by criminally attacking, holding hostage or killing individual Americans. Not only are such random, indiscriminate terrorist attacks abominable crimes, they are playing Reagan's game, helping him whip up war fever in an American population that ever since Vietnam has resisted every attempt to drag them into another dirty, losing colonial war.

The U.S. is creating terrorism with its own far more deadly state terror. Even former U.S. president Jimmy Carter recognized this. Referring to the death of Qaddafi's 15-month-old daughter Hana in the bombing of Tripoli, Carter remarked that if someone had killed his daughter Amy 17 years ago, "I would have sworn as long as my life existed, I would retaliate" (*New York Post*, 18 April). And not everyone in Reagan's America is caught up with Rambo-mania. The family of Peter Kilburn, the librarian at the American University in Beirut who was slain by Lebanese terrorists in retaliation for the U.S. raid,

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Who Bombed Berlin Disco?

Something is fishy about Reagan's story, the pretext for the U.S. terror-bombing of Tripoli. The La Belle discothèque in West Berlin was bombed April 5, killing a black American GI, Kenneth Ford, and a Turkish woman, Nermin Haney, and injuring 230 others. The White House claims the disco was bombed by agents acting under Libyan orders, a charge which was bought wholesale and echoed *ad nauseam* in the American bourgeois press. The lead editorial in the 20 April *New York Times* claims that "proof of Libyan complicity" is affirmed because "skeptical Democrats in Congress" and "West Germany's Chancellor Kohl" believe it. Well, we know about "skeptical" Democrats. If it's so believable, where is it? The fact of the matter is, they haven't released one shred of evidence. Nothing.

What the *Times* (and others) did not see fit to print, and effectively hid for a number of days, was the vital fact that the soldier killed was black and La Belle was a well-known soul music club frequented by black GIs and foreign workers. When we read of this in the 7 April *Los Angeles Times*, we wondered. In the scenario worked out in Washington months ago to "get Qaddafi," the bombing of the Berlin disco fell in the time slot assigned by Reagan for *Libyan* terrorism. Qaddafi may not be very likeable, but as the head of an Islamic North African country, it doesn't seem reasonable or likely that he would order the mass murder of blacks and Muslims. Indeed, it seems much more like the modus operandi of *fascist* killers, who have launched numerous murderous attacks on Turks in West Germany and West Berlin. And when we began checking into the various accounts, we found that *a neo-Nazi outfit had claimed the heinous bombing of the La Belle disco*. This lead was buried, except for some whispers in Berlin.

In the U.S., where the state-sponsored "terrorism" scare is being

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We print here two letters, edited for space, from the Freedom Socialist Party and our replies.

An Un-Tied Front of Refugees from Trotskyism

New York, New York
March 26, 1986

Editor
Workers Vanguard

Dear Editor:

Your article on the San Francisco Trotskyist Regroupment Conference ("Anti-Trotskyist Regroupment Flunks," *WV* [No. 393], 12/13/85) is another in an unbroken series of the Spartacist League's sectarian denunciations of the U.S. left, especially its Trotskyist sector. Once again you show a preference for arrogant, infantile and sensationalistic polemics over comradely discussion and analysis of ideas—a tendency which ultimately pulverizes the Trotskyist traditions you claim to uphold. What a wildly contradictory position for a group that claims to be the sole inheritor of Trotskyism on U.S. soil!

We take issue with your assertion that there was nothing revolutionary about the San Francisco conference. It was the first attempt at a national discussion of Trotskyist regroupment since the final shattering of the SWP by its total abandonment of Permanent Revolution. This fact alone gave the conference revolutionary significance. And that is why the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) and the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP) endorsed it.

The conference did not succeed in forging programmatic agreement; in fact, fundamental *dis*agreement prevailed over whether regroupment should be a programmatic or merely tactical matter. Attendees also disagreed over the issues, and the approach to them, that must be dealt with before regroupment and the revitalization of American Trotskyism can take place....

You write that anyone proposing to seriously discuss Trotskyism and the SWP must come to grips with the Spartacist League. Here we agree. But in dealing with you since the Freedom Socialist Party's departure from the SWP in 1966, we have been forced to conclude that your chronic male chauvinism, ultraleftism, homophobia and racism tear at any prospects for productive political engagement in the Trotskyist regroupment arena. For years, you have sneered and jeered at the FSP and CRSP without once deigning to deal with the socialist feminist content of our programs. Instead you prefer to indulge in name-calling, as you did in the article....

Having side-stepped some of the key issues we raised at the conference—the reasons for the degeneration of the SWP, the relation of Permanent Revolution to the struggles of women, people of color and lesbians and gays, and the key role of Trotskyists in the coming American revolution—you fabricate your own target for polemic. You write that *everyone* at the San Francisco conference has abandoned the Trotskyist position on the Russian question. This is not true. The FSP upholds this tenet of Trotskyism. But blinded by your disdain for the Polish workers' struggle to break the bonds of the bureaucratic police state, you rigidly conclude that if we do not agree with you on Poland, we no longer adhere to the Trotskyist analysis of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers' state and the necessity to defend it unconditionally against capitalism. Wrong, wrong, wrong.

It is indeed unfortunate that you could not muster the journalistic integrity to accurately describe the political tendencies at the San Francisco conference and state straightforwardly what you think of regroupment as a tactic for the regeneration of U.S. Trotskyism. This is the central political question which your article so deliberately avoids.

Sincerely,
Stephen Durham
for the Freedom Socialist Party
and Committee for a
Revolutionary Socialist Party

WV replies: Stephen Durham of the FSP/CRSP talks of the need for programmatic agreement in the "Trotskyist regroupment arena," reports on a conference of grouplets where by his own admission the participants disagreed on everything from A to Z, and then whines that our article "Anti-Trotskyist Regroupment Flunks" concluded there was nothing revolutionary about this gabfest. He complains about our "name-calling," after accusing the Spartacist League of "male chauvinism," "homophobia" and "racism."

Admitting that his "regroupment" is programmatically a very disunited front, Durham then claims he upholds the Trotskyist position on the Russian question...and hails Polish Solidarnośc. For that matter, the other refugees from Trotskyism at the San Francisco conference (TO, ISL, WSL), as well as the various expellees from the SWP who didn't show (SA, SU, FIT), are all "united" on this point. And this is precisely what unites them with the anti-communist, anti-labor right. In December 1981, Clara Kaye's FSP joined with the far-right Libertarian Party—followers of Milton Friedman, mastermind of union-busting and mass starvation from Pinochet's Chile to Thatcher's Britain—demonstrating in San Francisco against the Polish regime's last-minute crackdown which stopped Solidarnośc' counterrevolutionary power bid. FSPers marched alongside Libertarians who chanted "Socialism is tyranny!" and carried signs saying "Smash the Red Tyrants." Whatever this is, Trotskyism it ain't.

All one has to do is to listen to any Reagan speech to know that the commander in chief of U.S. imperialism aims to destroy the Soviet Union...and not in the distant future. It's pretty hard to drum up sympathy among class-conscious workers for counterrevolutionary terrorists like the Nicaraguan contras and Afghan *mujaheddin*. So "Solidarity with Solidarity," the one "union" Ronald Reagan loves, has become the main social-democratic battle cry of Western imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. Durham claims Solidarnośc represents the Polish workers' struggle to "break the bonds of the bureaucratic police state." And replace it with what? In late 1981, Lech Walesa & Co. called on the IMF bankers' cartel to take over the Polish economy. Today, the official Solidarnośc leadership has come out for the restoration of capitalism in an even more shameless manner: they want a stock market in Poland!

The Spartacist League has from its inception sought a *revolutionary regroupment* in a Trotskyist party Trotsky would have recognized: this is at the heart of our struggle to reforge the Fourth International. You can read about it in a collection of our basic documents, the SL's *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9. As for our analysis of the demise of the SWP, we refer our readers to the Spartacist pamphlet, *The SWP: An Obituary*. ■

TROTSKY

Defend Colonial Peoples Against Imperialism

LENIN

When Mussolini's Italy invaded Emperor Haile Selassie's Ethiopia in 1935, Trotskyists gave unconditional military support against this colonial aggression, and denounced the "neutralists" of the centrist London Bureau and British Independent Labour Party who claimed this colonial war was simply a dispute between dictators. A July 1936 resolution of the Fourth International stated:

The struggle against war, properly understood and executed, presupposes the uncompromising hostility of the proletariat and its organizations, always and everywhere, toward its own and every other imperialist bourgeoisie....

The struggle against war and its social source, capitalism, presupposes direct, active, unequivocal support to the oppressed colonial peoples in their struggles and wars against imperialism. A "neutral" position is tantamount to support of imperialism. Yet, among the announced adherents of the London Bureau congress are found ILPers who advocate leaving the courageous Ethiopian warriors against marauding Italian fascism in the lurch on the grounds of "neutrality," and "Left" Poale Zionists who are even at this moment leaning upon British imperialism in its savage campaign against the legitimate, even if confused, struggle of the Arab peasantry.

—"Resolution on the Antiwar Congress of the London Bureau," *Documents of the Fourth International—The Formative Years (1933-1940)* [1973]

Still "Contra Socialists"

Seattle, Washington
March 26, 1986

Workers Vanguard

Dear Editor,

What the Spartacist League gives with one hand, it takes away with the other.

The Freedom Socialist Party appreciated *Workers Vanguard*'s 1/31/86 [*WV* No. 396] article "Government Hands Off FSP!" and we thank you for refraining from sectarianism when fundamental rights of radicals are at stake. We also appreciate the endorsements and donations the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee sent to aid our campaign to repel the witchhunt against us and to defend the right to privacy and freedom of association.

Yet alongside this article is another which blasts us as "Contra Socialists"! We ask, if the FSP has made "an unholy alliance with Reagan's Miskito contra terrorists" against the Sandinistas as you assert, how on earth could we have the principles to fight the bourgeois courts on disclosure of internal party records? Why would we care about protecting the rights of other Left parties?

It is absurd to accuse the FSP of any degree of support to the contras. We have unconditionally defended Nicaragua against imperialist attack. Yet, unlike many other Left groups, we criticize the Sandinistas when we see them act in a fashion that threatens the revolution.

The Sandinistas' racist and chauvinist policy toward the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians is a tragically unnecessary repetition of the historical disasters caused by revolutionaries who rejected the just demands of oppressed nations and drove them into the arms of counterrevolution....

Lenin wrote brilliantly on the rights of oppressed nations and on the duty of revolutionaries in oppressor nations to

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Der Spiegel

Miskito contras plunder dead Sandinista soldiers. "Self-determination," FSP?

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 402 **25 April 1986**

ET Wants Unions to Police Workers

Ed Meese Unionism

As Big Brother Ed Meese and the Reaganites in Washington gear up for a Moral Majority pot-and-porn crackdown, out in the heart of "Reagan Country" compulsory drug testing of workers has already touched off an uproar. While Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates and Orange County state senator John Seymour have called for random urine tests for all workers, the Machinists union is suing General Dynamics for violating constitutional protection of privacy with its arbitrary drug testing of employees (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 April). The misleaders of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), on the other hand, have gone along with the PMA maritime bosses in ordering compulsory "screening" for drug and alcohol use by new-hires on the docks.

We denounced such totalitarian controls in our article "Down with Meese's Drug Witchhunt!" (*WV* No. 400, 28 March). It should be clear to any fighter for labor's rights that this sinister form of capitalist control will be used to intimidate and tyrannize the workforce and frame up union activists. With their drug testing the bosses make no bones about the fact that they're after speedup and putting liability for accidents on the workers. Yet, incredibly, in the face of this cynical employer offensive, one Howard Keylor, in his misnamed "Militant Longshoreman" (3 January) newsletter, calls on the ILWU to "exercise union discipline as part of the effort to help our brothers overcome their problem"! What this amounts to is calling for *union narcs!!*

Keylor claims this is "a traditional union solution to the problem of brothers who use substances that affect their functioning." Like hell! Stan Gow, a member of the Local 10 exec board and long-time Trotskyist on the waterfront, sharply denounced this crap:

> "The argument is that since the PMA, or the government, raise it, therefore there must be *A PROBLEM*. And therefore, for reformist-minded people like Keylor, what better 'solution' than using the union as the bosses' cat's paw to subject the workers to one more form of regimentation for the anti-Soviet war drive. Reagan and his crony Jerry Falwell would love it."

Gow, a spokesman for the Militant Caucus in the union and a supporter of the Spartacist League, has forthrightly fought against this "moral rearmament" witchhunt. But Keylor, as the main public spokesman for the former "External Tendency" (now self-proclaimed "Bolshevik Tendency"), *is legitimizing the maritime employers' anti-drug campaign with his call for a union detox campaign.*

What's next, Howard, "union-controlled" lie detector tests? This is no joke. The drawn-out Coors brewery strike was touched off in part by the company's use of lie detectors on job applicants, covering everything from marijuana and sex to "subversive, revolutionary or communist activities." Adolph Coors is a major Reagan backer, who has kicked in big bucks to finance the CIA's contra terrorist war against Sandinista Nicaragua.

Henry Ford had his own "morals" experts for spying on workers, lest they engage in extramarital sex, unauthorized absenteeism, left politics or whatever. It took bloody fights to build trade unions to protect the workers against this crap. Now the ET/BT proposes that a bunch of fat-cat bureaucrats be given the power to police the workers' "morals." So what about policing their politics, or their productivity? Millions of workers today are bedeviled by company spies, like the "beakies" in New York transit, whose job is to make sure that workers calling in sick are really home in bed. Perhaps Howard would like to see this function too taken over by the unions?

Keylor's despicable position on drugs contains the germ of the whole outlook of a reformist labor party: to take "control" of all the shit of capitalist society, from running bankrupt industries to policing prostitutes. And what about keeping an eye on AIDS carriers, compulsive gamblers, vivisectionists? Where does it stop? The ET line is closely related to the idea that prison guards and police should belong to the unions. This view used to be popular in Britain, but after the miners strike workers discovered that cops are not just friendly bobbies. In less than two steps this program of making the unions responsible for "resolving" social evils under capitalism leads to joining company boards of directors and participation in capitalist governments. Keylor aspires to be another "Sir Harold" Wilson.

In World War II, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party raised the "proletarian military policy" of trade-union control of military training. This mistaken notion was an opening toward social patriotism, and contrasted sharply with the SWP's principled, internationalist opposition to the imperialist war and defense of the Soviet Union. But for Howard Keylor, his policy of "proletarian Meesism" is a return to his Stalinist-reformist roots. In fact, even before he and the other ET/BT quitters individually fled from Spartacist politics in the hard times of Reagan's America, Keylor continued to hold the Stalinist line of supporting the imperialist Allies in WW II.

This is not simply a "historical" question. During the war it led Keylor's

continued on page 8

Another U.S. Spy Satellite Goes Kaboom

Titan Up, Up and Away

The Central Intelligence Agency snoops at Langley have got a real problem. While Reagan & Co. blithely claim that American high technology will build a "Star Wars" shield to provide one hundred percent protection against thousands of nuclear warheads (so that the U.S. could strike at Russia with impunity), the CIA has been trying to get one single photographic reconnaissance satellite into space for the last nine months—without success. The latest attempt failed on April 18, when a Titan 34D rocket carrying the half-billion-dollar KH-11 spy satellite blew up in a spectacular fireworks display seconds after liftoff at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California.

Last August another KH-11 launching also failed when the Titan rocket went astray, forcing the range safety officer to blow it up. That's over a billion dollars worth of hardware lost right there. (Not that Reagan cares: he'll just chop another billion out of social programs like school lunches or Social Security—certainly it's not the military budget that will get squeezed.) "It means that the United States is currently dependent on a single reconnaissance satellite in space," moaned military space expert Paul Stares of the Brookings Institution in Washington (*New York Times*, 19 April). "If it should fail, the U.S. would have no spy satellites over the Soviet Union"—and no way to launch another.

The space shuttle had been slated to be the main launch vehicle for U.S. military/spy satellites, but that system has been grounded since the January 28 Challenger disaster. The CIA's latest model spy-in-the-sky, the KH-12, is too big and heavy to be carried by anything but the shuttle, so that too is grounded. The CIA had relied on the USAF's handful of Titan rockets as a fallback to launch the current model KH-11, but now that's fallen through too. To top it off, the *New York Times* (22 April) reports that "the payload destroyed last Friday was apparently the nation's last KH-11."

"It's a real crisis," moaned think tank expert Stares. So far this year, the Soviets have successfully launched 23 military/intelligence satellites, while the U.S. has only gotten *one* into orbit. With this lopsided scorecard, it's getting kind of difficult for Reagan & Co. to sell their "Star Wars" scheme. From their first-strike Pershing 2 and MX missiles to their plans for a net of space-based battle stations, American high-tech know-how is supposed to guarantee pinpoint accuracy, and provide a "shield" that's supposed to work perfectly the first time it's switched on, untested. Reagan's Silicon Valley fantasies are literally going up in smoke, and that's a good thing.

Curiously, the U.S. Titan rocket has segmented solid rocket boosters like those used to launch the Challenger—with the joints sealed by those notorious O-rings which are the probable cause of the shuttle disaster. "The Titan exploded at a time when only the boosters were supposed to be firing," noted the *Times*. Apparently there was an "inquiry" after the last Titan failed, but "no design changes resulted." Sounds like the work of the same bunch who built the shuttle. No one was killed by the Titan, but the Challenger carried seven human beings, at least some of whom probably believed they were expanding man's knowledge, rather than preparing for World War III by providing a backdrop for Reagan's planned "Star Wars" State of the Union speech that day.

The latest leaks about the Challenger affair add more fuel to this political powder keg. Enhanced photography of the disaster shows that the crew cabin was not destroyed in the initial explosion but broke away in one piece:

> "There is a consensus developing among NASA engineers and officials who have seen this imagery that the seven-member Challenger crew may not have been subjected to fatal or debilitating g-loads [gravity forces], and that it is likely some or all of them were conscious and aware of the crisis as the crew module fell for 3-4 min. until impact."
>
> —*Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 21 April

In short, the crew could have survived if they had had ejection seats, as the original shuttle Columbia had—but these safety mechanisms were eliminated on the Challenger in order to squeeze in a few more pounds of spy satellite. No wonder that NASA suddenly dropped an iron curtain of secrecy around the ocean recovery operation when the remains of the crew and cabin were found.

AP

Half-billion-dollar fireworks at Vandenberg AFB.

At first the secrecy was supposed to be in deference to the families and to preserve the "dignity" of the dead and all that, but it's gone on for *weeks*. The crew cabin is still excluded from the exhibit of shuttle parts shown to reporters and the public. And there's more behind the curtain, namely the telltale tapes:

> "NASA...has not revealed whether flight recorders, recovered from the wreckage and now being processed at the Johnson Space Center in Houston, contain the crew's final words."
>
> —*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 April

They have certainly listened to these tapes by now, but they've been wrapped in secrecy by NASA in the same way that Air Force radar tapes of the KAL 007 spy plane have been "disappeared." What are they protecting—Nixonite "national security"? If anyone's "security" is at stake, it's Reagan's political neck. You can be sure that if the astronauts were conscious in those last agonizing moments before impact, they would have recorded some choice comments about the people who sent them on this disaster mission. Did they? We'd like to know.■

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Who Was Behind the "Bulgarian Connection"?

Pope Plot Frame-Up Flops

It was billed as the "Trial of the Century." The "pope plot" trial in Rome was supposed to prove Reagan's charges that the Soviet Union was an "Evil Empire," sinister source of international terrorism, by "proving" the USSR was behind the shooting of Pope Wojtyla via a "Bulgarian Connection." As we noted in "Whose Kill Pope Plot?" (*WV* No. 315, 15 October 1982), "The 'Pope Plot' Against Andropov" (*WV* No. 323, 11 February 1983) and "Shot Pope, Thinks He's Christ" (*WV* No. 382, 28 June 1985), the whole spectacle was based on a Western smear campaign, intended to mobilize public opinion behind Reagan's war drive against the Soviet Union.

Instead it ended up the flop of the century. The Bulgarian concoction began unraveling farcically from the first day of the pope plot trial, as crazy fascist Mehmet Ali Agca, the man who pulled the trigger, howled that he was really Jesus Christ, lying on the stand and repeatedly changing his story (at least 115 times by one count)! Further, it came out that Italian intelligence officials had secretly visited Agca in prison, and other high-level officials linked to the right-wing "P-2" (*Propaganda Due*) conspiracy had enlisted the Mafia to get Agca to implicate Soviet-bloc countries. On March 29 an Italian court was finally forced to acquit "for lack of evidence" the three Bulgarians and Turks accused of conspiring with Agca to murder the pope.

As San Francisco journalist Warren Hinckle noted when the presiding judge first called for the acquittal of the accused Bulgarian officials, "The whole pipe dream blew up last week like the space shuttle Challenger" (*San Francisco Chronicle-Examiner*, 2 March). "The 'Papal Plot' thesis stank from the beginning of disinformation," he said, "as its principal proponents were a couple of Red Scare novelists, a Reaganoid right-wing think tanker and a female journalistic hack with more cheesy intelligence service connections than Tugboat Annie had ropes."

Arturo Mari

The "Anti-Communist Connection": Pope meets hitman Agca in 1983.

Though the gang of Western "*dezinformatsiya*" experts who pushed this Big Lie against the USSR almost from the moment Wojtyla was shot failed in court, they did manage to destroy one man's life: Bulgarian airline clerk Sergei Antonov. Antonov was arrested in 1982 and spent 19 months behind bars, finally changed to house arrest due to his rapidly failing health, and was then forced to appear in court in a steel cage. "Free Antonov!" we demanded for this political prisoner of Reagan's Cold War. Antonov is now free (after a vindictive last-minute delay in releasing him). However, the qualified acquittal leaves the Italian courts free to go after him. Antonov's attorneys intend to appeal the verdict to win full vindication and compensation for this persecuted and deeply wronged man.

If this frame-up had gone through, the so-called "free" press would be hailing it as proof positive of "Communist evil," portraying former Soviet leader Andropov as the devil incarnate who ordered Christ's vicar rubbed out. Given the ambiguous acquittals, a new "inquiry" into the supposed "Bulgarian Connection" has already been launched in Rome. But this doesn't faze the "pope plotters." An "instant movie" resurrecting the plot has already appeared on Italian TV. The *New York Times*, which shamelessly pushed the "Soviet plot" story, has busily been wiping the egg off its face with a sullen editorial about unsolved "riddles" and "mysteries" in the case. And even after the prosecution asked the court to acquit for lack of proof, the *Wall Street Journal* declared it's "beside the point" if Antonov goes free and Moscow declares victory: "We can't imagaine there are very many people in the West who still harbor doubts about who tried to kill the pope." Following Goebbels, they figure that if the lie is big enough, and repeated often enough, it will stick.

The Bulgarian Concoction

In Reagan's first days in office, then secretary of state Al Haig announced that "international terrorism" would be the central focus of the administration. Working in tandem with Haig a band of New Right propagandists was already feeding smear jobs on a Soviet "terror conspiracy" to the media. The *New York Times* in particular, which prides itself on being the nation's "journal of record," became an early and aggressive purveyor of the "red terrorism" scare. On 2 November 1980, the week before the Reagan election, the *New York Times Magazine* published a Robert Moss special titled "Terror: A Soviet Export." And only weeks after Reagan's inaugural, the *Times Magazine* (1 March 1981) featured a story by Claire Sterling claiming to have "massive proof" that "the Soviet Union and its surrogates...have provided the weapons, training and sanctuary for a worldwide terror network." We called it "The Terror *Times*" (*WV* No. 276, 13 March 1981) noting that:

> "'International terrorism' is the Reagan code word for a war drive against the Soviet Union, just as 'Human Rights' was Carter's."

At the same time, writing in the *Village Voice* (4 March 1981) columnist Alexander Cockburn pointed to a tight little church of "ideologists of terrorism" including Sterling, Moss, Arnaud de Borchgrave (now editor of the anti-communist Sun Myung Moon cult's *Washington Times*), Michael Ledeen, Edward Luttwak, Walter Laqueur, Martin Peretz (*New Republic*), Norman Podhoretz and Midge Dector (*Commentary*), with General Haig and Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick as the high priest and priestess. Pretty soon we will see this team go into action, quoting each other and becoming the "authorities" on the Bulgarian Connection they themselves concocted. What's notable is how the "connections" discovered by these "terrorism" experts are *afterwards* raised as accusations by Agca himself.

On 13 May 1981 Turkish fascist hitman Agca shot the pope in St. Peter's Square. One week after the shooting the first article appeared charging the Soviet Union with complicity, in the right-wing Milano paper *Il Giornale Nuovo*, a known CIA asset. The author: Michael Ledeen. On 3 September 1981, the private British Thames TV company airs a film on the "plot," featuring Solidarność' Anna Walentynowicz breathing heavily, "I fear the attempt on the Pope's life was a Soviet conspiracy intended to suppress the Polish workers' movement." Thames TV "source" for the story: *Il Giornale Nuovo*.

AP

After four years in detention as victim of anti-Soviet frame-up, Sergei Antonov with his sister upon his release in Rome.

In November 1981, an article in the NATO magazine *Atlantic Community* accuses the Soviets of conspiring to assassinate Pope Wojtyla. Author: Paul Henze, whose credentials include his stint as head of the CIA station in Turkey and as aide to Polish-born Cold Warrior Brzezinski on the National Security Council. This "terrorism expert," whose "investigation" is widely cited as proof for the Bulgarian Connection, argues that proof shouldn't be necessary, that it only serves Soviet interests to insist on a "minimalist, legalistic approach" and "documentary evidence" to prove this charge!

Then in September 1982, *Reader's Digest* published Sterling's "exclusive report" on "The Plot to Murder the Pope," using Henze's "research." That same month NBC-TV aired a Marvin Kalb special on the "Bulgarian Connection." Featured consultant: Claire Sterling. Research by Paul Henze.

The "pope of counterrevolution" stars in 1982 NBC-TV "disinformation" special.

These "Soviet connection" stories were floating for more than *a year and a half* before Agca himself—the *only* source the prosecution ever came up with to "prove" any of these stories—said anything about it. Only in November 1982—18 months after Agca's arrest, 17 months after his first three-day trial in which he was declared a "lone fanatic"—did Agca finally name some Bulgarians in court. Thereupon Sergei Antonov was arrested as a "suspect" (though it wasn't until October 1984 that Martella got around to actually indicting Antonov, the other Bulgarians and Turks).

The "Connection" Connection

So how did the "connections" supplied by Sterling, Ledeen, Henze & Co. get passed to Agca in his "high security" prison cell? *Washington Post* correspondent Michael Dobbs, one of the few holdouts against the media's slavish prostration before the disinformers, has documented how Agca had access to magazines, papers and TV which repeated much of the Henze/Sterling thesis. And whatever "facts" he didn't have could well have been supplied by coaching. By whom? Italian defense minister Lagorio told the Italian parliament that members of the SISMI and SISDE intelligence agencies had visited Agca, without the knowledge of prosecuting judge Martella, on 29 December 1981. Further, *L'Espresso* (23 June 1985) interviewed Giovanni Pandico, the state's witness in a Naples Mafia trial, who said that Pietro Musumeci, deputy chief of SISMI, used a Mafia chief in Ascoli prison to offer Agca a deal in 1982 to free him if he'd implicate the Soviet Union. (Agca began to "sing" shortly afterward.)

But why did it take so long for the "Bulgarian Connection" story to develop, especially when it was floated immediately after the shooting? For one thing, only a week after Agca shot the pope, a major scandal exploded in the Italian press. It was revealed that Italian military and intelligence services were riddled at the highest levels with members of the ultraright "masonic" lodge, P-2, members of whom (including Musumeci) were accused of setting up a secret "Super S" (Super SISMI) group of "plumbers" tied to organized

crime and fascist groups. Those on the P-2 list suddenly found themselves dumped out of their jobs, lacking direct access to the levers of power so crucial in fabricating a plot. Moreover, many of them had their hands full trying to stay out of the line of fire in the scandal over the collapse of the Vatican-connected Banco Ambrosiano and the mysterious death of its head, P-2 member Roberto Calvi.

Take the case of Francesco Pazienza, whose name came up at the trial: at one point in the tumultuous proceedings the judge called for *pazienza* ("patience") and Agca said, "Yes...I met Francesco Pazienza. He asked me to collaborate." Pazienza, currently in jail in the U.S. in connection with the Calvi/Ambrosiano affair, was a former top aide in the Italian spy agency SISMI and a member of P-2. While denying he himself coached Agca, Pazienza said other intelligence agents had told the gunman to finger Bulgaria. The former SISMI bigwig has also been linked to Italian fascist terrorist Stefano delle Chiaie, charged with directing the 1980 bombing of the Bologna train station that killed and maimed hundreds. And delle Chiaie was reportedly on the run with Turkish fascist Gray Wolves leader Abdullah Catli, a close associate of Agca (*Village Voice*, 24 December 1985). Earlier, according to *CovertAction* (No. 23, Spring 1985):

> "Italian investigators have shown that SISMI, Pazienza, and Michael Ledeen, perhaps working through Super S, together lured President Jimmy Carter's brother Billy into a compromising relationship with Col Qaddafi during the 1980 Reagan presidential campaign. . . After Reagan's election Ledeen was more powerful than previously (he is at present working under contract to the Pentagon and the State Department)."

The Israeli Connection

The "pope plotters" feed at the same troughs: Sterling, Ledeen and Moss all testified before Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton's terrorism committee, and they all buzz around the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies. Many of the principals in the "pope plot" business got together in Jerusalem in July 1979, where they founded the "Jonathan Institute." Named after an Israeli commando killed in the Entebbe raid, this outfit first launched the line later taken up by the Reagan administration that the Soviet Union was the center of an international terror network. (This, of course, whitewashes Israel's own *state terror* against the Palestinians, portraying it as front-line defense of the "free world.") The 1979 conference brought together Israeli intelligence officers with a large Anglo-American contingent, including Claire Sterling, Arnaud de Borchgrave and future vice president Bush, former CIA deputy director for intelligence Ray Cline and British MI6/CIA "assets" Robert Moss and Brian Crozier, among others.

Big Liars for hire: J. Jesus Angleton and his star disinformers. They cook up a plot, then "expose" it, then quote each other as proof. Then it goes respectable in the New York Times.

So is it all just a big CIA disinformation plot? Well, there's a strange twist—the leading "pope plotters" vehemently *attack* the CIA for not buying their story. In her lurid potboiler, *The Time of the Assassins* (1983), Claire Sterling complains about the "mounting irritation" of "Western secret services, including the CIA" with the pope plotters' antics, and she even accuses the U.S. spy agency of "unaccountably taking the Bulgarian line." Curiouser and curiouser. Ah, but there is someone who *knows* everything in the world is a Kremlin plot, who *knows* the CIA is riddled with Soviet moles, has plenty of axes to grind, and has—or had—terrific Israeli intelligence connections. Agca keeps screaming he's "Jesus Christ," which is pretty funny coming from somebody who's some kind of Turkish anti-Christian fanatic. Maybe he got the name wrong. Maybe he meant...James Jesus Angleton.

Moss and de Borchgrave are big fans, of course—in their Cold War spy novel *The Spike* Angleton is "Nick Flowers," the bounced head of CIA counterintelligence who proves to gullible reporters that the "Western media" is riddled with Soviet disinformation agents. Angleton and his top aides *were* dumped from the CIA in 1974. And as Fred Landis points out in *CovertAction* (No. 18, Winter 1983):

> "The story of an international Israeli-CIA Terror Network begins with James Jesus Angleton, former head of counterintelligence at CIA and Catholic zealot. While stationed in Rome he set up a network of 60 media agents and controlled CIA-Israeli MOSSAD collaboration. Over a period of 20 years, many of Angleton's media agents were recruited from the staff of *Newsweek* [where de Borchgrave worked for 17 years] or *The Washington Post* in Rome. Claire Sterling was one of these; Michael Ledeen is her protege; Robert Moss is a fellow traveller."

But that's not all: Angleton may actually have given Israel the bomb. "The veteran journalist Tad Szulc has quoted 'sources close to' Angleton as confirming that the C.I.A. secretly aided the Israelis with technical nuclear information in the late 1950's," wrote Seymour Hersh (*New York Times Magazine*, 25 June 1978): "This fits in with something I had been told by a high-level C.I.A. official—that Angleton, then in charge of C.I.A. liaison with Israeli intelligence, gave the Israelis similar technical information in the mid-60's."

There still remains one genuinely mysterious question about this "pope plot": If the Bulgarians and Soviets didn't set up Agca, who did? Assuming, that is, anybody at all did—hack in 1979 Agca himself, while still in Turkey, had threatened to off "crusade commander [pope] John Paul." Agca's Turkish connections among the fascist Gray Wolves were the only genuine links the three-year investigation was able to prove. So what about these youth squads of the Turkish National Action Party? A recent pamphlet titled *Bulgarian Connection: CIA & Co.* (1986) put out by the USSR's Novosti Press Agency points to Paul Henze's own well-documented ties to these fascist killers. It reports that in 1979, after a massacre of hundreds by the Gray Wolves, where a U.S. embassy officer was photographed giving orders, CIA man Henze had a bitter argument with the editor of the liberal *Milliyet*, Abdi Ipekci. Shortly afterward, Ipekci was gunned down in the street. Agca, the man convicted of murdering Ipekci, was later sprung from jail with the aid of the Gray Wolves.

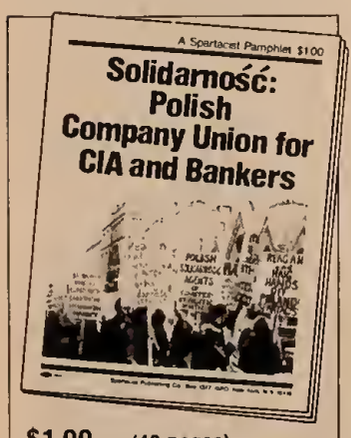
The proposition in the Novosti pamphlet is that *all* the "pope plotters," from Agca to Henze, conspired to kill the pope. Frankly, this seems a bit like that Agatha Christie Orient Express story where everybody did it. Still, who knows what evil lurks in the hearts of disgruntled ex-CIA factions? As to who done it, we'd just like to note the connections between the P-2 plotters, the Italian fascists and high Vatican officials, some of whom were less than pleased with the elevation of a Polish pope.

Reichstag Fire to Pope Plot: Preparation for War

The disinformers' "pope plot" was just too much to swallow, Agca just too unstable and crazy, to make a really successful "Big Lie." While Reagan himself and "the Company" officially stayed out of this one, they were perfectly willing to let it roll. The Reagan administration is up to its neck in its own anti-Soviet "Big Lies," notably its attempt to smear the Soviet Union over the shooting down of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, a U.S. spy plane provocation in which Reagan & Co. deliberately sacrificed the lives of over 200 innocent passengers. Currently the "Qaddafi terror connection" is running at hysterical full blast, a "surrogate" for the Soviet Union and sinister *casus belli* to justify imperialist aggression.

The Reaganites, with the help of the Cold War liberals, keep producing such anti-Soviet myths and broadcasting them at full blast with the imperialist propaganda machine because *they themselves think like, act like and are the real terrorists.* Who else runs around the world openly attempting to assassinate heads of state? And they come from a long tradition.

The 1933 "Reichstag Fire" trial, presided over by Hitler lieutenant Hermann Göring, tried to finger Bulgarian Communist leader Dimitrov for burning down the German parliament. Like the "pope plot" trial of today, the Nazis' effort backfired spectacularly. Nonetheless it was a prelude to Hitler's Anti-Comintern Pact and World War II. Today's "Big Lie" campaigns against the Soviet Union are even more deadly, for behind them looms the shadow of nuclear Armageddon. ■



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The Living Hell of Apartheid South Africa

By Alan Roux

In his Pulitzer Prize-winning account of life in white supremacist South Africa, *Move Your Shadow* (New York, 1985), Joseph Lelyveld tells of a visit to a wealthy Afrikaner farm and a desolate camp for blacks nearby on the open *veld* (plains) of the Orange Free State. At the end of the day, he watches as both are blotted out by a huge dust storm. He reflects that "the dust storm was exactly what the producer of a second-rate TV documentary might have seized on for his fade-out on such a day. But I had grown mistrustful of all South African metaphors. The thought of an inevitable catastrophe was frightening, but even more frightening was the thought that it could be indefinitely deferred." Lelyveld looks at South Africa through the eyes of an American liberal, but here he comes to a conclusion most liberals shy away from, as they take refuge instead in mealy-mouthed rhetoric of "peaceful change."

A long-time *New York Times* foreign correspondent, Lelyveld is currently the *Times* London bureau chief and has been mentioned as a contender for the succession to powerful Executive Editor A.M. Rosenthal, who is scheduled to retire. Politically, Lelyveld identifies himself as "a naive democrat who believes in what a South African Cabinet member dismissed as 'simplistic Western solutions'." Though he is on target about the tendency of American liberals "to misconstrue the conflict, to talk about human rights and living standards while fuzzing the central issue of power," he is basically indulgent toward what he calls the "earnest but inconsistent dabbling" of U.S. imperialism in southern Africa. The strong point of Lelyveld's powerful narrative is not his political conclusions, but his sharp newsman's eye for the hideous contradictions in the land of apartheid which cry out for revolution.

Bantustan system is key to super-exploitation of black labor.

Lelyveld found the title for his book in a handbook of phrases in *Fanagalo*, the *lingua franca* which originated with the influx of men from many different black tribes to work South Africa's gold mines. *Fanagalo* consists chiefly of expressions used by the racist white foreman to order black workers around. *Susa lo-mtunzi gawena* ("move your shadow") was listed in the phrase book as one of several handy expressions for white golfers to use on their black caddies. It's an apt metaphor for life in South Africa, where the apartheid rulers fear even the shadow of the black man falling on their special preserve of white privilege. Such concrete details that illuminate the anatomy and pathology of social relations under apartheid, so violently contradictory yet so deep-rooted—these are the stuff of *Move Your Shadow*.

This book is Lelyveld's summing up of what he personally saw and heard during his tour as the *Times* correspondent in South Africa. He does not devote much attention to news events or to well-known South African political figures such as P.W. Botha, the Mandelas and Bishop Tutu; nor does he explain the origins of apartheid in settler colonialism and capitalist development. But combining a journalist's tenacity with a novelist's command of the language, Lelyveld fills a need in the literature on South Africa for a reasonably comprehensive book that gives you the harsh feel of life under apartheid. Having grown up in South Africa, I expected that reading *Move Your Shadow* would bring back many memories. But it is a measure of this perceptive account that I continually found myself reflecting as if for the first time on things that had seemed simply normal when I was there—it was like being given a sharper lens.

One recollection concerned my nine months as a conscripted *troepie* in the apartheid army. To a *troepie* who showed any lack of obedience, the redneck Afrikaner corporals would scream, "*Jy raak wit, troep!*" ("You're acting white, private!"). At the time and since, I don't recall anyone reflecting on the irony of one white disparaging the "whiteness" of another in an institution dedicated to slaughtering blacks. In South Africa the domination of white over black is *the* relation of master and subordinate, stamped on the whole society; to tell a *troep* he can't act "white" is the clearest way of telling him he has no rights.

Peter Magubane

White police state rules by terrorizing black majority.

"A Nation of Sleepwalkers"

Move Your Shadow represents a powerful application of Lelyveld's principal maxim as a journalist: that each person is an expert on the circumstances of his life. Instead of just reciting statistics on black migrant labor in South Africa, he makes the acquaintance of migrant workers employed in his apartment building and, on their annual leave, drives them the soul-destroying hundreds of miles back to the starving KwaZulu bantustan where their families are forced to live. Perhaps his most memorable eyewitness reporting concerns the insane apartheid project that is the latest bantustan, KwaNdebele.

In order to create KwaNdebele, the Botha regime uprooted hundreds of thousands of blacks—destroying neighborhoods in Pretoria, evicting labor tenants from white-owned farms, expropriating landowning agricultural communities (so-called "black spots")—and dumped them in the rural ghettos known as "closer settlements." To get there, Lelyveld writes, "You drove through the Pretoria suburbs and then through more than forty miles of rich [white] farm country before you hit it; then you could drive another forty miles, and it was seldom out of sight a serpentine stream of metal shanties and mud houses the metal roofs of which were typically weighted down by small boulders to keep them from blowing off in the Transvaal's violent hailstorms. Such sights can be seen in other countries, usually as a result of famines or wars. I don't know where else they have been achieved as a result of planning."

KwaNdebele has no economy of its own. The only jobs are in distant Pretoria. But the apartheid social engineers are prepared to invest heavily to keep KwaNdebele's people in the status of perpetual "commuters." The South African government's subsidy for bus transport between KwaNdebele and the Pretoria area works out to more than $1,000 per passenger per year—it adds up to more than KwaNdebele's "gross national product"! Lelyveld rode the 2:40 a.m. bus KwaNdebele workers must endure just to get to work each day and got the riders to tell their own stories:

> "John Masango... said he worked six days a week at a construction site near Benoni, an industrial town forty miles on the far side of Pretoria, taking three buses each way. Even at the concessional rates arranged by the authorities for KwaNdebele, the total bus fares he paid out in a week gobbled up one-quarter of his wages. He was fifty-three years old, and on days when he was not required to work overtime, he could get back to Kameelrivier by eight-thirty at night. Only on Sundays did he ever see his home or his family in the light of day. With four hours' sleep at home and a couple of hours' sleep on the bus, he managed to stay awake at work."

In Pretoria, KwaNdebele is viewed "as a tremendous success for the racial planners," he reports. A high official said seriously blacks didn't want to live in towns: "They were much happier with their own kind out in the hush. The Afrikaans term he used was dood-gelukkig ('dead happy'). That seemed singularly apt for emergent KwaNdebele, a nation of sleepwalkers." Lelyveld reminds himself that the KwaNdebele "commuters" are more fortunate than many South African blacks—they at least have jobs and "live with" their families.

These journeys measure the gulf (the moat?) apartheid has dug between black and white. While the nature of apartheid is brutally clear to the blacks who live under it, the whites who live off it are experts in masking the reality of

oppression from themselves. This applies to all ruling groups, but reaches fantastic proportions in "white South Africa." Having uprooted millions, apartheid ensures that "Hardly anywhere do whites now have to live near blacks...and hardly anywhere is it even necessary for them to see where blacks live, except occasionally at a distance from a passing car." For the whites, "the resentment in the depths, among blacks and browns, is beyond their comprehension."

Throughout the book, Lelyveld dissects the racist consciousness of whites, from the kept "sociologists" who lament that the black "national character" is "inimical to growth," to the *baas* on the farm who "knows the black" but not the real name of his oldest servant. "If whites took the long view, they would be in a panic," Lelyveld observes. In fact, panic is not far below the surface; but the whites' overwhelming monopoly of force gives them the luxury of projecting "any version of reality they please," from the myth of "separate development" under apartheid to the recent delusion that apartheid is being reformed out of existence.

This delusion in particular is annihilated in *Move Your Shadow*. Lelyveld has actually been the *New York Times* correspondent in South Africa twice, and this has given him a certain vantage point on the evolution of apartheid. He was first sent there after covering the racist murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi during the "freedom summer" of 1964. When Lelyveld arrived in South Africa in 1965 the apartheid rulers had crushed all organized opposition and they booted him out eleven months later. In 1980 they let him return, apparently hoping to impress him with their "reform" program—or did they perhaps just want him to see how firmly they were still in control?

The changes Lelyveld found in "white South Africa" are rather bizarre. The dour Afrikaner who in the '60s cited scripture to sanctify apartheid is now an "arriviste puritan" aping every Western consumer fad. Clad by Gucci, he mixes with blacks at casinos and fancy restaurants; he dares to be regaled by Richard Pryor tapes. Apartheid too is reclothed, in jargon borrowed from American sociology, and dismissed as passé. But the reality, which Lelyveld graphically documents in thousands of miles of travel throughout the bantustans, those barren fragments of land where millions have been sent to starve, is that apartheid has been and is being relentlessly extended. When the umpteenth *verligte* ("enlightened") Afrikaner rhetorically asks him if he sees any changes, Lelyveld replies, "Yes, I never imagined they would be able to carry apartheid so far."

"W-A-R"

Move Your Shadow was not written to demonstrate a political thesis, but the cumulative effect of its description makes a statement of cardinal importance: apartheid is a social structure as elaborate, as entrenched, and as inimical to all forms of human emancipation as slavery was in the South, or tsarism in Russia. No amount of reformist tinkering, "responsible" imperialist statesmanship and divestment "pressure" will eradicate it. It will take social revolution to topple the edifice of apartheid slavery which has created glittering empires for the "Randlords" while the black toilers who dig the gold are denied every right.

Time

Armed white population determined to defend its privileges.

NUM.

Achilles' heel of apartheid capitalism is dependence on black labor. Militant gold miners are in foretront of powerful black union movement.

In the chapter titled "Controlled Strength," Lelyveld depicts not just the nightmare of surveillance and torture in which the South African security police envelop their opponents, but also the enormous capacity for racist violence of the white population at large. There is a licensed private gun for every white adult male. After two bull terriers break their chains and kill the household's black maid, the SPCA is besieged by whites wanting to buy the dogs.

In "W-A-R," Lelyveld delineates the military weakness of the African National Congress, the emphasis on martyrdom. He understands that Nelson Mandela "has become the living symbol of his movement and the personification of the bondage of his people." But *why* have the ANC and the allied South African Communist Party (SACP) proven unable to lead a revolution in the land of apartheid, where the dramatic social contradictions have repeatedly reached the boiling point? The pressure cooker of apartheid's social oppression and social contradictions compel Lelyveld to see beyond his frequently stated liberal anti-communist prejudices. Thus, he writes of the SACP:

> "South African security men tirelessly spread the ancient allegation that the minuscule, antediluvian Communist party which has dutifully followed Moscow's line on Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Afghanistan, dominates Umkhonto we Sizwe ('Spear of the Nation'), the [ANC's] underground's military arm.... If this is so, then the effect for many blacks is not to lower the prestige of Umkhonto we Sizwe but to raise that of the Communist party."

Lelyveld would not be surprised at the appearance of the Soviet red flag with its hammer and sickle at funerals for black militants over the last year. He goes on:

> "The immediate attraction is its supposed extremism—ideology comes later, if at all—because the choice for blacks between 'moderate' and 'radical,' as it is defined by whites in South Africa, is a choice between reaching some accommodation with apartheid and insisting on full citizenship."

In fact the combination of the ANC's call to "make the townships ungovernable," appeals for an international boycott and meetings with leading capitalists like Anglo American's Gavin Relly, are all part of a program in which militancy is employed in the service of pressuring apartheid capitalism to reform itself and, ultimately, finding accommodation with it.

"South Africa could be worse than Belgium and Northern Ireland and Lebanon all rolled into one," an Afrikaner law professor told Lelyveld, "underscoring with a curious combination of pride and alarm the possibilities of racial and ethnic strife." *Move Your Shadow* anatomizes the social divisions fostered by apartheid that could produce such a disaster. Apartheid, pyramid-like, not only keeps white over coloured (mixed-race) over Indian over black, but maintains a complex hierarchy among the blacks. A fortunate few may own homes in segregated areas within "white" South Africa. The KwaNdebele "commuters," less fortunate, are still better off than the migrant workers, who are in turn better off than those who can only starve in the bantustans or seek work illegally.

Talking with a young man cast to the bottom of this pyramid, Lelyveld finds him blaming the blacks who have jobs for his plight. Lelyveld describes also the grotesque little black tribal despotisms that police the bantustans for apartheid. When rural blacks are to be forcibly moved from land they have cultivated for decades to the bare *veld* in a bantustan, workers from a distant tribe are employed to do it. In the tribal violence of recent months we have seen the success of apartheid divide-and-rule tactics in inflaming divisions.

"South Africa Awaits Its Lenin"

Workers Vanguard has, uniquely on the left, warned that so long as the national principle predominates, there is a danger of a multi-sided communal-race war in which blacks would today be overwhelmingly the victims. The black nationalists cannot overcome the divisions fostered by apartheid—witness the confrontations between the largely Xhosa United Democratic Front and Gatsha Buthelezi's Zulu *impis*, and between black township youth and migrant workers this past year. But with its six-million-strong black working class as the motor force for proletarian revolution, the class principle can prevail in South Africa.

The biggest weakness of Lelyveld's book, a direct result of his liberal politics, is his denial of the significance of the black workers movement. He measures the distance between white and black, but he does not show the utter dependence of "white South Africa" on black labor. His discussion of the black trade unions falls in the chapter, "Controlled Strength," where he describes the roundups, the hideous torture of union militants, the tremendous courage of those who persist in the face of inhuman cruelty.

Lelyveld is markedly defeatist about the black unions, commenting on the "touching but basically dizzy sense of invincibility," the "atmosphere of a revival" in the union headquarters, raising an eyebrow when told "that the power of the new black unions would ultimately put an end to the pass laws, the migrant labor system, and the Group Areas Act." "On subsequent trips to East London and Port Elizabeth," he writes, "I saw how hope was systematically cut down to size, how the reality of white power in South Africa gradually made itself felt."

But there is a reason for the tremendous energy and hope unleashed with the explosion of black unionism—organized as *workers*, black militants had touched on the source of power, the motor force of social revolution. The black unions today are no longer just "green branches...regularly pruned," as Lelyveld writes. As organized workers stand up for their rights against the apartheid bosses, the whole range of apartheid practices is thrown into flux. A small but interesting example is the fate of *Fanagalo*, the artificial language of apartheid command. With black miners now organized in a powerful union, the bosses can no longer simply tell superexploited migrant workers what to do. As contracts are thrashed out, as the miners raise their demands, *Fanagalo* is proving to be increasingly obsolete.

With hundreds of thousands of members, organized now in every important industry of this heavily industrial country, the black unions have the power to bring the country to a standstill. The power, but not the program. Lelyveld notes that the ANC in "nearly a quarter century of exile has failed to produce a South African *What Is To Be Done?*" Or, as *Newsweek* correspondent Ray Wilkinson put it last September, for which he was expelled from the country, "Their revolution awaits its Lenin." As we have insisted:

> "The black proletariat is still being used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. A Bolshevik party must be built to lead a victorious struggle for 'amandla,' *power*, for the oppressed, through workers revolution."
>
> —"South Africa: Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985

What is lacking in South Africa today is revolutionary leadership at the head of the burgeoning black workers movement. In the course of his book, Lelyveld makes several allusions to the history and literature of 19th century Russia. But even more important than historical similarities is the unique legacy left us by the Bolshevik Party that led the workers to power in October 1917. That legacy is embodied in the Trotskyist internationalist program of permanent revolution, which holds that the emancipation of the oppressed nation can only be achieved through the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

A South African Bolshevik party must be centered on the black proletariat, and integrate the vanguard of the coloured and Indian oppressed masses as well as revolutionary whites. A book such as *Move Your Shadow* arouses the determination to smash apartheid; the international Spartacist tendency, inheritor of the lessons of October, has the program to do it. ■

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"Contra Socialists"...

(continued from page 2)

respect those rights. He left no doubt that it was up to workers of the oppressor nations to *prove* their dedication to the principles of liberation, even to the point of allowing the oppressed nations to secede and set up their own state. If the workers of the larger state remained the perpetuators of national oppression after the revolution, the responsibility was theirs for the inevitable reaction against the revolution.

In Nicaragua, THE policy question facing the Sandinistas now is whether to recognize the Indians' right to self-determination, in this case autonomy, i.e., control over their own land and resources. The Sandinistas refuse to do so, as they have since 1979.... Their current "autonomy" plan, unilaterally drawn up by Minister of the Interior Borge's office, in essence denies the right to self-determination. It allows for Indian "control" over the land and resources, but only within the framework of national economic development—dictated out of Managua! Some autonomy! That's why the Indians have withdrawn from negotiations for the present.

In the "Contra Socialists" article, *Workers Vanguard* never states its position on the autonomy issue. Calling Brooklyn Rivera a CIA agent is not an answer, it is diversionary slander. However, in a companion piece in the same issue entitled "Sandinistas and Miskitos," you deny that the Miskitos are a nation and insist that "nationalism" in any case is wrong in this era of imperialist decay. You are wrong on both counts.

First, the Nicaraguan Indians are nations by Leninist criteria. They are an "historically evolved, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological makeup manifested in a common culture." They have survived as small nations through some 500 years of Spanish, English, U.S., and Nicaraguan encroachment.

Workers Vanguard asserts that Nicaraguan Indians are not nations because 100,000 Mestizos (people of Indian and Spanish ancestry) have immigrated to the Atlantic Coast from the Pacific region and are now the majority in the Indians' homelands. By that logic, the Palestinians are no longer a nation because the Jews are now the majority in the Israeli settler state! Or U.S. Indians are no longer nations because they are outnumbered by whites. Indian territory is not economically viable, according to *Workers Vanguard*. But by all accounts, the Indians carry on their traditional economic activity as best they can under pressure of Sandinista relocations and war....

Workers Vanguard's blanket condemnation of nationalism in general is also wrong. There are *democratic* national demands—prime among them the right to self-determination—that must be supported even in this era of capitalist decay. This is because imperialist hegemony is based on the denial of the right to self-determination, just as it was in Lenin's day. That's why he supported this nationalist demand *unconditionally*....

All this serves to illustrate why vanguard organizations must listen to the most oppressed, whose demands for national, racial, and sexual equality strike directly at the ensemble of inequalities which divide all workers and keep the capitalist system intact. Only those can lead who first get in step with the march of the most oppressed toward liberation and wed it to the conscious struggle for socialism.

Workers Vanguard has cleverly made up new words—polyvanguardism and sectoralism—to describe this program. The FSP calls it by its right name: Leninism.

In struggle,
Robert Crisman

WV replies: Reading the letter by FSP spokesman Robert Crisman, you would hardly know that U.S. imperialism is waging a war of counterrevolutionary terror against Nicaragua—or that his organization supports one wing of the contras. *Freedom Socialist* (Summer 1985) hailed Miskito Indian leader Brooklyn Rivera and published an interview with him without a word of criticism. This is what caused us to label the FSP "contra socialists."

You say it is a "diversionary slander" to call Rivera a CIA agent. But as we reported in *WV* No. 396, former contra leader Edgar Chamorro has flatly stated: "Brooklyn Rivera was receiving funds from the CIA." So what does that make you, brother Crisman? A "socialist" left cover for counterrevolution, like Max Shachtman over the Bay of Pigs, when he supplied laborite arguments for the gusanos, those squalid leftovers from Batista's dictatorship. Today you play Shachtman's role for Rivera and his off-and-on ally, former Somoza police agent Steadman Fagoth.

You say that for the Sandinistas, "THE policy question...is whether to recognize the Indians' right to self-determination...." With this focus, it's no wonder you get dragged into the contras' wake. In Nicaragua, *the* question is whether or not a U.S.-dominated capitalist class can reconsolidate its class rule, or whether it will be eliminated by social revolution along with the power of its institutionalized ideological matrix, the Catholic church.

As we pointed out in our article on "Sandinistas and Miskitos," the FSLN's sometime persecution of ethnic minorities is of a piece with its acquiescing to the church hierarchy and siphoning off to the Nicaraguan capitalists much of the vital national resources needed to fight imperialism. These policies are all reflections of a petty-bourgeois nationalist program. At issue in Nicaragua is the question of social revolution. The Sandinistas are equivocal. *You* are on the other side.

The Sandinistas, at least, fight arms in hand and mobilize the masses to fight U.S. imperialism. This is why, to the best of our ability, we raised dollars for the Nicaraguan government to use as it sees fit, while not hiding our very worried criticism of the direction in which Sandinista policy is going. The Spanish Republic at least held out the promise of revolution *after* winning the war (which they lost). In Nicaragua, where so much of the economy was in the hands of a single family, the overthrow of the Somoza dynasty opened the door to social revolution. But rather than committing themselves to complete the revolution, the Sandinistas want to stop short.

Barricada

Miskito guerrillas visit Nicaraguan town under cease-fire agreement with Sandinistas.

As for diversions, consider the smokescreen Crisman throws up over whether the Miskitos are a pre-national tribal people or a full-fledged nation. In *WV* No. 396 and in previous articles we sharply criticized the Sandinistas' nationalist treatment of Indian peoples and English-speaking blacks on the Atlantic Coast, and clearly advocated regional autonomy. The fundamental fact the FSP wants to ignore is that Rivera & Co. *subordinated* themselves to U.S. imperialism.

Being a member of a national minority is not a license for counterrevolution. Looking back in history, does the FSP back the fascistic Ukrainian, Byelorussian or Lithuanian nationalists who fought with Nazi Germany against Stalin's Russia in World War II? Does it retrospectively side with the Georgian Mensheviks or Ukrainian nationalists under Simon Petlyura against the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky?

Imperialism frequently seeks to use minority peoples against what it sees as the main enemy. Sikhs provided the backbone of the British colonial army in India, while Nepalese Gurkhas constituted the elite shock troops. The British organized various Indian tribes against the American colonists in the War of Independence. The Dutch maintained order in their East Indian colony (today Indonesia) with native soldiers recruited specially from the South Molucca islands. The Americans formed a "secret army" of Meo tribesmen in Laos, just as they are doing today with the Miskitos in Nicaragua.

In the abstract, it's as absurd to pretend the Miskito Indians are a nation rather than a tribe as to claim that the 262 American Indian tribes are so many nations seeking self-determination from the United States. But over Nicaragua, this is not just idle sophistry, for the different programs are backed by guns. Rivera calls not just for "aboriginal rights" but for MISURASATA control of the Atlantic Coast, an *anti*-democratic program which would mean a Miskito dictatorship over the black and mestizo town of Bluefields, for example. And given Rivera's CIA ties, it would mean handing over half of Nicaragua's territory to Ronald Reagan as a staging ground for wiping out the Nicaraguan Revolution.

For Bolsheviks, the question of social revolution stands higher than the national question, which is part of the overall democratic program. Lenin favored the right of Poland to secede from the tsarist empire. But at the height of the imperialist First World War, he wrote:

> "To raise the question of Poland's independence *today*, with the *existing* alignment of the *neighbouring* imperialist powers, is really to...plunge into narrow-minded nationalism and forget the necessary premise of an all-European or at least a Russian and a German revolution."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" (July 1916)

One of the most succinct presentations of the Leninist position on the national question concerned the Ukraine in late 1917, when the Central Rada, dominated by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist parties, suppressed the Kiev soviet and arrested its Bolshevik leaders. The Soviet government sent an ultimatum, authored by Lenin, to the Rada which simultaneously 1) recognized the independence of the Ukrainian People's Republic, 2) refused to recognize the Rada as its government, and 3) gave it 48 hours to stop aiding the White Guard counterrevolutionaries.

Self-determination for the Miskitos? Doesn't the FSP care if the Miskitos are fighting for soviet power or Yankee power? In fighting for soviet power, we are fighting for workers democracy, not a nationally delimited, bureaucratically deformed regime—i.e., another Cuba. A proletarian internationalist regime in Managua would offer regional autonomy for the Atlantic Coast population, just as the Bolsheviks did for numerous tribal peoples in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Such a policy might well have prevented any significant number of Miskitos from going over to the contra camp. But as long as various Miskito forces take up arms on behalf of U.S. imperialism, they must be militarily smashed or otherwise induced to lay down their arms. ■

Ed Meese Unionism...

(continued from page 3)

former Communist Party comrades to scabherd in the name of the "anti-fascist coalition." In 1984, as he worked hand in glove with Stalinist supporters like Leo Robinson in sabotaging an SF dockers' boycott of a South African ship, Keylor hailed the ILWU's 1939 boycott of scrap iron to Japan as a model (see "Battle Over Union Action at South Africa Ship," *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984). Yet this was simply a part of Roosevelt's imperialist sanctions, to strangle Japan economically in order to force it to go to war! It led straight to the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. If that boycott was so great, how about calling on the workers to boycott *American* imperialism which was embarking on a global expansion?!

Today, Reagan & Co. are trying to frame everyone from the Sandinistas to union militants on charges of terrorism and drugs. Yet it's precisely the U.S. spy agencies, working hand in glove with the Afghan mujaheddin and Nicaraguan contras, who are up to their necks in drugs-for-guns trafficking. Keylor's drug program is class collaboration masquerading as concern for "safety." Consider what it would mean in practice. Suppose his union narcs nab someone smoking a joint, what then? Dock their pay? Is the union supposed to supply straitjackets to force members to go "cold turkey"? Howard Keylor is a canting hypocrite and a renegade, and the bosses have uses for such types. In his desperate efforts to secure a niche in the ILWU bureaucracy Keylor is offering himself up as an anti-drug narc and an anti-red narc, to keep the union in the straitjacket of reformist politics. ■

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Berlin Disco...

(continued from page 1)

trumpeted as the marching song on the road to World War III against the Soviet Union, whatever the White House says is printed as truth, unless proved otherwise. Among the few media in America not buying the White House story whole hog is the black press, which is none too pleased by the Reaganauts' bloody assault on a North African country. "Libya Bombing Gets No Cheers," headlined the front page of the *Amsterdam News* (19 April), noting that while Reagan asserted that "Libya was responsible for the nightclub bombing and the Trans World Airline bombing...the President presented no evidence to support his allegations."

By now the American public is used to White House spokesman Larry Speakes' Newspeak and all the verbal contortions surrounding the "overt/covert" war against Nicaragua, where Congress openly discusses how much funding to give the "secret" CIA-financed contra war. Now we are told that the U.S.' "incontrovertible evidence" of Libyan involvement is "too sensitive to discuss." Whereupon Reagan gets on the tube with the story of intercepted cables and broken codes supposedly proving that "orders...sent from Tripoli to the Libyan People's Bureau in East Berlin" directed the Berlin bombing. If there really were secrets they're trying to protect, this procedure is guaranteed to blow anything or anybody's cover. When Qaddafi was asked about the "secret message," he just laughed, saying, "We defy them, we challenge them, to publish it."

Both Libya and East Germany have explicitly denied the U.S. charges. On April 9, UPI reported from Tripoli that "Khadafy said he was not responsible for the TWA and West Berlin attacks, and he challenged the Reagan administration to prove its claims. 'This is an old story,' he said. 'The world has not heard any evidence or any proof about this old story. It is only an excuse for aggression against an independent state'." On April 10, the East German foreign ministry issued a statement expressing disgust and indignation over the bombing, calling it a "criminal act" which they had nothing to do with. Again after the U.S. terrorist assault on Libya, AP (17 April) reported, "East Germany denied today that the Libyan Embassy in East Berlin had orchestrated the April 5 bombing of a West Berlin discothèque."

And Washington keeps changing its story. The first version was the one about the "communiqué" which U.S. intelligence said they "intercepted from Colonel Qaddafi to his envoys in East Berlin congratulating them on a job well done." This was floated for a few days, then they withdrew it and subsequently officials "flatly denied" all knowledge of it. As political/intelligence analyst Leslie Gelb wrote of the daily shifting accounts: "Officials' assertions that the evidence is 'strong but inconclusive,' or that it is 'incontrovertible' tend to be tied to their policy stances. For example, several who say the evidence is definitive seem to favor a strong military response" (*New York Times*, 12 April). Such blatant "news management" led Robert MacNeil on the MacNeil-Lehrer TV news show to comment on the "nearly universal skepticism" concerning the Reaganites' story. As for the West German government, they continued to label the "evidence" of a Libyan link "not completely clear"—until the U.S. attack, whereupon Helmut Kohl declared it fact.

"Signature of the Nazis"

Nine days after the West Berlin incident, the *New York Times* (14 April) ran a story belatedly reporting that the American soldier was black, and that there was something strange about the disco bombing:

> "But one of the mysteries of La Belle is why Colonel Qaddafi would approve an assault on a disco patronized heavily by black G.I.s and foreigners from third world nations.
> "One of the dead in the blast was a 21-year-old black soldier, Sgt. Kenneth Terrance Ford, and the other was a 28-year-old Turkish woman, Nermin Haney; among the 230 wounded were a number of Arabs. A curious mixture of victims for an Islamic revolutionary and professed defender of the downtrodden."

Curious, indeed. Particularly in view of the fact that several groups had taken "credit" for the bombing, including supposed leftists and an Arab group, but "none with known ties to Libya," according to the 6 April *Washington Post*. What has not been reported here is that one of the groups claiming to be the authors of the indiscriminate terror at the La Belle disco was a fascist organization.

On April 6 *Die Wahrheit*, newspaper of the West Berlin section of the East German Communist Party, wrote of the bomb investigation that "the right-radical spectrum is no longer being excluded," particularly given the claim from the "Wehrsportgruppe Hess," or "Hess Defense Sport Group." Rudolf Hess, a leading Hitler deputy, imprisoned for life in Berlin's Spandau jail, has been the object of repeated fascist campaigns for his release. One of the leading fascist terror groups in West Germany was the notorious Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann, since banned. Is the "Wehrsportgruppe Hess" the old Hoffmann gang in new guise?

On April 7, *Die Wahrheit* wrote that La Belle was "known as a meeting place for foreign citizens," raising speculation concerning right-wing elements and "certain tendencies hostile to foreigners, which even extend to the head of the [Berlin] Senate." The article reported that "slogans calling for the persecution of foreigners" were found scrawled nearby the disco, reinforcing the view that the bombing could be the work of fascists. Exactly one week before, on March 29, a powerful bomb exploded in Berlin at a meeting of the local German-Arab Friendship Association, in the Turkish district of Kreuzberg, injuring seven people.

AP Jet

La Belle disco was popular among black GIs, a fact hushed up in American press. Kenneth Ford's mother holds photo of son killed in bomb blast.

And on April 8, *Unsere Zeit*, newspaper of the West German Communist Party, published a commentary titled, "The Signature of the Nazis," noting that the disco bombing looked more like the work of the fascist perpetrators of the Bologna railway station bombing that killed 80 people in 1980 or the Oktoberfest bombing of the Munich beer festival by neo-Nazis that same year.

As we go to press we learn that these reports have finally broken through the wall of silence. An article by Norman Birnbaum in *Der Spiegel* (21 April) reports:

> "The 'proofs' of Qaddafi's responsibility for the Berlin disco explosion have reportedly convinced everyone—except for the West Berlin State Security.
> "These officials deserve respect. In a city where the word 'protecting power' causes so many to snap to attention, it takes courage to so directly contradict an American president.
> "The more is said about Qaddafi's guilt, the more I recall the former CIA official who commented on every revelation by our government on Central America with professional disdain: 'I personally produced much better fabrications.'
> "Because the disco was a friendly atmosphere for black Americans and Turks, it is not unthinkable that Berlin neo-Nazis were at work here."

The West Berlin police are evidently not pursuing this line of inquiry. This is hardly surprising. Consider the recent scandal surrounding the forced resignation of West Berlin's interior minister and deputy mayor, Heinrich Lummer. According to *Der Spiegel* (7 April), Lummer funneled several thousand German marks in Christian Democratic Party funds to a fascist outfit. Lummer has also been implicated in supplying arms to the fascistic Lebanese Phalange and was a bosom buddy of Bashir Gemayel, whose assassination was the pretext for the Phalangists' mass slaughter at the Sahra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps. Now West Berlin police have announced the arrest of a "stateless Palestinian," probably from one of the camps, on "suspicion of involvement" in the disco bombing; the alleged connection was not specified.

Reagan-Hitler: Lying Provocation

Speaking in the United Nations Security Council April 18, the Libyan ambassador, Dr. Ali Treiki, accused the U.S. of pursuing "a campaign of aggression and provocation":

> "What is the problem that exists between the United States and Libya? It is the same problem that exists between the United States and all small peoples, beginning with Nicaragua and Grenada and extending to Viet Nam, to Angola, to Ethiopia, to the Palestinian people and to the people of Namibia. The United States has fallen prey to the arrogance and madness of power, and it wants to become the world's policeman. Any party that does not agree to become a vassal and agent of the United States is an outlaw, a terrorist, a communist and a devil."

Treiki said the U.S. had "attempted to forge documents, which were subsequently proven to be fabrications," and recalled "the famous 'Ems cable,' fabricated by Bismarck when he wished to carry out aggression against France."

Bismarck's forged cable totally distorting a report from the French ambassador was the pretext for the 1870 Franco-Prussian War. In September 1939, the Nazis had recourse to the same method of lying provocation. They dressed German concentration camp inmates in Polish uniforms, trucked them up to the frontier and then shot them, claiming "self-defense" against a Polish attack on Danzig. As William Stevenson wrote in *A Man Called Intrepid—The Secret War*, Hitler's "ruse" worked:

> "The New York *Times* reported that regular Polish Army troops took part in an attack on German positions and that this was the signal for a general offensive by Polish forces. The lie confused the British—bound by treaty to help Poland if she was attacked first—long enough to make intervention too late."

And, of course, there was the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident in which the U.S. falsely claimed they were fired on by the North Vietnamese: this Big Lie was used to provide the "legal" basis for the entire Vietnam War.

We ask, *cui bono*—who benefits? The La Belle bombing is oh-so-convenient for the Americans. In Reagan's attack on Libya in March, high U.S. officials admitted the whole purpose of the Sixth Fleet's move into the Gulf of Sidra was a provocation against Qaddafi: "If he sticks his head up we'll clobber him. We're looking for an excuse." There is no reason to believe this is any different.

The U.S. is now on war footing, and the imperialist press has been conscripted: it is no accident that the *New York Times* has been sounding like Hitler's *Völkischer Beobachter* these days. As columnist Alexander Cockburn said in a speech on American news coverage at the New School for Social Research:

> "The basic technique of the Reagan administration has been to endlessly reiterate falsity. The president says black is the same as white. The press will initially worry about this and say, well, most people seem to agree that black isn't the same as white. Eminent academics are consulted; they say, no, there are definite distinct differences between black and white.
> "Now Reagan keeps at it—that is his genius, and his tremendous, and in a way reasonable, contempt of the media and of their senility.... He says no, black is unquestionably the same as white, there's a report from the Heritage Foundation to prove it. Then the media begin to fear that they might be excessively critical of the president, and they say, well, black is the same as grey, after all, when you look at it, to a degree, and grey possibly bears some identity to white, and therefore you can see that, in a characteristic leap, a conflation of these stages, it is true that black is the same as white, as the president says."
> —WBAI, 6 March

That was before the bombing of Libya. Today when The President says the evidence is "irrefutable," they don't have to see it to believe it. Reagan said it, they all read it. Did the fascists bomb La Belle discothèque? We don't know, but Reagan's story stinks. ■

Spartacist Forum

Labor Needs Revolutionary Leadership to Win!

Union-Busting and Government Terror in Reagan's America

Speakers:

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Gene Herson, member, National Maritime Union

Striking TWA flight attendant

Friday, May 2, 7:30 p.m.
Borough of Manhattan Community College, Room N402
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

WV Photos

—Down, Down Reagan!—

A team of journalists from the International Spartacist tendency went to Tripoli in late March as Reagan attacked in the Gulf of Sidra. Sixteen years ago the British colonialists were booted out of their military bases in Libya, followed by dismantling of American bases. Now Libyan masses are demonstrating against U.S. imperialist aggression.

Reagan's Terrorism...

(continued from page 1)

condemned Reagan's attack on Libya. "I don't think Peter will be the only one that will be sacrificed," said his sister-in-law.

U.S. imperialism's West European allies felt compelled to distance themselves from this blatant state-sponsored terrorism. Mass protests hit the streets in London, Athens and Madrid; demonstrators battled cops in Germany: it was an atmosphere not seen since the Vietnam War. In Italy, dozens of factories were shut down by work stoppages to discuss the attack. In Afghanistan and Nicaragua, both under Reagan's guns, tens of thousands rallied in defiance of U.S. imperialism. In Managua, elementary school children rallied for peace outside embassies while factory workers marched with placards protesting U.S. intervention in Central America and the bombing of Libya. The pro-Sandinista newspaper *Nuevo Diario* wrote: "Yesterday it was Grenada, today Libya and tomorrow Nicaragua."

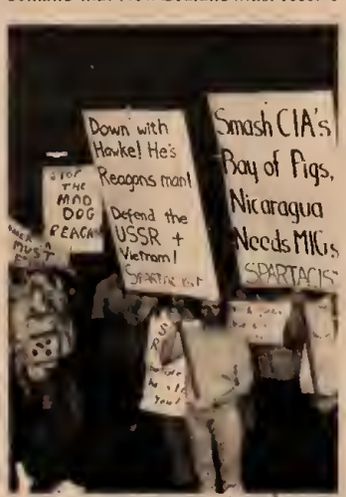
Reagan explicitly linked Libya to Nicaragua in his global counterrevolutionary plans, using the Tripoli bombing to try to push through arms aid for the CIA's anti-Sandinista contra terrorists. "If necessary, we will do it again," said the president. And in the future, they won't bother with pretexts—they'll undertake "preemptive strikes" against "terrorism," meaning anyone on the White House list of "outlaw states" is at risk. Their ultimate target, of course, is the Soviet Union. In the classic style of Cold War brinkmanship, they think they can terrorize the Russians into abject capitulation. The Libyan strikes will embolden the imperialists in their anti-Soviet war drive, aimed at "rolling back" the 1917 October Revolution and restoring unhindered capitalist domination of the world.

As a team of journalists from the international Spartacist tendency which visited Tripoli in March, during Reagan's earlier attack, stated in a declaration to the press:

> "We have come to Libya whilst the U.S. imperialist 6th Fleet was threatening to repeat its criminal aggression against the Libyan state, in order to reassert concretely with our presence here the iSt's deep respect and support for the just cause of Libyan independence and territorial integrity against assault by U.S. imperialist aggression.
>
> "The terrorist actions of the U.S. imperialists against Libya are part and parcel of the war preparations of the USA and NATO powers against the Soviet Union, Nicaragua, Cuba, Afghanistan, Poland, and any other country that is perceived as an obstacle to imperialist domination."

Cops of the World

Increasingly, the president of the United States has been proclaiming a sort of "super-sovereignty" that smacks of the Roman Empire. Following the seizure last fall of the Achille Lauro cruise ship by Palestinian hijackers, Reagan declared, "You can run but you can't hide." To prove it, he ordered F-14 fighter jets to skyjack an Egyptian airliner carrying the hijackers, forcing it to land at a NATO base in Sicily, and then tried to kidnap them to the U.S. This was only stopped by a guns-drawn standoff between Italian soldiers and the Americans' Delta Force "anti-terrorist" hit squad. (This imperial attitude was also displayed in the U.S.' demand that New Zealand *must* receive its nuclear ships.) Reagan and the rest of the American ruling class desperately want to regain the imperialist hegemony they lost in the Vietnam War. They think they are still the cops of the world.



Australasian Spartacist

Sydney, Australia: Spartacists denounce Reagan's terror bombing of Libya.

Reagan's bombing was welcomed most enthusiastically by the Israelis. One Jerusalem "terrorism expert" boasted that the air strikes against Tripoli and Benghazi are "the kind of method which until now has been identified exclusively as the 'Israeli method'" (*Washington Post*, 17 April). These "Israeli methods"—modeled on Adolf Hitler's policy of *Schrecklichkeit* or terrorizing the populace—are as American as the murderous proposition that "the only good one is a dead one." Reagan is rightly bracketed with mass murderers like General Sharon, the architect of the Sabra and Shatila massacre of defenseless Palestinian refugees. The Israeli air strike on a Palestinian camp in Tunisia last year that left over a hundred men, women and children dead, was a virtual trial run for the Americans' Tripoli raid.

In recent articles, columnist Alexander Cockburn has pointed out that compared to 282 Israelis killed by Palestinian violence between 1967 and 1982, some 20,000 Palestinians were killed in Lebanon during Israel's 1982 invasion. And while Amnesty International has documented 14 known cases of political killings or attempted killings by Libyan "hit teams," U.S.-armed, trained and funded armies and death squads have killed more than 100,000 Central Americans in the last decade. Even Zionist state terror pales before the nuclear-armed terrorist in the White House.

While the Israelis applauded and Reagan got Thatcher's permission to use his British-based F-111 bombers, the terror raid was disowned by most West European governments. One paper described it as the biggest split in NATO since Vietnam. France in particular earned the Pentagon's ire by refusing to allow the U.S. bombers to cross their airspace en route to Libya, forcing them to fly an extra 1,200 miles in each direction. Was the bombing of the French embassy in Tripoli the Americans' reply? (No overflight? Take that!) But the difference between Reagan and the European bourgeoisies (and their social democratic lackeys) is essentially tactical—having far more to do with geographic proximity to Libya (and dependence on Libyan oil) than anything else. Mitterrand is no stranger to state terrorism, as his lethal operation against Greenpeace in New Zealand and his dispatching of troops to Chad and New Caledonia show.

The U.S. attacks on Libya were planned nine months ago, long before the bombing of the West Berlin disco or the Rome/Vienna airport massacre, which provided the excuse. As the London *Sunday Times* (30 March) revealed, the Reaganites wanted to pick on somebody to restore U.S. imperialist prestige on the cheap and send a message to the Soviet Union:

> "At a White House meeting of the national security planning group in July [1985] there was general agreement that a target must be chosen ... Libya was the soft option with Gadaffi able to count only on words to support his leadership. The Arab world and the Soviet bloc would not back him with muscle ..
>
> "In December [1985], at Bolling airbase outside Washington, a special conference attended by mainstream policy-makers from the White House, Pentagon, State Department and intelligence services agreed [on] a broad outline for action."

So Qaddafi, a military client of the Soviet Union and small-time Arab nationalist strongman whose own terrorism has never been shown to touch anybody abroad except Libyan dissidents, was chosen to take the rap for all the world's terrorist incidents. The mad bombers in Washington not only picked their target, they laid out a precise schedule, and the computer tape is still running...

Reagan's Murder, Inc.

At first Reagan tried to pretend that the bombing raid on Libya was an act of "self-defense" (!), supposedly, in Mafia language, to provide Libyan colonel Qaddafi with "incentives and reasons to alter his criminal behavior." The world was supposed to take Reagan's word that Qaddafi was responsible for the indefensible terror bombing of a discothèque in West Berlin (see "Who Bombed Berlin Disco?" in this issue). But for Reagan this was just the excuse he wanted to strike again at Libya.

In fact, the Reagan administration has a *policy of assassination*, and is openly bragging about it. "U.S. Tried to Kill Khadafy" headlined the reactionary *New York Post* (18 April). Film footage played on American TV showed they had Qaddafi's tent in their cross hairs. The National Security Council had even drafted a statement describing Qaddafi's death as "fortuitous"; another administration official said it would be "serendipity," and War Secretary Weinberger was quoted by the *New York Post* as saying that Qaddafi had "forfeited his right to occupy space on the planet." The Libyan leader is labeled a "mad dog"—and we all know what you're supposed to do to a mad dog: shoot it. Last time they put dump trucks in front of the White House, Stinger missiles across the street, even plastic snakes in the trees to ward off bomb-carrying pigeons—all because of a mythical Libyan plot to kill Reagan. But it's the Libyan "White House" that was bombarded, not the one in Washington, D.C.

It was a small-scale practice run for Reagan's nuclear first-strike plans against the Soviet Union, which call for "decapitating" the Kremlin in the first few minutes of World War III. Presidential spokesman Larry Speakes declared in his announcement of the raid on Libya that the U.S. struck at "command and control systems, intelli-

gence, communications," or "C³I" in Pentagonese. This "decapitation" policy was laid out in Jimmy Carter's Presidential Directive 59 in 1980. Of course, murdering foreign leaders is ostensibly prohibited by federal law. But this legal wrinkle will be ironed out by a bill introduced by Senator Jeremiah Denton, to "permit the President to order the assassination of a foreign head of state under some circumstances" (*New York Times*, 18 April).

The Pentagon warmakers think that their laser-guided "smart" bombs will give them the pinpoint accuracy to accomplish this ultimate terrorist strike. And the main lesson they have drawn from the bombing of Tripoli was that high tech works. *Time* (28 April) called the raids "A Lethal Video Game." But Operation El Dorado Canyon was something less than the "flawless success" claimed by Weinberger and Reagan. Fully one-third of the F-111 bombers had to abort their missions because of mechanical failure, and their targeting can't have been too good unless they really intended to "take out" a chicken farm two miles away from a Libyan air base, killing 300 chickens! This, and the explosion on launching of the U.S.' last two Titan missiles and the Challenger space shuttle, does not augur well for Reagan's "Star Wars" plans.

In the fevered war atmosphere being whipped up by Washington, we will no doubt soon see a new game in the video arcades—"Kill Qaddafi"—using the actual tapes from the Tripoli bombing run. Three direct hits on Qaddafi's tent and you get a free game, plus a visit from your Air Force recruiter. But World War III won't be a video game in which white middle-class America escapes without casualties.

Democrats Salute Their Commander in Chief

Predictably, the Libya raid received bipartisan support from Democratic "doves," who are no less anti-Soviet than their Republican colleagues, and eager to show it. When news of the bombing reached Democratic Party leaders at a New York fund-raiser, they instantly snapped to attention. "I think all Americans would stand with the commander in chief at this moment," said Senator Ted Kennedy, while House leader Tip O'Neill lambasted the lily-livered Allies in Europe. The *New York Times* poked holes in some of the sillier lies—pointing out, for instance, that the bomb damage in civilian areas of Tripoli could not have been caused by Soviet-made antiaircraft missiles falling back to earth. But the *Times* (15 April) editorial, "The Terrorist and His Sentence," concluded they could only "approve and applaud" Reagan's assassination attempt.

Initially, Americans seemed mostly to be buying Reagan's line. Indeed, 77 percent of Americans surveyed supported the raid on Libya, though barely half

Newsday

Photo distributed in Libya shows Qaddafi with baby daughter Hana, murdered by Reagan.

AP Photos

In Reagan's bombsights: White House assassins aim to kill Qaddafi and family, murdering infant daughter and badly injuring young sons.

the black population did. But the reactionary triumphalist mood is brittle. When Reagan moves to send "American boys" to die on foreign soil, he will find the "Vietnam syndrome" very much alive and still in his way. It's one thing for U.S. bombers to rain down death on Libya with virtual impunity. But to take and hold Nicaragua would cost many thousands of American lives.

The working class must stand militarily with Libya against the aggressions of U.S. imperialism. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian October Revolution, wrote during the 1930s when European social democrats refused to defend colonial Ethiopia even against the Italian fascist Mussolini, on grounds that Ethiopia was led by a repulsive monarchical dictatorship:

> "If Mussolini triumphs, it means the reinforcement of fascism, the strengthening of imperialism, and the discouragement of the colonial peoples in Africa and elsewhere. The victory of [Ethiopia], however, would mean a mighty blow not only at Italian imperialism but at imperialism as a whole, and would lend a powerful impulsion to the rebellious forces of the oppressed peoples. One must really be completely blind not to see this."
>
> —"On Dictators and the Heights of Oslo" (April 1936)

The fake-left believed that Reagan "spoke loudly and carried a small stick" because their stock-in-trade is peddling illusions that the Democratic Party could be pressured to restrain Reagan. The knee-jerk response by the Democrats and the liberal press in lining up with Reagan over Libya gives the lie to this. The Democrats hate Qaddafi because, like Reagan, they link him with Russia. And when it comes to bombing babies and other innocent civilians, the Democrats will go with their big brother in the White House, whether it's in Tripoli, Managua or Philadelphia.

Defend the Soviet Union!

Within two days of the terror raids on Libya, Washington was blaming it all on the Russians. "We urged the Soviets and East Germans to restrain the Libyans," State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb said. "Had they done so, this entire cycle of events would have been avoided." Indeed, even before the U.S. Sixth Fleet sailed last month toward the Gulf of Sidra, its ships had been engaged in a brazen provocation within Soviet territorial waters outside its major Black Sea naval installation at Sevastopol. The Soviets would have been entirely within their rights to have blown those Navy warships out of the water. Recognizing that this could mean world war, the Soviets said, "we showed patience and restraint"—"this time."

Reformists like the U.S. Communist Party don't defend the Soviet Union because with their inveterate tailing after the liberal Democrats they are beholden to the American capitalists. Blinded by illusions in détente, the CP's initial response to the KAL 007 spy plane affair was to deny that the Russians shot it down—they couldn't believe that the Soviets would defend their borders against a provocation which they had every right to believe was a military incursion. And only recently CP head Gus Hall astounded Gorbachev by suggesting that he had a duty to come to a summit in the U.S., no matter what (*Daily World*, 12 March). That just happens to be *Reagan's* line! The American CP's reaction is a capitulation to the anti-Soviet climate of Reagan's America.

The Stalinist rulers in Moscow are no less wedded to the illusions of "peaceful coexistence," the direct consequence of their treacherous program of "socialism in one country" rather than international proletarian revolution. Even as the Soviets were breaking off a planning meeting for the summit in the wake of the Libya bombing, Gorbachev was unveiling a new initiative for reducing conventional arms. But the NATO imperialists are only interested in disarming the Russians. For them, Reaganite rhetoric aside, "détente" served to hold back the Soviet missile program while the U.S. rebuilt its nuclear arsenal which had deteriorated under the impact of the Vietnam War. For the Kremlin bureaucrats to be bargaining with the Americans over the disarmament of the Soviet Union is a betrayal of the October Revolution.

In his July 1932 "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam," Leon Trotsky trenchantly exposed the fraud of "disarmament":

> "Without the slightest confidence in the capitalist programs for disarmament or arms limitation, the revolutionary proletariat asks one single question: *In whose hands are the weapons?* Any weapon in the hands of the imperialists is a weapon directed against the working class, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. Weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of ridding our planet of oppression and war."

The imperialist war drive can only be answered by revolutionary class struggle. The working people of America, united with their class brothers around the world, must rise to their historic mission and disarm the bloody imperialists by smashing capitalist class rule and establishing the revolutionary regime of workers power. ■

Hands Off Libya...

(continued from page 12)

"Rambo's daughter," as the *Guardian* (17 April) put it, sees herself as "a fellow crusader against evil empires of any kind."

In this situation the Labour Party and the pseudo-revolutionary left have done all they can to deflect any challenge to the Tory government and British imperialism. Labour leader Neil Kinnock, who *supported* the bloody Falklands/Malvinas adventure, counterposes to Reagan/Thatcher's bloodthirsty provocations an alternative imperialist policy of isolating Libya until "the pressure of commercial, economic, financial, diplomatic and political sanctions squeezed the life out of the Gaddafi regime" (*Times*, 17 April). What NATO loyalists like Kinnock and the Social Democratic Party are concerned about is that this latest action will exacerbate opposition to the Atlantic alliance and the presence of U.S. bases here. A columnist in the pro-Atlanticist *Guardian* (14 April) on the eve of the attack expressed open concern that "Rambo Reagan has achieved the impossible: he has made getting rid of the bases look not only conceivable but perhaps desirable."

Meanwhile the fake-revolutionaries, tailing after Labour "lefts" like Tony Benn, push anti-Americanism while providing a "left" cover for the anti-Soviet war drive which is the motive for the terror-bombing of Tripoli. The call for today's rally was the social-patriotic slogan, "Protect Britain and World Peace." These "Little England" nationalists focus on *American* imperialism, parodying Liebknecht's stirring internationalist appeal from World War I by turning it into the slogan, "The main enemy is abroad!" At today's demonstration, Tony Cliff's anti-Soviet Socialist Workers Party even initiated the burning of an American flag—but, conspicuously, you didn't see the Cliffites igniting a Union Jack.

And the Banda/Slaughter WRP flatly refused to join us in chants of "Defend the Soviet Union!" at various demonstrations, with the bogus argument that the Soviet Union has done nothing to defend Libya! Funny, those looked like Tupolev transports and Soviet SAMs the U.S. was targetting. Far from unconditionally defending the USSR in the face of an imperialist attack which even the bourgeois press recognizes is aimed at the homeland of the October Revolution, these fake-Trotskyists are looking for a "Third Camp" position. They join with the Labour-loyal fake-left—from the CP Stalinists to the centrist Workers Power—in focusing on the demand for U.S. bases out of Britain.

Ronald Reagan, with the avid assistance of Margaret Thatcher, is tugging the trip wires for thermonuclear World War III. In the midst of this war danger, there is real interest in a revolutionary-internationalist alternative to the popular front pacifist nationalism supplied by the fake-left. Spartacist comrades sold more than 150 papers on the Tuesday evening demonstration, almost 600 more today. Many were eager to read our eyewitness report from Tripoli, "Under Reagan's Guns in Libya," in the current issue of *Workers Hammer*, and scores of *Workers Vanguards* were sold to those who wanted to read the paper of the American Trotskyists who defend Libya and the Soviet Union against imperialism. We say: "Reagan/Thatcher Hands Off Libya! Defend the Soviet Union! The Main Enemy Is at Home!" ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

MOVE Survivor Puts State on Trial

Free Ramona Africa!

"Free Ramona Africa—Put the murderers in jail!" chanted 150 protesters before a Philadelphia city hall courtroom on April 14. But that was not to be in Reagan's America. Ramona Africa is the sole adult survivor of the Philly cop firebombing of the black MOVE commune. In an hour-long statement read before her sentencing she told the packed courtroom: "I'm here simply because I'm a MOVE member and I survived" one of the most grotesque racist crimes in this deeply racist country. In her powerful indictment of state murder Ramona stated she was "tried, convicted and sentenced on May 13."

On that date one year ago, in a terrorist conspiracy that ran from the Reagan White House to the Philadelphia city hall of black Democrat mayor Wilson Goode, police dropped a bomb burning alive eleven black MOVE members including five children and burning down 61 homes in the black neighborhood. Because they could not burn to death this courageous 30-year-old black woman last May 13, the authorities robbed her of freedom from that day, first holding her on $2 million bail, then framing her up on "riot" charges. On April 14, Judge Michael R. Stiles put Ramona behind bars for up to seven years.

Shortly after the Philadelphia judge pronounced sentence, a U.S. terror strike bombed babies, homes and embassies in Libya. As two score prison guards and cops led Ramona from the courtroom, proud and unbowed, she shouted to her supporters: "You all didn't expect anything? Down with this rotten system!" Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners! American workers revolution will avenge MOVE martyrs!

Gralish/Philadelphia Inquirer

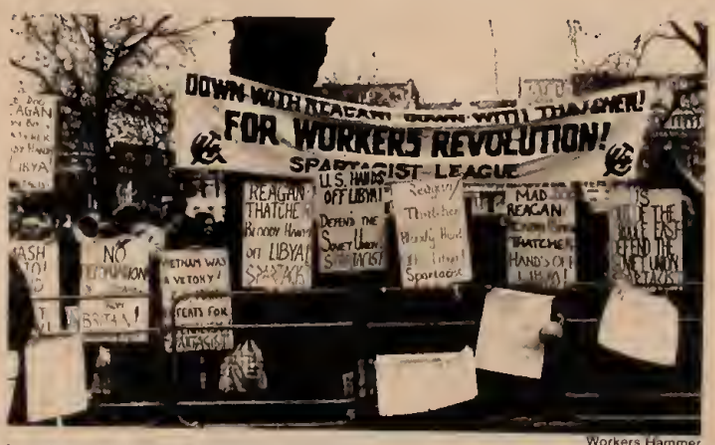
Ramona defiant after sentencing in racist Philly court, April 14.

British Trotskyists Say: The Main Enemy Is at Home!

"Reagan/Thatcher Bloody Hands Off Libya!"

LONDON, April 19—More than 10,000 people converged on the American embassy here today in protest against the barbarous bombing raid over Libya, joining tens of thousands of other demonstrators in the rest of Britain and throughout Western Europe. The Anglo-American terror-bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi has unleashed a wave of opposition and outrage throughout Britain, in distinct contrast to the muted response here to last month's U.S. provocation in the Gulf of Sidra by the Sixth Fleet. Only hours after news of the attack broke, several thousand demonstrators came out onto the streets, many of them headed straight for Thatcher's official residence at Downing Street. Hostility to the already deeply despised Tory (Conservative) government of Margaret Thatcher is visible, vociferous and rising. There are even serious divisions in her own party and throughout ruling circles.

The Spartacist League of Britain has thrown its forces into these demonstrations, hammering home the connection between Reagan/Thatcher's criminal assault on the Libyan people and the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive. While most of the left has either taken a dive on defence of Libya or sought to amnesty their "own" bourgeoisie through pushing social-patriotic anti-Americanism, the SL has fought for effective united-front action in defence of Libya. Our central banner in today's demonstration read, "Reagan/Thatcher Bloody Hands Off Libya! Defend the Soviet Union!"



Workers Hammer

London, April 15: After protest outside U.S. embassy (above), Spartacist League of Britain led marchers to Downing Street behind banner reading "Down with Reagan! Down with Thatcher! For Workers Revolution!"

On the evening of April 15, immediately after the attack, an SL contingent joined a protest called by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament outside the U.S. embassy in Grosvenor Square. Our chant "Reagan, Thatcher, hands off Libya!" was picked up by many of the several hundred demonstrators there, which included a contingent from the Banda/Slaughter Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), as well as supporters of the pro-Moscow opposition within the Communist Party, the Communist Campaign Group. But both the Stalinists, who shortly wandered off, and the ostensibly Trotskyist WRP refused to join in our chants of "Defend the Soviet Union!" instead counterposing: "U.S. bases out of Britain!"

To underscore the full and enthusiastic complicity of the Thatcher government in Reagan's bloody operation, the SL contingent led the demonstration, including the WRP contingent, on a march from the American embassy to Downing Street. As the march approached Downing Street—with an SL banner at its head reading, "Down with Reagan! Down with Thatcher! For Workers Revolution!"—it was greeted enthusiastically by many of the demonstrators already there. The CND honchos tried to push the line that what was criminal about the American aggression and Thatcher's involvement was that it set the British people up for "terrorism." But the general tenor of the crowd was one of outrage at both Reagan *and* Thatcher, and fear that their insane war provocations would trigger nuclear world war.

Broad sectors of the population already revile Thatcher for her year-long civil war against the miners and her attempts to incite a racist bloodbath in the inner city ghettos last autumn. They remember her own role as a war criminal in ordering the cold-blooded murder of several hundred Argentine sailors aboard the cruiser *Belgrano* during the Falklands/Malvinas war. The Libya bombing has plunged the Thatcher government into even deeper crisis, provoking opposition not only on the Tory backbenches, but within her own Cabinet. A poll conducted the day after the bombing registered opposition by two-thirds of the British population to the attack; an even greater number opposed British participation. One BBC news commentator noted that Thatcher was getting "bouquets in the U.S. and brickbats at home." While America's other NATO allies expressed discomfort over Reagan's murderous raid,

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 403

9 May 1986

1.5 Million Black Workers Strike

May Day in South Africa

On the 100th anniversary of May Day in the racist hellhole of South Africa 1.5 million black workers risked their jobs and very lives to join with workers around the world in celebrating the holiday of the international working class. They were joined by more than one million black and other non-white students. From Durhan to Cape Town and especially in the heavily industrialized and mining region of Transvaal around Johannesburg the strike was reportedly 70 to 100 percent effective. A survey of 86 companies in the auto center of Port Elizabeth reported only six out of 11,000 black employees were working! "Without doubt this is the biggest nationwide work stoppage South Africa has had," exclaimed a spokesman for the Association of Chambers of Commerce, the main organization of the apartheid bosses.

The May Day general strike dramatically exposed the total dependence of white South Africa on superexploited black labor. Perhaps for the first time in their lives whites had to cook in restaurants, pump gasoline and repair broken water pipes. In Johannesburg white supervisors had to wrestle with "the unaccustomed complexities of supermarket cash registers because the blacks who usually operate them stayed home" (*New York Times*, 2 May).

The magnificent May Day general strike in South Africa displayed the strength and growing organization of black labor, reflected by the formation last December of the 650,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Coming after 21 months of continuous nationwide revolt it was an inspiring demonstration of the determination and capacity of South Africa's brutally superexploited black proletariat to break the chains of apartheid capitalism. The May Day strike was seen as a trial run for COSATU's call for a three-day general strike planned for June 16-18, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising. By bringing the South African economy to a halt, the black working class poses the question of *political power*. What's urgently needed is an internationalist revolutionary workers party to lead all the oppressed with the mandate that those who labor must rule—a black-centered workers republic.

Massive union rally in Soweto marks largest political strike in South African history. Wide World

For Proletarian Political Leadership!

While May Day in South Africa showed the power and combativity of the black workers movement, it also brought to the surface the danger of tribalism. In Durban, the major city of Natal province, Zulu chieftain and apartheid puppet Gatsha Buthelezi staged a "union" rally of 70,000 supporters armed with spears and clubs, who trampled on a black coffin with the initials COSATU. Buthelezi's Inkatha thugs have repeatedly attacked COSATU union organizers and offices in the Durhan area. Now the sinister Zulu chief has launched a "union" of thugs to destroy the real South African black workers movement. And it's not

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Media Meltdown on Russia

MAY 5—It is a sign of the war mania rampant in the U.S. ruling class that a tragic industrial accident in the Soviet Union is turned into anti-Soviet hysteria. Lacking any hard information when the accident developed at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant near Kiev, the American "news" media simply conjured up the wildest stories imaginable. Typical of the "Killer Cloud Heads West" headlines were this week's crop from the *New York Post:* "The World Trembles—2,000 dead, 25,000 flee, N-cloud is spreading," "Out of Control—2nd meltdown spews new death cloud," "Winds of Death," "Mass Grave for 15,000 N-Victims" and so on *ad nauseam*. Then, after shamelessly conjuring up a "Red Nukemare," they have the gall to denounce the Russians for covering up!

And it wasn't just the sensationalist tabloids going berserk. Howdy Doody Koppel on ABC-TV's *Nightline* asked endless "what if" questions of "nuclear experts" who knew nothing about the accident. Local TV weather reports showed satellite photos of cloud movements over the European regions of the Soviet Union. The staid *New York Times* spread scare stories about "2,000 dead," Pacifica radio played end-of-the-world music while reporting the nuke news. It was an across-the-board media panic, from ultra-right Reaganites to rad-lib eco-freaks. The only thing we were spared was those Long Island high school kids kissing the ground, Grenada-style, when their parents rushed them back

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Labor History:

Red Purge Means Union-Busting

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Smash Union-Busting and Racist Terror!

Labor Must Fight for Black Freedom!

Page 7

More Bloodthirsty ET

Palme Assassination: Crime Against Workers Movement

27 March 1986
Oakland, Cal.

To Whom It May Concern:

...I was also disgusted by your teary-eyed, ass-licking response and telegram concerning the Palme assassination. Palme was the political boss and maintainer of a capitalist nation, intertwined to the world capitalist order. Capitalism maintains itself through a variety of forms and chameleon-like masks from paramilitarism on the right to degenerated bourgeois workers parties on the "left"... but you rip off the mask of those in power in a capitalist country, and you find they all have one purpose and history—to maintain capitalism and drown this workers movement in blood when it becomes necessary. The left masks (during a relatively peaceful period of a particular nation) are particularly devious, and make for great capitalist propaganda to the world, showing the system to be capable of "modernizing, reforming, and unbloodying itself."

Palme in power in a capitalist nation is a leader of the forces of my class enemy and *I do not mourn his death*... (nor do I gloat over it, and believe it is the duty of the Swedish and international workers movement to see that the fascist scum who killed him are prosecuted to the fullest.)

Olof Palme was killed by a crazed and hideous product of capitalism—a system Palme sought to manage and maintain *against* the efforts of people like you and me. If I have any weeping or mourning to do, it is not for capitalism's "good" cops—it is for the coal miners who die of black lung, Hispanic families slaughtered by contras, and the dozens of children who have starved to death while you were reading this letter—all victims of a dying social system Olof Palme gave his life to maintain and defend.

Sincerely,
Bill Savery

P.S. I now consider myself a supporter of the Bolshevik Tendency.

WV replies: Olof Palme was the social-democratic prime minister of capitalist Sweden. Therefore Bill Savery does not mourn his death. Orlando Letelier was a social-democratic minister of Allende's Unidad Popular government in Chile, which blocked the road to socialist revolution and thus delivered the Chilean workers to Pinochet. Presumably, therefore, Bill Savery shed no tears for Letelier when the latter was assassinated by a DINA death squad with the aid of CIA-trained gusano terrorists in Washington in 1976.

We did mourn the murder of Letelier, not least because he had helped us free Chilean workers leader Mario Muñoz from the grip of the bloody Argentine junta. And we expressed our condolences over the wanton assassination of Olof Palme, who gave asylum to American draft resisters and soldiers who fled from the imperialist army in horror against its crimes in Vietnam. It appeared at the time, and appears now, that whoever shot Olof Palme thought he was shooting Rosa Luxemburg. Palme certainly wasn't gunned down because he was a "good cop" of Swedish capitalism. So whose ox is being gored here?

One recalls Trotsky's attitude toward French socialist Jean Jaurès. By no means a revolutionary, Jaurès in fact during most of his career stood in the anti-Marxist right wing of the French Socialist movement, which spawned the "socialist ministerialism" of Millerand, an early version of the popular front. But when Jaurès was assassinated on the eve of World War I, Trotsky wrote a moving tribute to "the greatest man of the Third Republic," noting that Jaurès was shot because his pacifist opposition was seen as an obstacle to French intervention in the war:

> "It was considered in certain circles that the war of 'liberation' could not commence its march other than by stepping over Jaurès' dead body."
> —*Political Profiles* (New Park Publications, London, 1972)

Olof Palme was a thorn in the side of the Swedish bourgeoisie which wanted to effect a Reaganite turn in domestic and foreign policy. The assassination came in the aftermath of a bitter election campaign; following the murder of Palme and his replacement by reputedly more pro-business Socialist Carlsson, the Stockholm stock market soared to its highest level in history, with a record volume of trading. Even the *New York Times* (4 March) noted that Palme was under attack for being:

> "...too quick to criticize the United States and too quiet about such matters as human rights in the Soviet Union, the Soviet military campaign in Afghanistan, the crushing of the Solidarity labor union in Poland, and, above all else, the repeated incursions of Soviet submarines into Swedish waters."

The American ruling class hated his guts. Our article (which we're happy to note was reprinted by the *Lanka Guardian* of 1 April) recalled Lyndon Johnson's fury after Palme marched alongside the North Vietnamese ambassador protesting the U.S.'Indochina war, and Nixon's wrath when Palme compared the carpetbombing of Vietnam to Hitler's atrocities. While yesterday's liberal "doves" had long since lined up behind the anti-Soviet war drive, Washington was livid over Palme's recent renewal of multimillion-dollar Swedish financing for Vietnam's industrial programs, and his aid to Sandinista Nicaragua in the face of Reagan's economic boycott.

But we don't expect that to impress Savery and his friends of the former External Tendency. The ET/BT not only tails after the "No More Vietnams" liberals, they denounced the SL for carrying "the flags of the Cuban and Vietnamese Stalinists" in protests against U.S. intervention in Central America. They boycotted the 27 November 1982 labor/black mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. and shrieked in horror when we dubbed an SL contingent the "Yuri Andropov Brigade." To say the least, these renegades from Trotskyism don't have a very well-developed sense of siding with the victims and targets of U.S. imperialism.

But where the workers don't have a side, oh boy! We have commented before on the vicarious bloodthirstiness of the ET/BT, such as their call "U.S. Marines: Live Like Pigs—Die Like Pigs" when 240-plus Marines were blown to bits in Beirut, in a godawful mess where there was *no just cause* and every faction from Islamic fanatics to the fascistic Christian Phalange were jockeying for U.S. support (see "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness," *WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984). If ET/BT loved the Beirut bombing, they must really be grooving on the bombing of La Belle disco in West Berlin—after all, the patrons were predominantly U.S. servicemen!

Keystone

Olof Palme marches with North Vietnamese ambassador against U.S. imperialism's dirty war, 1968.

From the picket line to imperialist war, the class line escapes them. To sidle up to "divestment" liberals over South Africa, the ET/BT calls on students to menace workers unloading South African ships, an anti-union provocation. But when hundreds turned out in Berkeley (on March 25 and again on April 15) to protest Reagan's attacks on Libya, we didn't notice any ET/BTs there. Nor was Howard Keylor present at the ILWU Local 10 exec board meeting April 24, where Stan Gow's motion condemning the murderous U.S. bombing raid against Libya was unanimously passed. Wherever the U.S. war drive is hot and the least little bit of real pressure is on, the "leftism" of the ET just melts away. ■

TROTSKY

100 Years of May Day

The hanging of the Haymarket labor martyrs in Chicago 100 years ago by the American government gave birth to May Day, the great demonstration of the international working class. In the revolutionary ferment of tsarist Russia in 1904, Lenin explained why May Day symbolizes the future emancipation of the exploited and oppressed.

LENIN

Comrade workers! May Day is coming, the day when the workers of all lands celebrate their awakening to a class-conscious life, their solidarity in the struggle against all coercion and oppression of man by man, the struggle to free the toiling millions from hunger, poverty, and humiliation. Two worlds stand facing each other in this great struggle: the world of capital and the world of labour, the world of exploitation and slavery and the world of brotherhood and freedom....

But now these disinherited toilers have declared war on the moneybags and exploiters. The workers of all lands are fighting to free labour from wage slavery, from poverty and want. They are fighting for a system of society where the wealth created by the common labour will go to benefit, not a handful of rich men, but all those who work. They want to make the land and the factories, mills, and machines the common property of all toilers. They want to do away with the division into rich and poor, want the fruits of labour to go to the labourers themselves, and all the achievements of the human mind, all improvements in ways of working, to improve the lot of the man who works, and not serve as a means of oppressing him.

—V.I. Lenin, "May Day" (April 1904)

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Apartheid Butchers Repeal Pass Laws

The South African police state maintains white *baasskap* ("boss rule") through naked racist terror. It occupies the rebellious black townships with tanks and personnel carriers; every month it kills scores of unarmed black protesters and tortures black children with electric shocks and steel whips. All the while the white supremacists in Pretoria and their big brothers in Washington tell the world that they are "reforming" apartheid away. It is a "new era of freedom" and the "emancipation from guardianship of the black and the brown," declared South African strongman P.W. Botha when his government repealed the hated pass laws last month. The Reagan White House echoed Botha, calling the measure "a major milestone on the road away from apartheid."

Liberals in the U.S. and South Africa have also hailed the repeal of the pass laws governing the movement of blacks as a significant step toward the dismantling of apartheid. John Kane-Berman, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, ranks it along with the limited legalization of black trade unions in 1979 as "the most important reform in South Africa since World War II." The *New York Times* (26 April) editorialized: "By abolishing South Africa's pass laws, President P.W. Botha has taken a tangible step away from the state-sponsored racism that sets his nation shamefully apart.... This is finally a reform worthy of the word, evidence that apartheid is untenable."

But repeal of the pass laws will not touch the rigid separation of the affluent white suburbs from the desperately impoverished black townships. Whites will continue to play golf and tennis in their exclusive clubs while a few miles away blacks bury their martyred dead in segregated cemeteries. Black children will continue to go to segregated schools where only one-sixth as much is spent for their education as for white children's. Blacks will continue to die because of chronic lack of medical care while whites are treated in ultra-modern, racially exclusive hospitals. And, of course, the black African majority—75 percent of the South African population—will continue to be stripped of all political rights in their own country.

What then of the pass laws? In recent decades these laws aimed to restrict the movement of blacks from the rural "bantustans" to the segregated townships which surround the cities of the "white homeland." This was called "influx control." The apartheid regime is almost certainly not going to abandon such controls entirely. Liberal Bishop Tutu commented: "The release of the pass-law offenders can only be welcomed. But I hope there is not a sting in the tail" (*Newsweek*, 28 April). The sting is that while blacks now have the legal right to move into the desperately overcrowded townships, they cannot live there without "approved" housing. So blacks will still be killed, beaten and imprisoned for violating "anti-squatter" laws, which have now been strengthened. Witness the savage police attacks on the squatter community of Crossroads near Cape Town.

Nonetheless, as revolutionary socialists we do not dismiss the repeal of the pass laws as meaningless or insignificant. Historically, the pass was *the symbol* of apartheid slavery just as chains were the symbol of chattel slavery in the antebellum American South. Over the years *18 million* blacks were imprisoned for violating these laws. They were the main target of the ANC's mass Defiance Campaigns in the 1950s. When the COSATU federation of black unions was formed last December, it threatened to burn the passes unless Botha repealed the law within six months. Like the repeal a year ago of the ban on interracial marriages, it is a small but real democratic gain that blacks have the right to move about in their own country. For one thing, this will make it easier to build a racially integrated communist vanguard party, centered on the working class, in order to destroy the racist hellhole that is South Africa and the capitalist class which rules that tortured land.

Rojo/Cambio 16

AP

The hated pass (right) was a symbol of black enslavement in apartheid police state.

Eli Weinberg

Defiant protesters burn their passes, 1960.

The Pass Laws and Apartheid Capitalism

The repeal of the pass laws is not simply a cosmetic measure primarily designed to dampen the black revolt and soften international outrage against apartheid. With mass unemployment endemic among blacks, such controls are no longer needed to create and maintain a large pool of labor for superexploitation in the white-owned economy. The "liberal" wing of the South African bourgeoisie, represented by the Anglo American mining and manufacturing empire, has long argued that the pass laws had become an obstacle to developing a stable black skilled and semi-skilled labor force. Thus the repeal of these laws is an attempt to modify the totalitarian control of black workers in the direction of a "free market" for labor.

The function of the original pass laws in South Africa, which go back to the Dutch colonial era in the 18th century, was to control the movement of blacks in the frontier areas—to ensure that those who were employed on white farms stayed put, and that those who were not stayed off white-owned land. With the development of mining and later industry, pass law controls were vastly extended as part of a system designed to force subsistence-farming, tribal blacks to become migrant laborers. Black land ownership rights were increasingly restricted, cash taxes imposed and migrant laborers kept in compounds. Once it was set up, the migrant labor/pass law system guaranteed superexploitation. The migrant worker did not even need to be paid the bare minimum necessary to reproduce the labor force, since the worker's family could subsist on the land. The Randlords had what they needed, a limitless supply of unskilled cheap labor.

But South African capitalism could not grow fat by relentlessly sucking the lifeblood out of the bantustans forever. In the key mining sector *almost half* the migrant labor force comes from the belt of "independent" black states surrounding South Africa. The exhaustion of much of the bantustans has combined with low productivity, shortages of skilled labor and a weak domestic market to drag heavily on the industrial sector of the economy. The repeal of the pass laws aims to cut down on the enormous overhead cost of maintaining the bureaucracy that enforces apartheid and to promote some semblance of stability for a layer of the black labor force.

At the same time, with massive and rising unemployment special measures are no longer needed to secure a cheap labor force. When the Afrikaner nationalist regime tightened up the pass laws in the 1950s, a major motivation was to guarantee virtual slave labor for the white-owned farms, which paid even less than the starvation wages of the cities. However, in the 1980s hundreds of thousands of black labor tenants were evicted and dumped into the bantustans as the white farms became increasingly mechanized. Moreover, the apartheid state has gone to such lengths to separate blacks, coloureds (mixed race) and Indians from whites residentially and to keep the black townships as far from the cities as possible that the pass laws are no longer essential for this purpose.

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

The repeal of the pass laws will do nothing to stem the unrest which has swept the black townships for the past year and a half. Most of the residents of Soweto and Alexandra near Johannesburg, Mamelodi near Pretoria, etc. already have the legal right to "live" in these hellholes. For South Africa's black, coloured and Indian militants, such apartheid reforms are too little, too late.

This is the line taken by the principal black nationalist organization, the outlawed African National Congress, and its broad, legal front, the United Democratic Front (UDF). UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe stated:

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Workers Revolution Will Avenge Haymarket and MOVE Martyrs!

In the discussion period at the May 2 Spartacist forum in New York, an NYC transit worker and Spartacist supporter stressed that American labor must remember the MOVE martyrs—the eleven black men, women and children burned to death one year ago, on 13 May 1985, by a Philadelphia police bomb launched on the orders of black Democratic mayor Goode and with the full approval and direct aid of the Reagan administration—just as the Chicago Haymarket labor martyrs are commemorated by the international workers movement:

This forum takes place on the occasion of an important anniversary, of the Haymarket events. A hundred years ago in Chicago there was an important industrial strike in which the police killed a striker. The rest of the strikers proceeded to call a mass labor demonstration in central Chicago. Some provocateur threw a bomb into this crowd and some policemen were killed. As a consequence seven labor leaders in Chicago were arrested and four were eventually hung. The movement to honor these martyrs of labor struggle, fusing with the eight-hour-day movement, was the backbone of May Day which is celebrated internationally, but not in the United States. In South Africa where it is illegal for workers to go on strike for such an occasion, one and a half million black workers put their jobs and their very lives on the line to honor the cause of international labor and to honor these four labor martyrs.

Now because we don't have labor leaders who are, so to speak, willing to put their necks on the line, we don't have those kinds of gains today. Instead we have takebacks, givebacks: the only thing the bureaucrats are good for negotiating these days is whether it's going to be 20 percent or 15 percent. They're too busy to be down on the picket lines because they're spending all their time down on Wall Street consulting with their investment bankers on whether Icahn is preferable to Lorenzo. A judge waves a piece of paper and it's a magic stick. It's called an injunction and all of a sudden it might as well come from god or the high priesthood.

The point is unless we have, as this forum says, a revolutionary leadership for labor, labor cannot win permanent and lasting gains because it has to go up against the capitalist class organized as a state power—the courts, the cops—and the bureaucrats in the pocket of the bosses. We have to realize two things: One, until the cause of MOVE—the most hideous racist massacre in this country, at least for generations—is protested, condemned and acted upon by the labor movement, and becomes a cause as dear to labor in America as the Haymarket Four are to labor internationally, this labor movement will go nowhere.

And secondly you must realize the importance of internationalism and an international revolutionary party. Consciousness is uneven. Those workers in South Africa, those workers in Chile, those workers in El Salvador who are willing to battle, who are willing to battle police state terror to honor the Haymarket Four today have more consciousness than the overwhelming majority of American workers. We need a revolutionary party and we need the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

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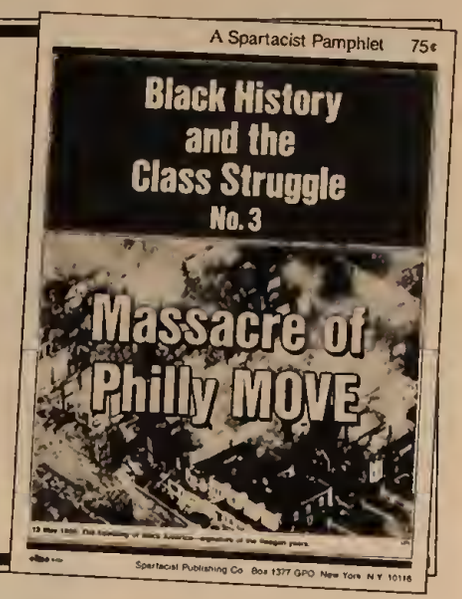


May Day in South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

surprising that he looks for support to the virulently racist and pro-imperialist American AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

The tribalist Buthelezi is an open and deadly enemy of South Africa's black workers movement, and every union militant recognizes him as such. A more insidious danger for the black proletariat is petty-bourgeois nationalism. The COSATU leadership has made no secret of its political sympathy for and support to the African National Congress (ANC). The subordination of the black union movement to the ANC nationalists can only derail class struggle against the apartheid bosses. This was treacherously demonstrated last fall when Cyril Ramaphosa, head of the powerful National Union of Mineworkers, sabotaged a nationwide strike in the strategic gold fields on the eve of a meeting between South African capitalists, headed up by the Anglo American mining empire's Gavin Relly, and the ANC.

Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, told a May Day rally of 30,000 in the black township of Soweto to "close up ranks and prepare for the final onslaught." But ANC spokesmen have made it unambiguously clear that the "final onslaught" they are talking about is *not* a social revolution to smash apartheid capitalism, but a neocolonial solution as in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. Thus ANC publicity director Thabo Mbeki stated in a recent interview: "...we are talking not of overthrowing the government but of turning so many people against it that it would be forced to do what Ian Smith had to do" (*Washington Post*, 10 March).

In 1980 Ian Smith's white colonial settler regime in Rhodesia, in a deal brokered by British imperialism, was replaced by black African nationalist Robert Mugabe. Since then the Mugabe regime in Rhodesia has ruthlessly exploited the black toilers on behalf of Western capital, brutally suppressed the unions and all black opposition, and waged genocidal terror against the minority Ndebele people. However, the black working class in South Africa is far more powerful, better organized and politically conscious than in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe.

Turnley/Detroit Free Press

Black workers at 3M plant in Johannesburg demonstrate in solidarity with 3M workers in Freehold, New Jersey who are fighting a plant closure.

Furthermore, the black revolt in the apartheid state is now spreading from the segregated townships to the white-owned economy. "What we started to see at the end of 1985 was a spilling over of turbulence from the townships into the workplace," observed an official of the Anglo American corporation (quoted in *ANC News Briefing*, 23 March). In particular this turbulence has spilled into the mines which generate 10 percent of South Africa's gross national product and more than half of its foreign-exchange earnings. Here are concentrated half a million black miners—"migrants" recruited from the bantustans and black client states like Lesotho.

Strikes in the mines are increasingly more militant, combatting the threat of lockouts and deportations with sit-ins and mine occupations. They are increasingly over issues that cut to the heart of apartheid regimentation: the concentration of black miners in overcrowded single-sex hostels; the arming of white foremen; physical abuse by both white and black foremen; the firing of militant black stewards and "cheeky" workers. Desperately necessary now is the construction of communist cells, in and oriented toward the workers movement, laying the basis for a racially integrated Leninist workers party. ■

Apartheid Pass Laws...

(continued from page 3)

"Without addressing the crucial issue of political power and the popular demand of our people to take part in the decision-making process in this country, Botha's latest move will remain an act of political posturing" (*Washington Post*, 23 April).

However, the ANC/UDF nationalists seek to take part in "the decision-making process" in South Africa through a hoped-for "power-sharing" deal with the "progressive" wing of white capital. Thus last fall the ANC issued a *joint* statement with the Progressive Federal Party, the political arm of Anglo American, proclaiming "the urgent need to dismantle apartheid and establish a nonracial democratic society" (*New York Times*, 14 October 1985). But the South African bourgeoisie *cannot* accept the democratic rule of the black majority and still preserve its economic dominance.

In South Africa, as nowhere else, the struggle for the most elementary democratic rights is inextricably bound up with the struggle for workers revolution to overthrow capitalism. This fundamental truth is underscored by the repeal of the pass laws. This measure along with the proposed granting of "dual citizenship" to the residents of the bantustans ("tribal homelands") strips away the legal fiction that black South Africans are foreigners in their own land. But if blacks are regarded as citizens of South Africa, this poses the question of political rights and political power. (Significantly, the nationalist ANC does not call for citizenship for the hundreds of thousands of migrant workers, concentrated in the gold mines, who come from the "independent" black African states.)

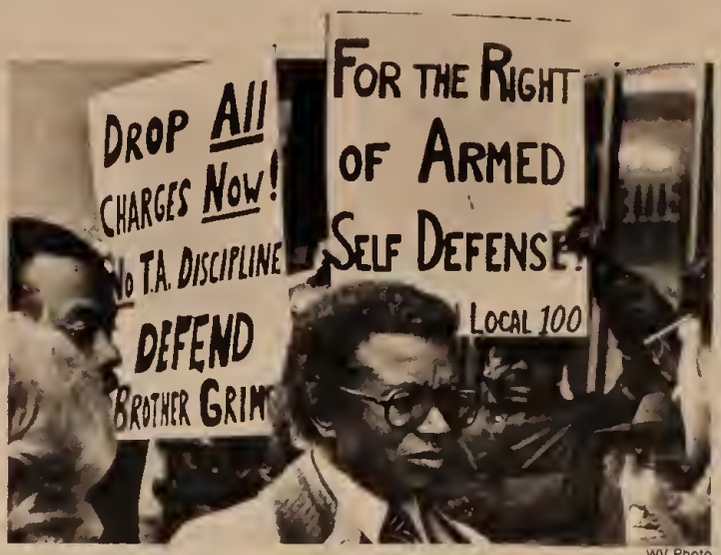
The apartheid rulers can scrap the pass laws but they cannot grant democratic political rights—one man, one vote—to the dispossessed black masses. White control over the state and its armed forces is *essential* to enforce the superexploitation of the black toilers. And this is just as true for the "progressive" Anglo American bosses as it is for the most diehard ("*verkrampte*") Afrikaner nationalists. Indeed, the Anglo American mines are armed camps with secret gas vents installed in the mining compounds to deal with strikers.

Yet in its own way this massive apparatus of police-state terror displays the apartheid rulers' fear of the power of the black working class. That power was demonstrated dramatically on May Day when 1.5 million black African, coloured and Indian workers walked off their jobs, the biggest strike in South African history. Under the leadership of a racially integrated communist vanguard party, the black proletariat will be the gravedigger of apartheid. And on that grave will arise a black-centered workers government, the only road to the liberation of all black Africa from the chains of neocolonial exploitation and imperialist domination. ■

Stop Koch/D.A. Victimization of Black Worker!

Put Power of TWU Behind James Grimes!

MAY 6—Last January 6, black subway clerk James Grimes was jumped by three robbers while transporting $1,500 in Transit Authority money from his token booth. When the thugs threatened to shoot him, this courageous worker successfully defended himself with a gun. When TA cops arrived, they *arrested Grimes*, and chained him to a bench in the precinct for *nine hours*. Brooklyn D.A. Elizabeth Holtzman, a liberal Democrat, threw the book at Grimes, convening a grand jury to consider felony charges. On May 2 the grand jury, while finding no grounds for manslaughter charges against Grimes, indicted him on a misdemeanor gun-possession charge. If convicted of the weapons rap, Grimes faces certain TA discipline as well, including possible firing. Grimes has already suffered two heart attacks, and had a pacemaker installed for his heart condition after the armed assault in January. *Drop all D.A./TA charges against James Grimes!*



WV Photo

Militant transit workers outside Brooklyn courthouse January 23 support union brother James Grimes (center), persecuted for self-defense against armed assault by three robbers.

On May 5 TWU Local 100 issued a call for a "mass demonstration" of union members "to win justice for R.R. clerk James Grimes and all transit workers," to be held tomorrow, May 7, outside the Brooklyn criminal court where Grimes is to be arraigned. For an all-out union mobilization behind James Grimes—he is the hero, not the criminal! This call for union defense of Grimes is a welcome about-face from the Sonny Hall leadership, which had mainly stonewalled for four months while redbaiting Grimes's supporters in the union. On one occasion the bureaucracy sought to deflect the ranks' anger into a phony rally for...more transit cops! On April 11 outside a court hearing, the union tops actually distributed a fink statement, publicly criticizing Grimes's legal strategy and the fact that he took sick leave, and making excuses for not calling a demonstration. But this backstabbing policy evidently did not go down among the members. The small core of Grimes's supporters who have militantly shown their support at previous hearings, mobilized by the Committee for a Fighting TWU, evidently spoke for a broad section of the union who want to wield the union's power in defense of James Grimes. That pressure, combined with the D.A.'s dropping the felony charges, evidently prompted the union leadership to move, finally.

At stake is not only the fate of this courageous fighter but the right of armed self-defense. In New York City "gun control" laws mean only criminals, kill-crazed cops and racist lynch mobs, like the one that bludgeoned TWUer Willie Turks to death in south Brooklyn, are armed. The idea that workers and particularly blacks have the right to carry a gun drives the bosses and their labor lieutenants crazy. James Grimes must not be allowed to become a victim of Koch's terror. The entire NYC labor movement must stand behind Grimes against the union-busting, racist Democratic Party and its kangaroo courts.

We reprint below a leaflet issued April 28 by the Committee for a Fighting TWU.

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet:

Why Is Sonny Hall Finking on James Grimes?

The TWU tops put out a fink leaflet that abandons Grimes in the face of legal victimization by the bosses courts. This leaflet was distributed at a court hearing where Grimes faces charges by the District Attorney's office of Liz Holtzman. In opposition to this backstabbing attack all TWU workers must be mobilized to support this heroic union brother.

President Sonny Hall is claiming a "great victory" at the throne of the Impartial Arbitrator on the issue of escorts for Railroad Clerks. Is this a "great victory" or a great smokescreen? This "great victory" means having dangerous cops, like the one(s)? that murdered Michael Stewart loitering around token booths. We all know that the Hall leadership like John Lawe has placed all its eggs in the arbitrator's basket, and his credibility in the eyes of the ranks is falling fast. The Arbitrator recently gutted job pick rights and working conditions and the Hall team badly needed a cheap win to take back to the members. The Arbitrator knew this, and so did the TA. So on March 14 the TA provided the busses to bring about 400 off-duty transit workers to blow off steam outside an arbitration hearing where inside the TA agreed to abide by its own regulation of providing escorts for clerks. Gunn decided to walk home a run for the losing Hall team.

At the March 31 Car Maintenance division meeting Hall was tooting his horn about this "great victory" and felt compelled to launch into a red-baiting attack on Transit Workers to Defend James Grimes. When challenged from the floor for not mobilizing thousands of transit workers to demand DA/TA Drop the Charges! at Brother Grimes' court appearances, Hall started throwing "outsider" charges—not only at those who have fought for a solid union mobilization but also at Brother Grimes himself for going to an "outside" lawyer. Hall even blamed Brother Grimes for the leadership's passivity on this case by saying that no formal request for a union demonstration had been received from Grimes himself. This attitude is poison for the collective strength and solidarity of our union! A brother is in deep water with sharks closing in and Hall wants a formal request?!!

Hall red-baits Transit Workers to Defend James Grimes because he doesn't want mass transit worker demonstrations in front of the Brooklyn criminal courthouse. He believes in the "justice" of "liberal" Democrat DA Holtzman and the courts which gave the racist murderers of Brother Willie Turks a slap on the wrist or a walk while Grimes is getting the third degree. If Willie Turks had been packing he would be alive today, and if James Grimes hadn't been, he wouldn't be.

Sonny Hall busses members down to arbitration, up to Albany, and around to the back door of the Master's House. He tells us not to expect much in this current "anti-union climate." Of course, the union will present a "solid case" to these "reasonable men." When we get our asses handed to us we are told the next plan is to give to COPE, pay more dues, and vote for "pro-labor" Democrats. These types of union leaders are called labor-fakers and their policies of class collaboration have led directly to defeat after grinding defeat from PATCO to Hormel.

We have a different strategy. We fight for a massive mobilization of the union's ranks to defend James Grimes at the courthouse—not because we preach faith in this justice-for-the-rich system—but precisely because we know there will be no justice for James Grimes without mobilizing the power of labor to make an offer the corporate power structure and their hack politicians can't refuse: either drop all DA/TA charges against our Brother, or we strike the trains and busses. *This* is the method of working-class justice.

Labor cannot use its power as a united force capable of winning the mass support of all workers across race and sex lines as long as the right to union protection from Transit Authority victimization is limited to a few mostly white and male bus barns. If Sonny Hall can provide busses to get workers to stage a rally at an arbitration hearing then he should come up with at least two thousand token booth clerks and other sections of this union to rally in support of Brother Grimes at his next court appearance where a demonstration of mass TWU support demanding the immediate dropping of all charges by the DA would do a lot of good!

Sonny Hall is in bed with Tammany Hall and he would rather see Grimes in jail than have a mass TWU demonstration that would further embarrass the scandal-ridden Koch administration. Hall and the other labor-fakers couple cozy class collaboration with red-baiting attacks on their own members who want to fight the racist, union-busting offensive. We stand with the union militants of the 1930's who rightly condemned red-baiting as a tool of company stooges. In the words of Mike Quill: "I'd rather be called a red by a rat than a rat by a red."

COMMITTEE FOR
A FIGHTING TWU 28 April 1986

Two Faces of Sonny Hall

...DEMONSTRATION... ...WORKERS.

• BROTHER GRIMES HAS OFFERED THE LEGAL SERVICES OF THE TWU (AT NO COST! BUT HE CHOSE TO OBTAIN HIS OWN LAWYER. WE RESPECT HIS DECISION.

• BROTHER GRIMES CHOSE TO GO SICK ALTHOUGH THE UNION ADVISED HIM NOT TO DO THAT AS WE BELIEVE HE WAS ASSAULTED AND WAS PROTECTING HIMSELF, THEREFORE, IT WAS A COMPENSATION CASE. BROTHER GRIMES SURELY HAS THE RIGHT TO MAKE HIS OWN DECISION. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE IT WAS A MISTAKE.

• SOME HAVE ASKED WHY THE UNION HAS NOT APPROVED A DEMONSTRATION FOR BROTHER GRIMES AT HIS COURT HEARINGS. THE REASON IS SIMPLE. BROTHER GRIMES AND HIS LAWYER HAVE NOT INFORMED US THAT IT WOULD BE IN HIS BEST INTEREST. OUR UNION HAS OFFERED ITS HELP AND WE JUST AWAIT HIS REQUEST. MEANWHILE, WE HAVE A UNION... AT EVERY COURT... ING AND WE WILL

11 April: Local 100's fink leaflet publicly smears James Grimes.

5 May: TWU bureaucracy reverses itself, calls for union rally to back Grimes.

TO ALL TWU MEMBERS

MASS DEMONSTRATION

TO WIN JUSTICE
FOR R.R. CLERK JAMES GRIMES
AND ALL TRANSIT WORKERS

Labor History: How They Split the Electrical Workers

Red Purge Means Union-Busting

In the past few months, thousands of striking workers across the country have seen their *own International union leaders* act as strikebreakers. The clearest and most dramatic example was at Hormel, where both the International leadership of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union and Lane Kirkland, head of the AFL-CIO, openly scabbed on the strike. For the past several years, these same pro-capitalist bureaucrats have negotiated contracts giving back vital union gains won in decades of labor struggle since the 1930s. Thus the top leaders of American labor are *actively aiding* the destruction of the union movement. Many labor militants must be asking themselves, how is it that the union tops in this country have become not just sellout artists but *company cops*? The answer: that's how they got their jobs in the first place.

The present labor bureaucracy originated in the McCarthyite red purges of the late 1940s-early 1950s. With the active support of the FBI, the House Un-American Activities Committee and the reactionary Catholic church hierarchy, these Cold War bureaucrats were able to drive leftists out of the unions. Ever since, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has been among the most rabid anti-Soviet warmongers in the country. George Meany, who boasted that he never walked a picket line in his life, was succeeded by Lane Kirkland, a protégé of the Rockefeller family. Kirkland was a member of the 1975 Rockefeller Commission which whitewashed the CIA following Watergate; the Committee on the Present Danger, which pushed for U.S. nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union; and the Kissinger Commission on Central America, which pushed for aid to the Nicaraguan contras.

One of the recent strikes knifed by the International leadership was a walkout of 9,000 electrical workers at the huge General Electric plant in Lynn, Massachusetts. This key plant produces jet engines for the Pentagon. The month-long strike in February-March was a militant stand against union-busting, coming after the company had beaten up and suspended union stewards. But then International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) president William Bywater stepped in and rammed through a settlement based on the same old arbitration schemes and "training courses" for stewards and foremen to promote class peace on the shopfloor. The background to this betrayal tells a lot about the history of American labor in the last four decades.

The Communists and the Electrical Workers

Nowhere was the link between the red purges of the 1940s and '50s and the formation of the pro-company union bureaucracy clearer than among the electrical workers at GE and Westinghouse. And it was General Electric which put a grade B Hollywood movie actor on the road as an anti-Communist crusader. As part of his job hosting the "GE Theater" on TV, Ronald Reagan acted as a roving ambassador of big business for the company, visiting all 135 GE plants. "The most dramatic part of my pitch," he wrote in his autobiography, "was the account of the attempted takeover of the [film] industry by the communists." Presumably he encouraged GE workers to follow his own example as a fink, personally responsible for the blacklisting of members of the Screen Actors Guild.

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE) was once the largest Communist-led union in the country. And the splitting and gutting of that union was an important victory for American capitalism on the home front in its anti-Soviet Cold War. It was no secret that the UE was built largely by supporters of the Communist Party, both in the ranks and the leadership. The union's director of organization was James Matles, a Scottish immigrant who had been a leader in the Communist-led Trade Union Unity League in the early 1930s and once worked at GE Lynn. The UE secretary-treasurer was Julius Emspak, another CPer who rose out of the ranks of GE machinists in Schenectady, New York.

Wide World

Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph

As Cold War against Russia heated up, in late 1940s CIO bureaucracy split Communist-led United Electrical Workers (UE) and set up rival IUE (top). UE leads 1951 strike at Pittsburgh Westinghouse to protest suspension of shop steward (bottom).

It took two years of aggressive organizing, including a sit-down strike in a department of GE's mammoth Schenectady plant, before the company agreed to sign a national labor agreement with the UE in 1938. In alliance with Roosevelt liberals like James Carey, CP supporters built the UE into a union which embraced 200,000 workers at GE, Westinghouse and RCA on the eve of World War II.

The influence of the Communist Party in the UE was by no means unique. Many of the most militant workers who built the CIO industrial unions in the 1930s joined or supported the CP as "the reds" who appeared to fight against American capitalism. But the Communists were really Stalinists and opportunists, who believed in reforming American capitalism in alliance with the Roosevelt Democrats. This was especially clear during World War II, when Roosevelt sought to "make the world safe" for American profits. The Stalinist CP became flag-waving speedup artists and strike-breaking class collaborators. As a result, the CP lost a lot of authority among broad layers of union militants. Thus the Communist Party helped set itself up for the massive red purge after the second interimperialist world war gave way to the Cold War against Russia.

The CPers became the most zealous enforcers of the no-strike pledge in the name of the "war effort," denouncing coal miners as "Nazi saboteurs" and "fifth columnists" for daring to strike in 1943, and going so far as to organize scabbing to break "unpatriotic" strikes. As Humphrey-liberal red-hunter Max Kampelman noted in his book *The Communist Party vs. the CIO* (1957), UE secretary-treasurer Emspak "became a member of the President's Labor Victory Committee and led his union in support of the Communist position that 'for the duration' wage demands and other 'normal' trade union activities were to be suspended." The workers were rewarded with wage freezes and piecework.

While the Stalinists acted as loyal labor lackeys of American imperialism, the Trotskyists stood up to the social-patriotism of the AFL and CIO bureaucracies. In preparation for the U.S. entry into the war, Roosevelt saw to it that the Trotskyists who led the Minneapolis Teamsters were indicted and convicted in 1941 under the newly passed Smith Act on trumped-up charges of "subversion"—for advocating socialist revolution and opposing imperialist war. The Stalinists demanded the prosecution of the Trotskyists and applauded when they were sent to prison. Not too many years later, the CP leaders themselves would become victims of Smith Act persecution of "subversives."

How the Reds Were Purged

In 1945-46 millions of workers participated in a major strike wave to win catch-up raises and other gains. As the American rulers geared up for the Cold War—ultimately aiming to restore capitalism in the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state—they became convinced that the only way to break the domestic labor movement was to purge it of all "reds," which in the bosses' terms meant any kind of "troublemaker." The Cold War red purge was the signal for massive union-busting. Defense of the labor movement required the unconditional defense of all workers against the witchhunting onslaught. But such unity was undermined from within—by the anti-Communist labor bureaucrats and their hangers-on.

The kickoff for the witchhunt against labor was the passage of the Taft-Hartley bill in 1947. This bill not only outlawed the secondary or "sympathy" strike, a key class-struggle tactic, but more importantly went after the vanguard leaders of the working class through a totalitarian government certification scheme: union officials had to sign an affidavit swearing they were not members of the Communist Party or other groups advocating "unconstitutional" methods. Failure to sign resulted in federal prosecution and barred the union from the certification elections process administered by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Thus the class line was drawn: are you *for* or *against* "our" government, are you "loyal"—will you sign the affidavit and renounce class struggle, i.e., Communism?

Since the union bureaucracies had already endorsed the government's so-called "right" to certify and/or decertify unions as legal "bargaining agents," the state now had a powerful union-busting weapon to offer employers who wanted to bust allegedly "Communist" unions. The AFL and CIO bureaucracies were of course more than willing to demonstrate their loyalty to the bosses by carrying out the purge internally. The key turning point came at the November 1946 CIO convention, seven months before final passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, when CIO leader Philip Murray rammed through a policy statement which declared, "We resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO." Ironically, several Stalinist union leaders were on the 51-man CIO Executive Board that unanimously endorsed the declaration.

Trying to conciliate rather than fight the right-wingers, the CPers had only

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Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri 5:00-8:00 p.m. Sat 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago Illinois Phone (312) 663-0715

New York City
Tues 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Labor Must Fight for Black Freedom!

On May 2, the New York Spartacist League held a forum on "Union-Busting and Government Terror in Reagan's America" at the Borough of Manhattan Community College. Leading off the meeting was a spirited talk by Connie Duquette, a member of the TWA flight attendants union on strike for two months against Wall Street raider Carl Icahn (see page 8). Gene Herson, a veteran class-struggle oppositionist in the National Maritime Union and Spartacist supporter, exposed the class treason of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and traced its roots to the Cold War red purge of the late 1940s-early '50s. The third speaker was Ed Kartsen, Spartacist candidate for Manhattan Borough President last year and former member and candidate for president of the New York Transport Workers Union Local 100. We print below excerpts from comrade Kartsen's presentation and summary.

WV Photo

March 5—Electrical workers shut down Lynn GE, major producer for Pentagon war machine.

Ed Kartsen: The MOVE bombing in Philadelphia was a dry run for what Reagan had in store for Qaddafi and his family. All the hype about "terrorism" was a very thin cover for a hit on Qaddafi. Reagan managed to kill Qaddafi's adopted baby daughter and to kill and maim more than a hundred civilians in his attack against Libya. This was a dry run for World War III on a small scale. Reagan's first-strike war plans call for the decapitation of the Kremlin leadership in the first moments of World War III. Reagan is putting

WV Photo

Spartacist spokesman Ed Kartsen.

internal and external policies in action to prepare for World War III.

War preparations continue at home with legal terrorism. I'm talking about the legal terrorism against the only surviving member of the MOVE massacre, Ramona Africa, who has become a political prisoner in this country. She is jailed because she is a member of MOVE just like Geronimo Pratt is jailed because he was a member of the Black Panther Party. And just like how they want to put Guillermo in jail for being a member of the Spartacus Youth League. Justice demands that Ramona Africa and all class-struggle prisoners be set free! And workers justice demands that the bloody MOVE atrocity be avenged!

War preparations at home include the destruction of workers' rights. The right to organize is under attack. The destruction of the air traffic controllers union made it clear. The labor movement, however, is being held back from carrying out class struggle. Instead of fighting for workers' rights, the bureaucrats are blocking with the bosses' government against the rights of labor. The labor bureaucracy is strongly linked with the Democratic Party machine.

The Democratic Party accepts into its ranks people like Metzger, the "Grand Dragon" of the Ku Klux Klan. This party gave us "ethnic purity" Jimmy Carter, and Carter's anti-Soviet campaign opened the way for the warmongers in the White House right now. The Democratic Party is keeping in step with Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. The labor leadership which supports this policy must be ousted by class-struggle leadership. A new labor leadership must be trained and educated in the fight to emancipate the working class.

Blacks Are the Achilles' Heel of U.S. Imperialism

The Achilles' heel of Reagan's America happens to be the black population, the majority of which didn't vote for him and distrust him deeply. Black people aren't going along with the anti-Soviet war drive. The Civil War and the civil rights movement demonstrated that the path of advancement against reactionary forces in this country has been the fight for social equality for black people.

In Norfolk, Virginia the fight for equal education through racial integration of schools is recognized by a broad section of the black population as a critical struggle for their children's future. They know from their experience that separate is totally unequal, that separate will always be unequal. The powerful longshoremen, core of the working class in the Norfolk area, are strongly linked to that struggle. The outbreak of social struggle there could start a political movement against Reagan's war drive.

The fight for black rights and workers' rights must be linked. That is a *strategic question* for revolutionaries in this country. These two struggles can be linked but they can't so long as the labor movement remains tied to the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is the graveyard of social struggle. The civil rights movement was led down the garden path to the cemetery by Kennedy and Johnson's manipulation and control of the civil rights leadership, centrally focused on Martin Luther King. The Communist Party and all the fake-left organizations that advocate pursuing the Democratic Party are being dragged to the right.

After tailing the right wing of the Democratic Party in refusing to support busing in Norfolk, Jesse Jackson is beginning to feel the pressure or the pull. He can't move to the right as fast as the Democratic Party demands. He's jeopardizing his voting base. Black people aren't keeping in step with the anti-Soviet war drive. He's fast becoming a black face in a high place with a diminishing voting base.

Farrakhan's preachings, by the way, of race-hating and anti-Semitism can only politically disarm black social struggle. Farrakhan wanted Malcolm X dead and is on good terms with Metzger of the Klan. Neither the Democratic Party illusions nor support to the reactionary illusions of Farrakhan can succeed in advancing any effective social struggle by blacks.

The Democratic Party not only stands as an obstacle to the advancement of labor, it stands as an obstacle to the struggle for black freedom. And by that token, it stands as an obstacle to the advancement of a revolutionary program across the scale and the rights of all layers of the population.

For Revolutionary Leadership of the Working Class!

The labor movement must forge a new leadership through education and class struggle. Labor needs class-struggle solidarity *in action!* The Machinists should be backing up the TWA flight attendants. "Wimpy" Winpisinger should be swept out of the way. The Machinists, pilots and Teamsters should be solidly behind this strike. That's the only way it's going to win. Labor must measure its success or failure on the ability to shut down the struck facility. Labor must determine who its allies and who its enemies are on the basis of who is helping or who is opposing the shutdown of the struck facility. Consumer boycotts, consumer campaigns are useless gimmicks. The power of labor is on the picket line, and picket lines mean don't cross.

In New York City, a heroic black transit worker, James Grimes, acted in self-defense against a deadly attack. The TA and the government have just indicted him on possession of a gun. The union leadership, meanwhile, has been stabbing this man in the back. These false leaders won't mobilize the strength of the transit union in his defense. The entire New York City labor movement should be standing behind Grimes, in defense of the rights of working people against the union-busting, race-hating Koch government. Koch brings Reagan terrorism home to New York City. Hundreds of black and Hispanic people have been gunned down in the streets by New York's "finest." So class-struggle politics demands defense of the right of armed self-defense. It demands that the cops who murder blacks and Hispanics be put in jail.

It demands low-cost, quality public housing for working people. It demands the integration of the schools, it demands free higher education. It demands free medical care, 24-hour day care and free abortion on demand. It demands jobs for the jobless, homes for the homeless, food for the starving. It demands the end of the anti-Soviet war drive and defense of weak nations against imperialist attack. Only the struggle of the working class linked to the struggle for black liberation can open the road to a political movement that will bring the Reaganite reaction to a halt. And open the way to winning the rights for homosexuals, and making a cure for AIDS a social priority. This is the only way to form a social struggle that will halt the drive to World War III.

Labor's political program and action must be brought together in the concrete form of a workers party independent of both the Democrats and Republicans. The working class needs a party that will lead the struggle for the emancipation of labor from exploitation. A party that will unite labor in solidarity, *unlike* the British Labour Party which sabotaged the last British coal miners strike. A party that will not take over the instruments of capitalist state repression but will replace that machinery with organs of workers rule. A party that will fight to establish a planned economy, a plan that is based on social need instead of serving the minority of capitalists at the expense of social interests.

The Spartacist League is the nucleus of that party. Labor desperately needs revolutionary leadership. The Spartacist League is committed to providing that leadership. Labor Black Leagues can provide the basis for the building of a revolutionary party in this country. Our press, *Workers Vanguard*, is our main political organ and I urge anyone who doesn't have a subscription to get one. Further, I urge those who do have a subscription to commit themselves to political and educational struggle.

On November 27, 1982 the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League initiated a demonstration in Washington, D.C. of 5,000 blacks and trade unionists and stopped the Klan in

continued on page 8

WV Photo

Striking Hormel meatpackers face bosses' government.

WV Photo

Unions take the lead in mobilizing to defend school busing in Norfolk, Virginia, May 1983.

Labor Must Fight...

(continued from page 7)

Reagan's America from marching through that city. That demonstration shows the way forward for class struggle. I urge everyone here to fight for a revolutionary leadership. Fight for a workers' future! Fight for a revolutionary party that will establish a workers government!

Discussion

During the floor discussion a black woman addressed the speakers:

> "I am not a member of the Spartacist League. My question is that from what I can see you're talking about a poor black person or Puerto Rican. How do you really actually go about getting them to join your organization and follow your organization?... I mean what do you have to offer us that we should follow your organization?"

Ed Kartsen devoted his summary remarks to answering this question, explaining why the key to black liberation is the construction of a multiracial party for socialist revolution.

Summary

Kartsen: We stand firmly for revolutionary integration. The American political situation was frozen with the betrayal of the gains of the Civil War. It was frozen with the alliance between the Northern capitalists and the Southern segregationists. We know that the only road to fight back is the road of the alliance of the revolutionary working class linked with the struggle for black freedom.

The political struggle for black freedom is not a question of moralism; it is not a question of appealing to the oppressed in terms of the oppressed being the most revolutionary by definition. The working class at large—black, white, men and women, Hispanic and all foreign workers—can only advance by linking workers' rights to the black question. That is what revolutionaries must stand and fight for, that's what the Spartacist League fights for and that is the basis from which we fight to recruit and have recruited black militants.

Students can play a role. Whites recruited to a revolutionary program can play a role. Hispanic people can play a role, and blacks can play a role. Revolutionary leadership is based on the principles of Marxism and class struggle. It is not a moral question. Moralism is more adapted to the position which the liberal left has taken and the position which the civil rights movement fell on.

Black people come to revolutionary consciousness understanding that racist segregation in America is based on capitalist rule. The working class and its organizations are oppressed on the basis of capitalist rule. This country is preparing for world war. It is destroying the unions. It is forcing labor to keep in step militarily with the right-wing mobilization for World War III, and black people are having none of it. It is on that objective foundation that the program of revolutionary integration, which links the struggles of labor to black people, can succeed. And it is on that objective basis that the majority of black people and working-class people will unite for the freedom of the entire human race. That's the foundation from which we as the Spartacist League, as a revolutionary core of a vanguard party, fight for a revolutionary program.

The needs and interests of black people and the working class are one. They are united on the basis of a vanguard party that will fight to liberate the entire human race from capitalist oppression. That is the essential point. And November 27, when 5,000 black people and trade unionists united to stop the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, we were one! It is consistently carrying forward of that united force which is going to break Reagan reaction, which is going to open the way for the liberation of this society from Reagan reaction, from war, from poverty and from capitalism. It is on that foundation that we will unite black, white, Hispanic and the workers of this planet to overthrow imperialist oppression which keeps the entire human race on the verge of destruction. ■

Union Militants Must Fight for Workers Party

At the Spartacist League forum in New York, guest speaker Gene Herson responded to a question on the role of opposition caucuses in the trade unions:

I organized a caucus in the National Maritime Union called the Militant-Solidarity Caucus.

The basic problem in the union movement is the political consciousness of the workers. Number one, the American workers do not understand that there are two classes, the capitalist class and the working class, and that they have counterposed positions and that only one class can run society. That is the bottom line. The capitalists defend their profits based on nation-states. Workers have to understand their interests are international, counterposed to nationalism or patriotism. There has to be a sense of all workers being united. And the number one obstacle in this country is racism.

And reliance on the state—the illusion that you can find solutions within the state apparatus: the bureaucracy of the union relies on legislation and lobbying, so an "oppositionist" relies on going to the courts and suing the union, suing his officials, seeking redress under the Landrum-Griffin Act which is a subpart of the Taft-Hartley Act, the cornerstone of anti-unionism.

And the third [obstacle] is the idea you can change the system through the Democratic Party.

A caucus is not the solution. It's a way of organizing workers around a class-struggle program to elevate their consciousness to see beyond that and the need to organize on a broader conception. Right now, you're not going to find all workers uniting to make a revolutionary struggle. What you're going to find is pockets of workers who are in struggle and they're looking for answers.

I would say the best direction as a worker in a union who has organized a caucus is that you start to look for a way to link up with the rest of workers who want to overthrow the system that exploits and oppresses us and look for a workers party. Obviously, I think the Spartacist League is the forerunner of the American workers party that will make a revolution that will overthrow capitalism and oppression.

TWA Stewardess: Scabs Are Dangerous to Your Life

The following are excerpts from remarks at the May 2 Spartacist forum in New York City by Connie Duquette, a member of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants, on strike against TWA for the last two months.

Today is Day 57 of our strike. I've been flying 13 years. When I started I had five and a half weeks of intensive safety training. We were taught CPR [cardio-pulmonary resuscitation], we're taught emergency procedures, how to deliver babies, to take care of drunks, psychopaths, all these different situations. When I was hired, you could be washed out for anything. If you could not evacuate a plane in 90 seconds, you were gone.

We've had two recent evacuations on TWA with our 18-day wonders [scab flight attendants]. They've been trained in 18 days. The first evacuation, in Boston, none of the slides were armed. Smoke was filling the cabin. One flight attendant was seen to be walking up and down with a fire extinguisher going, "everything's fine." The passengers were freaking out; they had to open their own exits. They were jumping out of the wings. People could have died on that. Fortunately, there was no fire. In the second evacuation, in St. Louis, the flight attendant did not know how to open the door. A passenger opened it. People's lives are being risked. A man died of a heart attack recently on a flight because the crew had no conception of CPR, and they watched him die.

We are in a service industry and we are trained to be horrendously polite. I mean people abuse us verbally, physically. I've been tossed over seats. I've been smacked in the face. On one flight I had a kid wet on me, a kid do the other thing, I got thrown up on and a kid had a nosebleed all over me. I mean this is like a typical day. I don't want to work for that kind of money. I don't want to work under those kind of work rules. So we went on strike, all these nice people, and the first day that I actually got up my nerve to yell "Scab!" this other woman said, "I don't think you should yell like that. That's really rude." And I said, "This is not a tea party here."

WV Photo

Connie Duquette

I did not think our group was as strong as we are. Ten percent have crossed. The others are hanging very strong. We're picketing in the city. We're going to other union and labor meetings. We need all the support we can get. United Auto Workers have been supporting us and picketing with us. Other pilots have been picketing with us. The other pilots are trying to get our pilots thrown out of ALPA [Air Line Pilots Association]. Transport workers, a lot of these people have been out and we need the help. Those of us that are still there I do not believe will cross. If this goes on another year, I'll stay with it another year. Most of us will.

But we need the support of everybody in labor, we need the support of everybody. So please don't fly TWA, and if you feel like coming out and joining us on the line, we would love having you there. Some of you already have and we really appreciate it. We are hanging in there and we are getting a lot stronger for it and a lot more unified, and when we do go back the scabs are going to have to be real careful. And if we can win this, well, maybe other unions have a chance too, because they're trying to kill us all.

When we got into this we didn't know anything about unions. I mean we're a member of a union, we paid our dues. If a passenger complained and we had to go in to our supervisor, we'd take our union rep and that was about it. That was our union involvement. But we're getting on-the-job training, which is a lot better than the scabs are doing. The new-hires, after 57 days, are still not allowed to turn on the oven and cook a hot meal for the passengers. They get cold snacks. If you fly from Tel Aviv, you get a cold ham and cheese sandwich and that's it.

The point is we're learning fast. A year ago, if you had taken a stack of *Workers Vanguard* papers and put them in a room this size filled with flight attendants, maybe five would have picked them up. Now, there are stacks of them in our strike headquarters and they are being read. I've seen them on the picket lines. I've seen them in the strike vans. They are being devoured. We are so hungry for any help, any information, anything we can get.

Bulletin's Hormel Lies

We told it straight. "Hormel Strike Knifed," declared our headline, adding "All Labor Will Pay for This Treacherous Defeat!" (*WV* No. 400, 28 March). For seven long months on the picket lines—against a union-busting company, backstabbing International union tops, a liberal Democratic governor and the National Guard—the Hormel meatpackers hung tough. But finally, in the face of this unholy alliance, the leaders of Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota decisively turned away from union action. Instead of a class-struggle program to clear the scabs out of the plant and win the strikers' jobs back, they called for a nationwide consumer boycott and announced they would sue the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) in the capitalist courts. "And so after a hard, bitter fight the heroic Hormel strike has been smashed," we wrote.

We knew we would hear soon from the fake-left and others, whose program of tailing after the labor bureaucracy prevents them from *saying what is*. Sure enough, on April 1, the *Bulletin*, newspaper of David North's Workers League (WL), ran a full-page polemic titled, "'Workers Vanguard' Buries the Hormel Strike." The article, by *Bulletin* editor Martin McLaughlin, labels the Spartacist League "dyed-in-the-wool defeatists" and claims:

> "For all the rhetorical denunciations of the betrayals of the UFCW International, the resolution and the entire analysis of Spartacist AGREE with the position of the UFCW that the strike is over and it is time for a post-mortem."

It's not surprising the *Bulletin* resorts to this lying amalgam, a smear tactic from Stalin's arsenal, equating the SL's call for class-struggle unionism with the UFCW International's *scabherding*. The entire resolution he refers to, by Spartacist supporter Stan Gow in the West Coast dock union (ILWU), is a bitter attack on "the labor traitors that currently make up the top leadership of the American labor movement" for having "deliberately isolated and stabbed in the back" the Hormel strike.

The professional con artists of the Workers League don't have to bow to the Stalinists when it comes to cynical lies: having signed up as press agents for local president Jim Guyette and his adviser Ray Rogers of Corporate Campaign, Inc., the WL simply declares that P-9's "decision to defy the International" was an "enormous advance" and a "great step forward for the entire labor movement." So—presto!—the workforce of more than 1,000 scabs who have been working in the Austin plant for more than two months now is simply disappeared!

What is this act of "defiance" North's WL praises so highly? They're not talking about a plant seizure, mind you, or militant mass picketing (as opposed to symbolic "civil disobedience") to drive out the Guard, stop the scabs, shut the plant down and *keep it shut* until the strike wins. Guyette and Rogers accept the government's claim that such class-struggle tactics would be "violent" and therefore unacceptable. No, what they are referring to is *taking the UFCW International union to court*. The *Bulletin* article explicitly states that "the P-9 lawsuit is perfectly justifiable as a defensive measure...."

—1 April 1986 Bulletin

The Politics of the Spartacist League

'Workers Vanguard' Buries the Hormel Strike

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hormel Strike Knifed

In 1979, when a WL agent, Alan Gelfand, was expelled from the Socialist Workers Party, North & Co. sued the SWP in federal court. Thus the Northites were calling on the class enemy to determine the membership of a self-proclaimed socialist organization! And as part of this provocation, the WL called on the court to pry into the SWP's minutes, finances—in short, every aspect of its functioning. Gerry Healy, North's British boss until recently (when Healy was blown out of the water in a scandal involving Libyan gold, fingering Iraqi Communists and allegations of sexual importunities with young women), would have leftist opponents beaten up by his goons, then sue them when they complained about it in print.

The Workers League has always had great faith in bourgeois justice. Remember their notorious support for the 1971 NYC police "strike," moreover at a time when the racist cops were flexing their bonapartist muscles for more leeway to go after the Black Panthers! Until recently virtually the entire British left shared with the Healyites the idea that cops were incipient "comrades." But the British miners strike, when the cops beat heads and tear-gassed strikers for 12 solid months, taught the British workers a lesson in the nature of the state and discredited the cop-loving Healyites in the eyes of militants.

For Marxists it is axiomatic that the state is not "neutral" but the armed fist of the ruling class. The behavior of the cops, courts and National Guard during the Hormel strike has dramatically proved this again. What P-9er expects to get justice in the courtroom of Judge Bruce Stoner, whose injunctions have made real picketing illegal? Experience from the United Mine Workers to the NYC hospital union has shown over and over that when the government intervenes in the internal affairs of labor, the workers always end up paying. Rather than being a weapon for the Hormel strikers against the company and the treacherous UFCW bureaucrats, this suit will only help the bosses hamstring and control the union movement.

The *Bulletin* article promises to be the first of a series on "The Politics of the Spartacist League." An introduction describes the SL as "imbedded... deeply into the sewers of middle-class radicalism," and other uncomplimentary phrases. (This is a comedown, of sorts—last year the WL was labeling us "racist" and even "fascist.") To back up such charges, it claims that the SL last year "hailed" the NYC "subway vigilante," Bernhard Goetz, and "denounced" black revolt in South Africa, supposedly saying that armed struggle against apartheid was "hopeless." Anyone who has read *Workers Vanguard* or is familiar with the politics of the Spartacist League knows that these are patent lies. We have refuted them, exhaustively, in our article "Smash Fascist Smear of SL" (*WV* No. 379, 17 May 1985). But North, McLaughlin et al. have fed well at the Healyite trough, and figure that they can dish out any amount of hogwash and get away with it.

The *Bulletin* lies about what we say on the Hormel strike; they lie about the SL's position on South Africa and the black question in the U.S. Aren't they afraid of getting caught out? The purpose of such obvious falsehoods is not to win over any independent worker or radical who comes in contact with the Spartacists. (In fact, anyone who does admit having talked to the SL is immediately given an ultimatum—break off all contact with "the Sparts," or else.) Rather, these deliberate lies are a *political straitjacket*, to imprison their own members, morally and programmatically. Either you accept and defend them—all of them—or you're out of the Workers League. And once you've prostituted yourself peddling this crap, you've signed away your right to differ on anything: you are a proven liar.

There is one industry in the country where the WL is active and their work can be compared with that of Spartacist supporters: New York City transit. Recall that the *Bulletin* declared Bernhard Goetz a racist would-be killer on the sole grounds that he was a white man who shot some black youths; whether or not Goetz faced or feared a mugging was irrelevant to them, because in their legalist view only the "authorities" should have guns. The Goetz case was ambiguous, and we said so at the time. But recently a clear-cut case of self-defense has arisen, of black subway token clerk James Grimes, who shot robbers threatening his life in a hold-up attempt. Spartacist supporters together with token clerks and other transit workers have taken up Grimes's case, seeking to mobilize broad union support. But the WL has *done nothing* to defend Grimes against management discipline and attempts by the D.A. to railroad him to jail on gun possession charges or worse. The *Bulletin* has not mentioned this case once. This group which hailed the 1971 NYC cop "strike" won't defend a black man with a gun.

The WL's brand of "colorblind," legalistic unionism shares the fundamental values of the racist pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, which is why the *Bulletin* kept calling on every sworn enemy of P-9, from the AFL-CIO and UFCW tops on down, to aid the Hormel strike. The Spartacist League, in contrast, put forward a program to mobilize the ranks of labor in militant class struggle. It is not "defeatism" to recognize a defeat when it is staring you in the face. No doubt many Hormel workers will find this hard to take. But revolutionary politics is not a popularity contest: it's a matter of providing *leadership*. According to the *Bulletin*, things are getting better and better—all you have to do is believe. But Hormel workers aren't Peter Pans, and David North sure as hell isn't Tinkerbell. As Trotskyists we prefer to face the facts, in order to forge a party that can lead a *winning* fight. As Stan Gow's motion in the ILWU said of the Hormel strike, "All American workers are going to pay for this treacherous defeat. Next time there had better be a massive show of force by the labor movement to smash the union-busters." ■

Hormel...

(continued from page 12)

Vanguard supporter in Iowa pointed out that the rally will take place in the city park, which is nowhere near the Hormel plant:

> "These workers plainly need a lot of things more than another day of Saturday speechifying and walking through the park. For example, a mass march which would end by placing them firmly inside the Hormel plant, along with a few thousand other unionists, and holding it until management rescinded the firings, granted them back pay, and agreed to no cutback on jobs at the plant."

Labor must mobilize to defend the fired Local 431 members!

Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!

The day after the Austin rally, who should show up in town but would-be "mediator" Jesse Jackson, who announced he had "lifted the spirits of the people on both the side of labor and the side of management" (*Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, 14 April). Jackson was in Austin to advertise his upcoming "Rainbow Coalition" meeting and hustle votes for the racist, union-busting Democratic Party, the party of Governor Perpich who called in the National Guard against the Hormel strikers, the party of Philadelphia mayor Goode, who massacred the black men, women and children of MOVE.

For P-9ers and all who were inspired by the fight they waged, a central lesson of the defeat at Hormel must be the need to fight for a class-struggle workers party. But various fake-socialists instead retail the lie that impotent civil disobedience and consumer boycotts will win. From the openly pro-Wynn Communist Party to the Socialist Workers Party, which covers for the bureaucracy's backstabbing of P-9, these reformists are united in their desire to prevent labor struggles from breaking the limits of narrow trade unionism, and the chains which tie labor and blacks to the Democratic Party.

Hormel is not the first strike that has been defeated in this country. In 1894, a local manufacturing strike grew into the historic Pullman Railway Strike, organized by Eugene Debs's American Railway Union (ARU). The strike was crushed in a bitter battle that saw dozens of workers killed, and hundreds blacklisted from the railroads. In the strike's aftermath, Debs and other ARU members began to question their assumptions about American "democracy." In jail after the strike, Debs began to read some Marxist writings. In 1898 the remnants of the ARU founded the Social Democracy of America, a forerunner of the Socialist Party which was founded in 1901. Thus, many veterans of the strike, following Debs, made the leap from bread-and-butter unionists to militant socialists.

From the beginning of the Hormel strike, P-9's allies were the working people and oppressed minorities across the country, who knew that the battle of this union local in the heartland of America was their fight. Under revolutionary leadership these powerful allies could have been organized in mass action to crush Hormel's union-busting drive. The Spartacist League is fighting for a class-struggle leadership of the workers movement, forged in political combat to drive out the labor fakers, from Kirkland and Wynn on down, who tie the unions to the capitalist enemy. For a workers party which fights for a workers government!

Contributions for strikers' defense can be sent to: P-9 Legal Defense Fund, 316 N.E. Fourth Avenue, Austin, Minn. 55912; Ottumwa Support Group, Box 1355, Ottumwa, Iowa 52501. ■

Media Meltdown...

(continued from page 1)

from tours of the Soviet Union to check them for "contamination." (The amounts were so minute one technician quipped it would only be harmful if they ate off the soles of their shoes.)

It was, moreover, a *manipulated media panic*. At the imperialist summit in Tokyo, Reagan tried to deny the U.S. was engaged in "Soviet bashing" while one key official said, "the last thing we want to seem to be doing is any gloating." Gloating isn't the half of it. The Reaganites were having an anti-Soviet field day. Add to the usual "Russians eat babies for breakfast" Cold War rhetoric quite a dose of Ukrainian malice, as the media interviewed expatriates filled with hatred for the October Revolution, who all seem to have left in 1944 (i.e., with the retreating Wehrmacht). And a special contribution from that coterie of social democratic Cold Warriors around Jeane Kirkpatrick, notably Kenneth Adelman, the man who wouldn't call nuclear war "horrible" until it was clear his appointment by Congress as head of the "arms control" agency depended on it.

The "evil empire" propaganda was coming not only from Reagan but also liberals like the *Washington Post* (30 April), who claimed in an editorial ("The Russian Syndrome") that the Soviets don't put "the same value on

NBC

Chernobyl power plant, site of serious nuclear accident in the Soviet Ukraine.

capitalist media has been a Big Lie.

Reagan's accusations of Soviet "disregard" for international welfare are not only lies but the height of hypocrisy, coming from the gang that wants to *nuke Russia* with a first strike. Far more dangerous than the Chernobyl incident was the deliberately provocative U.S. invasion of Soviet territorial waters in the Black Sea in March. *That* might have triggered a nuclear showdown. From Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan, the Pentagon is trying to escalate its "low intensity conflicts" with "Soviet surrogates" into confrontation with the Russian bear. And now CBS News (5 May) reports that the U.S. is planning *yet another* attack on Libya, this time with cruise missiles: "The administration is currently debating which targets

Government gave the information, which is true and reliable, that two died. But you didn't like that. So you talked about 2,000 deaths.... It's a lie" (*New York Times*, 3 May). But as the Reaganites learned from Joe McCarthy and Josef Goebbels, mud sticks if you thrnw enough of it.

Lie No. 2: "Mass Grave for 15,000 N-Victims." This wildly incredible claim also came from the Ukrainian "community" in the U.S. There are indeed mass graves in the Ukraine—they contain mostly Jews, such as the one at Babi Yar—but they were made by Nazis, not Russians, with the help of Ukrainian fascists in World War II.

Lie No. 3: "This time we apparently have the real thing, the core meltdown that Three Mile Island was not" (*Washington Post*, 30 April). To begin with, Three Mile Island involved a partial meltdown, which came within an hour of being total. As for the Chernobyl accident, physicists are divided over whether there was any kind of a meltdown—an uncontrolled nuclear reaction. According to the *New York Times* (30 April), Yale physicist Allan Bromley, a government adviser on nuclear policy, pointed out that the Chernobyl accident "was almost certainly not a classic meltdown." Given the "design and physics of the Soviet reactor," he noted, "the fuel temperatures could not soar high enough for this to occur."

Apparently what happened was that graphite blocks, used in Soviet reactors to "moderate" the nuclear reaction, overheated and caught fire. At some point, a chemical explosion apparently blew open the reactor, releasing a cloud of radioactive particles into the atmosphere. "The reactor was turned off immediately after the accident," said Boris Yeltsin, Moscow Communist Party leader, in a West German TV interview. The 30 April TASS statement noted specifically that "no chain reaction fission of nuclear fuel is taking place." The big problem was putting out the graphite fire.

Lie No. 4: "It'll Burn for Weeks" (*Daily News*, 1 May). This widely publicized assertion was based on the offhand comment of Harold Denton, an official of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission—hardly a paragon of technical truth. The day after, the Americans' "interagency panel" on the nuclear emergency was backtracking, saying that "the latest Air Force reconnaissance photos made it 'plausible' that the Soviet Union had put out the fire, as Moscow contended" (*New York Times*, 2 May).

Lie No. 5: "Thousands Flee Nuke Nightmare—Help Us, USSR Pleads" (*Daily News*, 30 April). This is intended to make the Soviet government look like helpless idiots, supposedly pleading for allegedly superior American technical aid while a leaderless population panics. Wouldn't the Pentagon's first-strike war planners love that? But it's pure fantasy. The Soviets did carry out an organized evacuation of four settlements near the plant, reportedly 49,000 people—without upsetting May Day celebrations in Kiev. This was hardly panicky "fleeing." By way of comparison, when a test of evacuation plans for communities around Long Island's Shoreham nuclear plant was scheduled a while ago, it was called off because 1) local authorities considered evacuation impossible, and 2) they feared the chaos of a test evacuation could lead to deaths.

While White House spokesmen made a big publicity point of offering U.S. "help," they never did have any suggestions about how to put the fire out—the Russians did that all by themselves, apparently by dumping wet sand on it. The Soviets did take up the offer of help from the International Bone Marrow Transplant Registry at UCLA. The need for bone marrow transplants to treat severe radiation cases requires precise matches of tissue types, and hence a large pool to draw from.

Lie No. 6: "Experts: By Design, It Can't Happen Here" (*Newsday*, 30 April). After Three Mile Island? U.S. reactors, they say, use "containment" buildings to prevent release of radioactive material (they don't mention that the containment wouldn't help much in a total meltdown), and they don't use graphite-moderated reactors. This is not true for military/research reactors run by the Energy Department, which believes containment buildings "are not cost effective" (*New York Times*, 3 May). The Hanford facility in Washington state, which uses a graphite moderator like the Chernobyl reactor, is "designed to produce weapon-grade plutonium," unlike the Chernobyl plant which is a civilian utility.

Lie No. 7: The reports of a Soviet electricity "Shutdown" (*Newsday*, 2 May) turned out to be a gross exaggeration. Only nuclear plants similar to the one at Chernobyl were shut down—a wise move under the circumstances—amounting to a temporary loss of less than 5 percent of total Soviet electric power production.

Beyond disinformation: American media radiates anti-Soviet hysteria.

civilian lives...as does the democratic West." That's quite a mouthful coming from the only country to ever use nuclear weapons...against the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a toll of more than 90,000 dead immediately and another 110,000 from the aftereffects! And don't forget those innocent civilians repeatedly irradiated over the years by fallout from U.S. nuclear tests in the Pacific. Recent evidence suggests that Marshall Islanders may have been deliberately exposed to the fallout so that they could be guinea pigs to study the effects of radiation on humans (London *Guardian*, 2 May).

So in the midst of this media meltdown, what did happen at the Chernobyl power plant? The Russians clearly want to minimize it, and they have their story. The Americans clearly want to maximize it, and they have lots of stories...which are all now collapsing on each other. All the satellite photos and other paraphernalia available to the U.S. "intelligence community" have not come up with anything to contradict the assertions in Soviet press statements. There was a serious nuclear accident, two people reportedly died immediately, about 20 are said to be in serious condition and around 200 were hospitalized. Several towns were evacuated. Certainly there will be many more deaths in the weeks and years to come among the Soviet citizens exposed to the Chernobyl accident. And there will be an increased incidence of cancer in that region. But most everything else in the should be hit." The real nuclear danger is from the White House.

Manipulated Media Panic

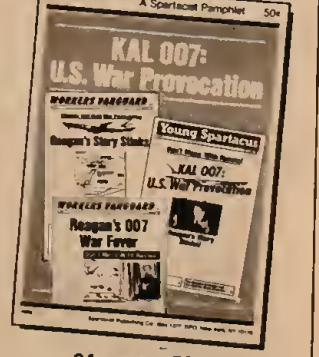
Here are only some of the Big Lies that have been strewn over the airwaves and published in millions of copies by the U.S. media in the last week. The purpose: to create anti-Soviet panic.

Lie No. 1: "2,000 dead." This came from a phone conversation with an "unidentified Kiev resident," according to UPI. It was later stated by the UPI night editor in Washington that this was "an unconfirmed report" which "came out of U.S. intelligence" (from column by Hunter Thompson in the 5 May *San Francisco Examiner*). When the Soviets issued their statement reporting only two dead, 197 hospitalized, with 18 in "serious condition," U.S. Arms Control Agency head Kenneth Adelman claimed this was "frankly preposterous" (he wanted more). But Dr. Richard Reba, director of nuclear medicine at George Washington University Medical Center, said the Moscow statement "makes sense," since anyone immediately killed by radiation would have had to be "in the reactor facility or very close to it."

Western media also noted with bewilderment that life was "normal" in nearby Kiev, where May Day celebrations went on as scheduled—impossible if a holocaust had just occurred in the suburbs. As the chief spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Vladimir Lomeiko, rightfully complained at a New York conference on U.S.-Soviet press relations this week: "The Soviet

Anti-Soviet Chain Reaction

The sequence of events as described by Soviet spokesmen appears utterly plausible. The accident reportedly hap-



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pened on the night of Friday/Saturday, April 25/26; the first public announcement came on Monday, April 28. Soviet foreign ministry spokesman Lomeiko told Western reporters:

> "An event rose there [at Chernobyl], and its consequences were not known to us. It was a leak of radiation. But when it became known that it was not an event with just local repercussions, we informed you."

The Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency was informed of the partial destruction of a reactor and leakage of radioactivity. Contrary to scare stories about "death clouds" spreading across Europe, the radiation levels outside the Soviet Union were minuscule and quickly dissipated. Danish scientists measured radiation at 0.02 millirems per hour on May 1, or 1/500th of the amount of one chest x-ray. In Sweden, the peak was recorded at 2 millirems. "By comparison," the *New York Times* (2 May) noted, "a passenger flying from Los Angeles to New York receives a dose of 2.5 millirems from cosmic rays."

There was a series of successively more detailed Soviet news releases as information was verified—and so far they have proven to be *true*, unlike the hysterical Western reports. The *New York Times* (1 May), attempting to draw parallels about "Soviet Secrecy," noted that the Soviet news release process "recalled the defensive Soviet coverage of the South Korean [KAL 007] airliner incident, when Moscow took six days to concede that it had shot down the plane, and then gradually increased the doses of information while it built its case that the plane had been on an espionage mission." But in the sequel, all evidence points to the fact that the KAL jetliner *was* on a U.S. spy mission (see "KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane," *WV* No. 379, 17 May 1985).

If this process seems slow by Western standards, it's not a Kremlin plot of secrecy but reflects the slowness of the ponderous Stalinist bureaucracy. If the Soviets can be faulted, it's that they did not inform *their own people* fast enough or with enough detail, leaving them susceptible to capitalist panic-mongering. And the decision-making levels of the apparatus may indeed *not have known* what happened. The cumbersome bureaucracy has built-in buffers against the impact of reality. Consider the illusions implied by the statement of Vitali Sklyarov, minister of power and electrification of the Ukraine, in an interview in the February 1986 issue of *Soviet Life* featuring the nuclear power plant at Chernobyl: "The odds of a meltdown are one in 10,000 years. The plants have safe and reliable controls that are protected from any breakdown...."

There is no doubt that Soviet safety standards have been undermined by the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution. Prophetically, a March 27 article in the Soviet journal *Literaturna Ukraina*, by a woman described as a senior manager at the Chernobyl plant, complained of "deficiencies" in the building of the plant due to bureaucratic attempts to fulfill "unrealistic quotas" (*Newsday*, 2 May). A thoroughly plausible scenario printed in the same paper ascribes the accident to a sudden cutoff of electrical power to the coolant system. Naturally, the emergency backups also failed. Why shouldn't they? No time-serving bureaucrat would have checked it out—he figures he'll be gone in three years. It sounds all too true.

The *Washington Post* called Soviet society "accident-prone." Certainly workers democracy would clear up a lot of snafus in this degenerated workers state. But talk about throwing stones in glass houses: so far this year the U.S. has managed to blow up a billion-dollar space shuttle with seven people on board; explode a $500-million spy satellite atop a Titan rocket; spend $70 million on an underground nuclear test which failed when the blast destroyed the test equipment; run two nuclear subs aground; and this week they blow up a weather satellite atop a Delta rocket at Cape Canaveral. So much for the "magic of the marketplace." When one Congressman tried to taunt Soviet embassy spokesman Vitaly Churkin at a House hearing by asking him to explain "in laymen's terms" the Chernobyl accident, Churkin shot back: "Can you tell me in those same layman terms why the Challenger disaster happened?" (*New York Times*, 2 May). Behind this hoary old evasion stands a grim reality, the results of the market.

If you want to talk about genuinely sinister governmental cover-up and silence, what about the incident near Palomares, Spain in January 1966, where a U.S. B-52 crashed, losing four 20-megaton H-bombs. For 44 days the U.S. would not even acknowledge that it had lost anything, even while American troops scoured the Spanish countryside with Geiger counters. Eventually the U.S. admitted that two of the bombs had broken open, spraying the region with deadly radioactive plutonium and enriched uranium. The radiation was "basically harmless," the U.S. insisted, even as they secretly scooped up *1,500* tons of topsoil and shipped it back to the U.S. for burial. But there was no outcry about the "madmen" in Washington from the U.S. media or the "European community" of NATO—that rhetoric is reserved for the Soviet Union only.

Chernobyl and the Anti-Soviet War Drive

What's going on in the U.S. and West Europe this week is a sinister amalgamation of hysterias, cleverly manipulated into anti-Soviet panic. In the wake of the Three Mile Island near-meltdown in March 1979, we wrote, "Of course nuclear energy is far from completely safe and is fraught with unsolved problems.... But the alternatives under capitalism are just as, if not more, unsafe" ("No-Nuke Syndrome," *WV* No. 229, 13 April 1979). A nuclear power industry spokesman on CBS-TV's *Nightwatch* recently stated that 300 lives are lost yearly in "conventional" (non-nuclear) power plant operations, not to mention the many thousands of coal miners who have died horrible deaths from black lung disease over the years. And don't forget the Union Carbide disaster in Bhopal, India in December 1984: 2,000 people died immediately, and another 200,000 suffered injuries which will remain with many of them for the rest of their lives. But nobody seriously proposed abandoning the petrochemical industry.

US Army

Hiroshima was no accident! U.S. imperialism A-bombed defenseless Japanese civilians to intimidate Soviet Union.

A *New York Times* (5 May) news analysis noted:

> "People carry in their minds images of the mushroom cloud of Hiroshima, and so atomic bombs and nuclear power plants become to them interchangeable in their potential for death and destruction."

The reformist left has tried to turn these fears into an anti-nuclear movement, by making a false equation between nuclear energy and nuclear weapons. "Shut 'em down!" demanded the radlib *Guardian* (7 May) regarding nuclear power plants, echoing panicky bourgeois media stories about "millions" contaminated by dangerous radiation from the Chernobyl plant. Similarly, the *Militant* (9 May) chimed in with a call to "shut down all nuclear power plants immediately." So the eco-freaks have joined the anti-Soviet war drive. With their logic, you might as well shut down all industry, for good.

The *New York Times* (1 May) airily dismissed the Soviet government's complaints about panic-mongering coverage in the Western press, and recalled Gromyko's statement when he nominated Mikhail Gorbachev head of the CPSU a year ago, that "We live in a world in which, figuratively speaking, various telescopes are aimed at the Soviet Union." They're "just waiting for some sort of crack to appear," he opined. This is not "paranoia" but entirely accurate, as the Chernobyl incident graphically demonstrated. The monstrous inefficiencies and loss of life caused by the Stalinist bureaucracy's stifling of workers democracy are all too real. They only pale in comparison to the deliberate mass murder carried out by the imperialists. Militarily defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, the Soviet workers must take back political power and restore the banner of the Bolshevik October Revolution.

The real threat to the world comes from those nuclear nuts in Washington. You can bet that the nuke planners in the Pentagon were carefully tracking that radioactive cloud this week—not out of humanitarian concern, but to calculate the effects of their planned nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. For them, the Chernobyl accident was merely an out-of-town tryout for nuking Russia. From the MX to the Pershing 2s to the Trident submarines to Reagan's "Star Wars" madness, the U.S. government—Republicans and Democrats alike—are driving us headlong toward a nuclear World War III, and only a proletarian revolution can stop them. ■

Red Purge...

(continued from page 6)

emboldened the witchhunters. UE officials refused to sign until 1949, when they acquiesced, but the FBI and other witchhunters continued to hound them anyway. In 1950 the CIO expelled ten "Communist" unions, including the UE. Across the country, careerist union bureaucrats saw their chance to get rich quick—at the expense of labor's strength and independence—and they offered their services to the bosses for the dirty work. Thus emerged the virulently anti-Communist and docile labor bureaucracy which runs the AFL-CIO today. In the National Maritime Union it was Joe Curran, in the Transport Workers Union it was Mike Quill, and in the UE it was James Carey.

In 1947 Carey launched a dissident group to regain control of the UE, allying himself with the most reactionary elements of the Catholic church in the so-called Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU), with a one-plank program to kick out the "reds." In one typical and critical local election contest at Local 601, Westinghouse, in 1948, Carey was aided by the timely arrival of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which subpoenaed the local's left-wing leaders at the critical moment. In such contests ACTU would often sermonize that the vote "represented a choice between Washington and Moscow, and ultimately between Christ and Stalin," as one Massachusetts priest told his flock (quoted in Bert Cochran, *Labor and Communism* [1977]).

Carey and his group were expelled from the union at the 1949 UE convention, but by 1950 Carey's creation, the International Union of Electrical Workers, had gained control of 56 GE units with 53,000 workers, including Lynn and Everett, while the UE had 46 units with 36,000 members including the Schenectady local. Because the UE membership had mushroomed from 200,000 to 550,000 during the war, when the Roosevelt government encouraged unionization under pro-war bureaucrats, the Matles/Emspak CP leadership had relatively few hardened cadre tested in tough organizing battles. This made it easier for Carey and his redbaiters to do a wrecking job on the union. Democratic president Truman made clear where he stood by sending personal greetings to Carey's IUE in 1949. There was, in short, massive collusion between the bosses' government, the employers and the "labor lieutenants of capital" to break the UE and other "red" unions:

> "Among Congressional committees, a favorite pretext for intervention against UE was the imminence of an NLRB election in which the union was challenging, or being challenged by, an anti-Communist rival. The company, GE or Westinghouse, would petition for an NLRB election under the Taft-Hartley Act, then permit IUE free run of the plant for its campaign, and, when a Congressional committee appeared over the horizon, fire those UE militants who took the Fifth [Amendment].... "HCUA [House Committee on Un-American Activities] repeatedly subpoenaed national and local UE leaders and scheduled hearings to coincide with NLRB elections, as well as negotiations and strikes."
>
> —David Caute, *The Great Fear* (1978)

Joe McCarthy himself lent a hand for Carey. On 17 November 1953, for instance, a screaming headline appeared in the local *Lynn Item*: "NLRB Orders GE Union Poll; McCarthy Due to Quiz Lynn Workers on Red Ties." "Two days later," writes Caute, "McCarthy staged televised hearings in Boston, hot on the heels of the announcement of the NLRB election between UE and IUE at Lynn and Everett." An FBI fink turned over names of alleged "Communists," two of whom were immediately suspended by GE—they were, of course, UE supporters. Needless to say, Carey won the subsequent NLRB "election" (though only by the narrow margin of 5,546 to 4,806). The bosses' red purge succeeded.

Following that reactionary triumph of the anti-Communist labor bureaucracy, the AFL-CIO apparatus became the most servile instrument for subduing the working class. It is proof in the negative of Trotsky's warning, written over 45 years ago: "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat" (*Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*). ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

S.F. Longshore Union Condemns U.S. Terror Against Libya

Longshore militant Stan Gow.

On April 24, the Executive Board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 in San Francisco unanimously passed a resolution condemning the murderous U.S. bombing raid against Libya. This courageous stand places the predominantly black SF longshore local once again in the vanguard of American labor.

Local 10 was forged through the mighty 1934 general strike that smashed open shop conditions in San Francisco. In 1953, at the height of McCarthyite Cold War hysteria, thousands of Local 10 longshoremen drove the HUAC witchhunters out of town. Today, as ILWU members up and down the coast face a concerted employer attack on union conditions, defense of labor at home requires opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive.

We warmly applaud this action by Local 10 in the face of flag-waving, union-busting Reagan reaction. The resolution, presented by Stan Gow, a member of the Executive Board and supporter of the Spartacist League, is printed here:

"ILWU Local 10 supports the cause of Libyan independence and territorial integrity against assaults by U.S. imperialism. We condemn U.S. imperialism's policy of anti-Soviet provocation and its acts of aggression, criminal assassination and mass terror against Libya."

ILWU forged in 1934 San Francisco general strike.

Defend Hormel Strikers!

The government and its loyal cops in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy who knifed the Hormel strike are continuing their all-out assault on the meatpackers' Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota. On Friday, April 11, civil disobedience protests at Hormel's corporate headquarters and the nearby plant gates were assaulted by riot police brought in from throughout the state. The cops waded into a demonstration of hundreds of P-9ers and supporters, using tear gas and clubbing protesters. With over 1,000 scabs working in the plant, which has been operating for three months, P-9ers have little to lose; they defended themselves against the police assault, and several cops had to be treated at St. Olaf's Hospital. To date some 150 P-9 strikers and their supporters are facing criminal charges, some carrying up to ten years in prison.

Meanwhile, the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) International under William Wynn, not satisfied with killing the Hormel strike after sabotaging every effort to bring out the rest of the chain, has moved to place a trusteeship over P-9, holding a kangaroo court "investigation" of the local. In response, local president Jim Guyette announced May 6 that P-9 is suing the International for $13 million. This appeal to the capitalist state, which has persecuted the strikers at every step, will only aid the bosses' attempts to undermine labor. Instead union militants should be fighting to oust the labor traitors like Wynn. Labor must defend P-9! Drop all charges against the Hormel strikers! Down with the UFCW kangaroo court! Cops and courts hands off the unions!

Cops riot against Hormel meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, April 11. Heroic strike was knifed by reactionary labor tops.

For months, the Hormel strike inspired unionists across the country as P-9ers militantly defied the givebacks imposed on meatpackers by Wynn & Co., galvanizing support from hundreds of UFCW members through the use of roving pickets. But the courageous P-9ers were defeated, as the scab Wynn, backed by Lane Kirkland's AFL-CIO, withdrew strike sanction and cut off strike benefits. The P-9 leadership lacked the class-struggle program necessary to defeat the unholy alliance of the company, the state and the labor fakers. Harry DeBoer, a veteran of the powerful Trotskyist-led 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strike, says he told P-9 leaders months ago what it would take:

> "There's no way they'll win a strike with a factory working.... They're going to have to take over the plant. It will be violent, no doubt, but that's the way they're going to have to protect their union."
>
> —quoted in *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, 4 April

This road was not taken. Instead, under the tutelage of Corporate Campaign, Inc. "consultant" Ray Rogers, P-9 leaders retreated into a dead-end campaign of consumer boycott, civil disobedience and dragging the UFCW into the bosses' courts.

Now, the strike leadership and their supporters on the reformist left claim the "strike" is in better shape than ever! On April 12, the National Rank and File Against Concessions (NRFAC) organized a 4,000-strong march and rally in Austin, ostensibly to "shut down Hormel." But as Guyette admitted, the purpose of the rally and the week of civil disobedience which preceded it was "to further intensify our nationwide boycott" against Hormel (UPI, 10 April). Militant unionists have learned from bitter experience, when you go on the boycott list, it's a tombstone over your dead strike. NRFAC is cynically misleading workers to cover up the fact that it opposed shutting down the plant and strike action to drive out the National Guard.

Hormel workers who honored P-9's roving pickets in Ottumwa, Iowa and Fremont, Nebraska are fighting to get their jobs back. In Ottumwa, where over 500 Local 431 members were fired, P-9 supporters won a small victory when the state awarded them unemployment compensation. But the UFCW tops are letting them twist in the wind while their cases drag through the grievance procedure; the arbitrator won't even begin considering the issues until the hearings are concluded at the end of June, and Hormel has begun hiring scabs at the plant.

On Saturday, May 10, NRFAC will co-sponsor a march and rally in Ottumwa for the Local 431 members who stood behind the principle that picket lines mean don't cross. A *Workers*

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 404

23 May 1986

Masses Want Revolution

Down with Haiti Junta!

Jean-Claude Duvalier was the only fat man in Haiti. In this hungry nation, the poorest in the Americas, what "Baby Doc" couldn't eat, drive or put on Madame Michèle's back, he stashed away in Swiss bank accounts. When the president-for-life fled for his life to the Port-au-Prince airport, to be flown aboard a U.S. Air Force C-141 together with his fancy BMW sedan and his fancy wife to a gilded exile in France, Haiti exploded with joy and dancing in the streets. The watchword of the Namphy junta (originally handpicked by the dictator) was: Duvalier is gone—long live Duvalierism! But today, as the country seethes with bitter protest, the Haitian masses are saying: Nothing has changed—everything must change. And this brings them into collision with virtually everyone from Christian Democrats to supposed Communists—all of whom support the junta.

Crowds of starving people marched on food warehouses and quickly emptied their contents. Workers in government offices and private industry went on strike, refusing to continue working under Duvalierist bosses. Taxi and mini-bus drivers paralyzed the capital demanding higher wages. Mass demonstrations forced the junta to abandon the Duvalierist flag. When one of the leaders of the Duvaliers' sinister private army, the Tonton Macoutes, sought to flee in a private plane, hundreds poured onto the runways chanting, "We want communism!" Ultimately the junta was forced to try a few Macoutes, but their leader, "Madame Max" Adolphe, continues to live in luxury. Meanwhile the army has killed scores of demonstrators in the last two months. And the first installment of U.S. "aid" consisted of $384,000 in riot gear to help keep order.

The April 26 Fort Dimanche massacre starkly expressed the government's policy. A memorial was planned to commemorate the victims of Duvalier's bloodbath of the same date in 1963. After a mass, about 2,500 people dressed in mourning headed toward the fort, notorious as the prison where political prisoners were held under "Papa Doc" and "Baby Doc." Without warning, the army opened fire: eight people were killed and 57 wounded. The government justified the army reaction as "normal," blaming the

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Apartheid Terror Strikes

South Africa vs. Africa

MAY 20—Yesterday white racist South Africa went on a murderous rampage, bombing and raiding the capitals of three black African states while burning out black shantytown dwellers at home. As we go to press, the death toll since last Saturday at the Crossroads settlement outside Cape Town is over 50 and rising, with more than 20,000 left homeless. From Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and the Soviet Union to spokesmen for the South African police state it has been universally noted that Pretoria's attacks on the black "front line" states were inspired by the American murder raid on Libya last month. Like Ronald Reagan, the apartheid regime of P.W. Botha denounces "terrorism" to cover its own criminal terror.

The declared target of Botha's terror raids was the African National Congress (ANC), for decades the main organization of black resistance to apartheid slavery. Near Lusaka, Zambia, South African warplanes bombed a refugee camp where the ANC has its exile headquarters. In Zimbabwe's capital of Harare, helicopter-borne South African commandos shot up an ANC office, and across the city a house owned by the black nationalist organization was reduced to rubble. Near Gaborone, Botswana, South African commandos leaped from their helicopters with machine guns blazing. They killed a black government worker.

At the same time, the apartheid butchers are escalating their war at home against the rebellious black townships. This weekend government-organized thugs burned down shantytowns in Crossroads, where for years black militants have battled police trying to evict them. More than 800 shacks have been destroyed by the regime's black vigilantes, scores killed and dozens more injured. Meanwhile, in Johannesburg, where hundreds of white and black students boycotted classes to protest the South African raids, police arrested at least 13. The white-supremacist rulers have replaced their hated pass laws with bloody "squatter removal," as at Crossroads.

AP

Apartheid cops on murderous rampage, from Soweto (above) to Crossroads.

From Washington to Pretoria, imperialist aggression against weak and poor countries is now called "combatting international terrorism." Boasting of the raids against the neighboring black states, South African army chief General A.J. Liebenberg declared: "The action... should be interpreted as indicative of the firm resolve of the Republic of South Africa to use all the means at its disposal against terrorists wherever they may be." Sound familiar? But when "Ronbo" was still a B-movie actor, Pretoria's white supremacists were already justifying their totalitarian police state by labeling all supporters of black freedom as terrorists. Perhaps they are feeling upstaged by Reagan's attempt to murder Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi by bombing his presidential compound in Tripoli.

In recent weeks friendly Western capitals, like Reagan's Washington and Thatcher's London, have been pushing the line that Pretoria was about to enter into negotiations with the ANC. Last March seven leaders of the British Commonwealth, known as the Eminent Persons Group, journeyed to South Africa and visited ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison. They then met with apartheid butcher No. 1, P.W. Botha, and assured him that Mandela was "a man of peace."

Last weekend the Commonwealth Eminent Persons were in Lusaka, Zambia for talks with the ANC leadership. They arrived in South Africa just in time for the bombing raid on the Zambian capital. That was Botha's reply to Western pressure, divestment and all that. It was a big "screw you" to "world opinion." The bombs which exploded in that refugee camp near Lusaka should have exploded the illusion of divestment liberals that South Africa's white supremacists can be pressured into reforming away apartheid by their "democratic" imperialist allies.

These terror raids should also help

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Young Spartacus see pages 7-8

London Printers Battle Cops At Murdoch Scab Plant

Saturday after Saturday, since press tycoon Rupert Murdoch fired his unionized workers throughout Britain on January 21, thousands of print workers have converged on Murdoch's newly opened scab plant at Wapping, in east London, to confront an army of police strikebreakers. The weekly demonstrations, coinciding with the production of the Sunday *Times*, have been designed by union officials to blow off steam: fired printers are marched thrnugh the streets of London up to the gates of "Fortress Wapping"—in order to listen to speeches and march away again.

But on May 3 all hell broke loose, as angry workers intent on defending their johs and their unions engaged in a hloody pitched battle with Margaret Thatcher's cops. Hardly had the 8,000 print workers, miners and other unionists arrived at the plant gate than rocks and smoke bombs flew and police charged into the crowd on galloping horses with truncheons drawn. In scenes reminiscent of the heroic miners strike, police cavalry and riot cops organized in wedge formations went on a murderous rampage. One Scottish printer suffered a heart attack during the melee but police prevented an ambulance from arriving. First-aid buses were full of pickets with serious head injuries.

But especially in the early stages, several cops got a beating—44 cops required hospital treatment and nine were detained overnight (London *Guardian*, 5 May). The cops could have been thrown back on the defensive and a serious move made to seize the plant; however, union tops hastily cleared pickets from the area near the front gate and allowed police to run riot until they regained control. The following weekend mounted cops again charged strikers, arresting several dozen.

From the very outset Murdoch demanded that the unions commit suicide by agreeing to the destruction of the closed shop and acceptance of binding no-strike clauses enforceable by the courts (prevalent in the U.S. but virtually unknown in Britain). The "negotiations" were entirely farcical: as soon as print workers predictably turned down this "offer" and voted to strike, Murdoch sacked them and switched his operations to Wapping and a similar smaller plant in Glasgow. Some 6,000 unionists—predominantly printers and pressmen belonging to the National Graphic Association (NGA), as well as mailers, drivers and clerical workers organized by the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (SOGAT)—found themselves locked out. The new Wapping plant really is a fortress, surrounded by a ten-foot wall with steel gates, a moat and dense rolls of razor-type barbed wire; workers have to enter over a glass-encased drawbridge-like ramp. While union officials dithered in fruitless negotiations, Murdoch had enlisted the services of the viciously anti-communist bureaucracy of the electricians union to recruit scabs for Wapping.

Reporters crossed the picket lines en masse, and thus far Murdoch has gotten away with his scahherding. At stake is not only the future of trade unionism at Murdoch's News International company—the largest newspaper publisher in Britain—but for all printing trades workers. Already other publishers have threatened to shut their plants if the unions don't buy massive concessions. "Captain Bob" Maxwell, Labour Party bigwig and owner of the Mirror group publishing house, has blackjacked the unions into a 30 percent cut in jobs.

Branching out from his native Australia, Murdoch has made millions through his gutter journalism and union-busting. Already the most profitable part of his international empire, his British operation is needed to help finance his grandiose expansion into broadcasting and entertainment in the U.S. Murdoch has recently become a naturalized U.S. citizen: his holdings here include the chauvinist *New York Post* and Chicago *Sun-Times* as well as the recently acquired Metromedia TV stations and Twentieth Century-Fox.

The belated introduction of automated technology into the British printing industry has underscored the ohsolescence of craft unionism, which relies on the supposed irreplaceability of highly skilled labor and rejects class-struggle weapons like mass picket lines. Beating Murdoch requires genuine industrial unionism. And while parnchial NGA and SOGAT leaders constantly grumble abnut "imported American union-husting," they are quick to resort to the same *loser* class-collaborationist methods as their cousins in the American trade-union bureaueracy. Thus the centerpiece of the bureaucrats' strategy has been an impotent appeal for consumers to boycott the Murdoch press. Dozens of local SOGAT branches recently registered their disgust at the union leadership's withdrawal of its halfhearted call on union drivers and distribution workers to "hlack" (hot-cargo) Murdoch titles. Locked in a life and death battle, militant workers well know that kowtowing to the bosses' state won't win this strike.

With Tory prime minister Thatcher's government on the rocks, the Labour Party and trade-union tops are scrambling to demonstrate anew their reliability in enforcing social peace. During the miners strike Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock was widely reviled in the coal fields for his violence-baiting of the strikers and his condemnation of militant picket lines. The Labourite brass would like to disappear the memory of this mighty class struggle that inspired British workers and oppressed. When angry printers sought to break through police barricades at Wapping on May 3, union officials told them to "fight" against police terror through...the ballot box. What Kinnock stands for in this strike is exemplified hy the fact that Labour *ran a Wapping scab* in May 8 London council elections!

A Leninist-Trotskyist party must be forged through splitting the working-class base of the Labour Party from the parliamentarist, pro-capitalist tops. Such a party would mobilize the unions to defend jobs and working conditions as part of the struggle against the whole capitalist system of economic devastation and deindustrialization. The sentiment to bust union-buster Murdoch is there—it must be channeled into effective action. Hundreds of printers with their fists in their pockets go to Wapping hoping that "tonight will be the night" when the scahs are taught some hard lessons. Don't play by Kinnock's rules: For militant mass pickets—miners, drivers, printers, all out to Wapping! Blockade Murdoch! Bust the union-busters! ■

Cagnoni/IFL

Militant women strikers march on Murdoch's scab fortress at Wapping (far right).

Workers Hammer

TROTSKY

LENIN

Trotsky on Revolutionary Leadership

Following Hitler's conquest of power in Germany in 1933, for six days in February 1934 the Austrian working class fought heroically, arms in hand, to defend their general strike against the bonapartist Dollfuss regime, until government artillery finally pounded them into submission. Drawing the lessons of this defeat, Leon Trotsky wrote:

The behavior of the Austrian Social Democracy after the German experience proved that even the "left" parties of the Second International are completely ossified, bogged down, and incapable of learning the revolutionary lessons of the terrible experience of the German proletariat. The courageous struggles of the Austrian workers only prove that the proletariat can be bold and ready to struggle even under the most unfavorable conditions and with the worst leadership. The fact that a few Social Democratic leaders took part in the battles is at best only testimony to their personal valor. But the working class demands political insight and revolutionary courage from its leadership.... Even the narrow-minded petty bourgeois is at times capable of doing his talking with a gun if he is threatened with being deprived of his comforts and forced out of his usual mode of existence. What is necessary, however, is systematic revolutionary education of the vanguard and winning the trust of the majority of the proletariat in the practical intelligence and daring of the proletarian general staff. Without this precondition, victory is completely impossible.... Only a leadership that recognizes in advance that the revolution is unavoidable, that makes this the fundamental principle guiding its actions, and draws all the practical conclusions flowing from this can measure up to the situation at the critical hour.

—Leon Trotsky, "After the Austrian Defeat" (March 1934)

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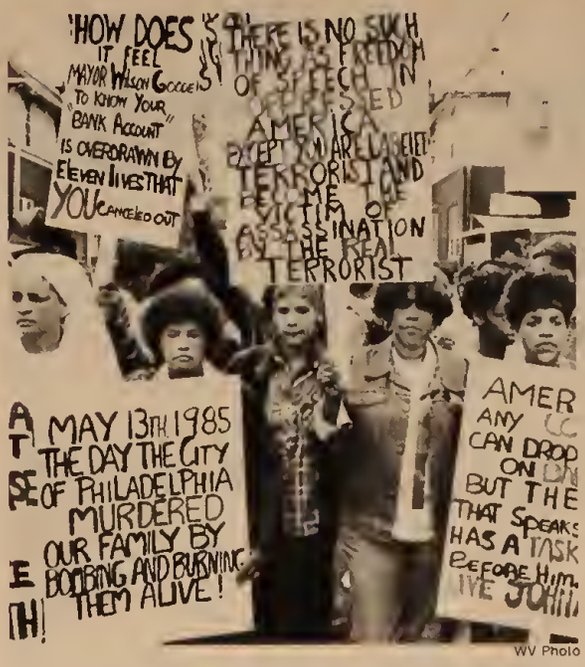
Vengeance for MOVE Martyrs!

PHILADELPHIA, May 13—One hundred supporters and defenders of the black commune MOVE gathered today at the entrance to Osage Avenue, in memory of the eleven MOVE men, women and children who were bombed and burned alive one year ago. Kept behind a chain-link fence by Philadelphia police, MOVE family members lit candles at 5:27 p.m., the time Mayor Wilson Goode's cops bombed the MOVE house after a murderous eleven-hour siege. There should have been a massive labor/black show of outrage today, with thousands demanding vengeance for the MOVE martyrs.

The MOVE massacre, carried out with Reagan/Meese's aid and approval, was a threat to all blacks and workers who want to fight racist, capitalist oppression. Today, the Spartacist League stood with MOVE, as we did a year ago when MOVE supporters were abandoned, and even blamed for this hideous racist atrocity, by the entire reformist "left." We vow to sear 13 May 1985 into the memory of the working class and fighters for black freedom, as we fight for the day that the justice of a victorious American workers revolution will avenge the MOVE martyrs. Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners! ■



"They literally terrorized our family to death!" MOVE relatives march to site of bombing, issue memorial statement (right).

May 13th, 1986

"The Distance to Truth is Completely Unbroken"
John Africa...

On Monday, May 13th, 1985, we watched as members of our family reached the final hours of their lives.

At 5:27 PM on this day, a bomb was dropped culminating a day long siege, with full blown war tactics, at the hands of Philadelphia terrorists... the police, all under the leadership of Mayor Wilson Goode. They literally terrorized our family to death!

A raging inferno was the result of that bomb. And Fire Commissioner Wm. Richmond stood idly by watching that inferno rage, making no attempt to put that fire out. While the Fire Commissioner was watching the fire, Mayor Goode was watching television... The Mayor of the City of Philadelphia monitoring a Holocaust on TV.

When the fire was spent, 11 people were dead— 6 Adults and 5 little Kids, burned and charred beyond recognition.

It is with heavy heart and searing pain that these words are written, but written they must be.

On this day Tues., May 13th, 1986, one year later, we gather in silence that is both solemn and reverent, as we pay tribute to those of our family who were murdered, while the blood still ran warm in their veins.

We mourn with our sisters and brothers who are in jail—some of them lost their children... all of them lost their family.

We thank each and every one of you, who traveled both far and near to stand with us, in this... our hour of remembrance.

Sharon, Gail, LaVerne & Louise

"TA/D.A. Hands Off James Grimes!"

Transit Workers Rally for Black Subway Clerk

More than 100 New York transit workers and supporters rallied outside the Brooklyn criminal courthouse on May 7 chanting "TA, D.A., Hands Off James Grimes!" Inside, Judge Seymour Gerschwer arraigned black subway clerk James Grimes on a gun rap for defending his life and Transit Authority funds from a murderous assault by three muggers on January 6. For this elementary act of self-defense TA cops *arrested Grimes*, chained him to a bench for nine hours and refused to release him until late the next day. The Grimes case has evoked wide support throughout this union, the 37,000-member Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, and from every decent person in NYC. But "liberal" Democrat Elizabeth Holtzman, the Brooklyn district attorney, has dragged this courageous 55-year-old transit worker through the court system for five months. Grimes has suffered two heart attacks and had emergency surgery to have a pacemaker implanted after the January 6 assault.

If convicted he faces up to a year in prison and TA discipline, including possible firing. But right now *the courts are killing James Grimes*. In the courtroom, Grimes's attorney Harry Lipsig argued vigorously for his motion to dismiss the charges "in the interest of justice." Lipsig pointed out that Grimes had been the victim of four previous muggings, including one in which his token booth was doused with gasoline. But Judge Gerschwer postponed the hearing on Lipsig's motion until May 30, thereby continuing the state's victimization of this model black worker and family man.

When James Grimes and his family entered and left the courthouse that day they were greeted by the applause and chants of the scores of transit workers who have stood by their union brother since his first court appearance in January. Fellow railroad clerks who face the same dangerous working conditions and militants from the Committee for a Fighting TWU have made Grimes's cause their own, forming Transit Workers to Defend James Grimes. They were joined for the first time by Local 100 president Sonny Hall and a dozen officials who had issued a leaflet for a "mass demonstration," calling on transit workers to "fill the streets with people and protest signs." The Hall "team" then proceeded to undermine their own call by issuing their leaflet only two days before the arraignment and restricting circulation to an internal TA mailing to token booths.

Nevertheless, even their token call for defense of Grimes was a welcome about-face for the Local 100 bureaucracy, which up until then had actively *sabotaged* that defense. In March, Hall got TA buses to bring 400 transit workers to lobby an arbitration hearing for the TA to enforce its own rules and provide "protection" for clerks, i.e., *more transit cops* like the thugs who beat to death Michael Stewart, son of a retired black transit worker, and who arrested and chained James Grimes. At the April 11 court hearing for Grimes, a Hall hireling distributed a vicious fink leaflet which attacked the ailing subway worker for not getting out of his sickbed to testify and demonstrate at the hearing, for getting an "outside" lawyer, and even for going on sick leave! But the courthouse protests spoke for broad sections of the union and Hall was compelled to cover his ass, at least among railroad clerks.

If the Hall "team" put in a token appearance at the May 7 arraignment that's more than can be said for the assorted, sordid fake-oppositionists like Arnold Cherry, moribund Communist Party supporters, the faded-out leftists in the workerist clot around *Hell on Wheels*, and the Healyites without Healy of David North's Workers League (WL). The WL's "twice-weekly organ," the *Bulletin*, notorious for its "color-blind" laborite coverage, had not a single word to say about the Grimes case until a grand jury rubber-stamped Holtzman's gun charges. Then the 6 May *Bulletin blames Grimes* for the

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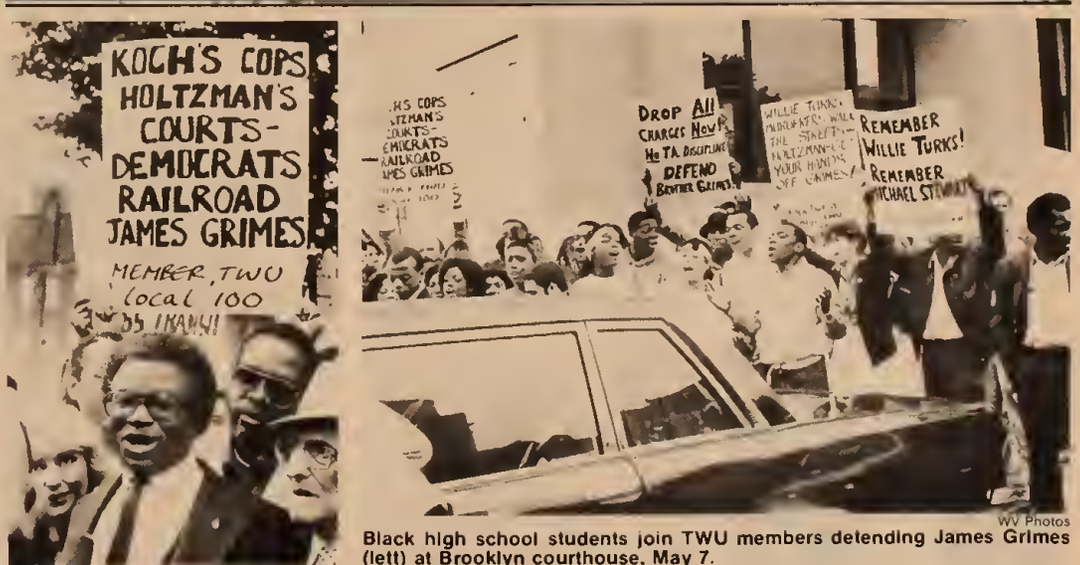

WV Photos

Black high school students join TWU members defending James Grimes (left) at Brooklyn courthouse, May 7.

Fascist Past Gets Big Vote in Austria

War Criminal Waldheim

World Jewish Congress

Lt. Kurt Waldheim (left) with Waffen SS in Yugoslavia, 1945.

Reuters

Waldheim campaign poster. Sticker says, "Now more than ever!"

Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who may soon be president of Austria, is a fascist war criminal and a liar, and now everybody knows it. Yet even as his war record became the center of the Austrian election campaign, Waldheim received 49.6 percent of the vote May 4, just shy of an absolute majority. In fact, all evidence indicates that the revelations only *helped* him. American and West German news media commented haughtily about a country where a Nazi past was an electoral plus. They were less exercised over the fact that this "statesman," who since 1947 was on the United Nations' top priority "A" list of mass murderers who should be brought to trial, had been elected UN general secretary from 1972 to 1982. Certainly the U.S. had known for years, having officially and publicly listed Waldheim in 1948 in the U.S. Army's "Combined Registry of War Criminals."

In March, amidst what was supposed to be a quiet and provincial Austrian-style campaign, the World Jewish Congress came out with its revelations of Waldheim's fascist past. Simultaneous articles in the *New York Times* and the Austrian magazine *Profil* exposed his 1938 enrollment in the Nazi SA and his war record as staff aide to General Alexander Löhr, the commander of German Army Group E, executed as a war criminal in Belgrade in 1947. This immediately sparked a nationalist uproar in defense of "Austria's dignity." Waldheim's ratings surged over his social-democratic adversary, Kurt Steyrer. The tiny Viennese Jewish community was bombarded with hate mail; a dozen graves in a Jewish cemetery were desecrated. Charges of "outside forces" flew, and stickers were pasted over Waldheim election posters, proclaiming "Now more than ever!"—a 1930s Nazi slogan.

After "forgetting" his wartime activities in the Balkans for 40 years and disappearing them in his cover-up memoirs, when confronted Waldheim claimed he "didn't know" about Nazi atrocities. Yet Waldheim knew more than anybody, as chief intelligence officer for the Wehrmacht army unit responsible for the bloody extermination of tens of thousands of Yugoslav partisans, and the mass deportations of 50,000 Greek Jews to the gas chambers. His next story was that he was only a modest soldier who, like thousands of other Austrians, just "did their duty." Here is the Eichmann defense turned into an election slogan! His claim that he was never a Nazi was done in by the discovery of his 1944 doctoral thesis lauding the "Idea of the Reich" by the rabidly anti-Semitic 19th century German nationalist Konstantin Frank.

Waldheim dismissed the sinister hate mail as "no problem really." Obscenely equating the Nazi mass murderers with the heroic partisans who fought them, he remarked that "many German soldiers were trapped and executed in a similar way." And he cynically claimed his accusers would "rekindle a new wave of anti-Semitism" in Austria (*Die Presse*, 24 March). But in this bastion of clerical reaction, anti-Semitism hardly had to be resuscitated: with only 7,000 Jews left of 220,000 before the Holocaust, an official opinion poll showed that one person in five said they felt "physical reluctance" to shake hands with a Jew. In Austria, where last February the defense minister personally "welcomed home" SS Major Walter Reder from serving a 40-year sentence for murdering 600 villagers in Italy, the ruling class stands in unbroken continuity with the Nazi Reich.

The scandal over a Nazi war criminal heading a Western "democracy" is making imperialist rulers squirm. In the midst of the uproar, West German chancellor Helmut Kohl praised Waldheim as a "great patriot" and made it clear he would vote for him if he were an Austrian. After all, the upper levels of government, commerce and industry in the successor state to Hitler's Third Reich are crawling with "former" Nazis like Flick and Thyssen. Last year there was a massive outcry when President Reagan joined the head of the German "Fourth Reich" in symbolic reconciliation over Nazi SS graves at Bitburg, in order to prop up the U.S.' most important NATO partner in the war drive against the Soviet Union. Now, ostensibly "neutral" Austria, intertwined in a thousand ways with NATO and the European Common Market, is experiencing a Bitburg of its own.

AP

Reagan and Kohl at Bitburg, 1985: U.S. and West Germany rehabilitata Nazis in anti-Soviet war drive.

Waldheim's War Atrocities

"What is Waldheimer's disease?" the wags are asking. "That's when you grow old and forget you were a Nazi." In two memoirs and his official UN biography Waldheim had maintained that after being wounded on the Eastern Front in 1941 he returned to Vienna to pursue his legal studies until the end of the war. In an interview for the initial 4 March *New York Times* article, Waldheim finally admitted serving in the Balkans, but claimed he "knew of no war crimes or atrocities" ascribed to his units, and that this was the "first time" he had ever heard of mass deportations of Greek Jews from Salonika! Subsequently, he admitted he was on General Löhr's staff, but only as an "interpreter." Following disclosure of German army intelligence reports bearing his signature, Waldheim admitted analyzing and passing on documents, but only as a desk man.

Was Waldheim a war criminal? The UN War Crimes Commission concluded in 1948 that there was a "clear prima facie case" against him on charges of "murder" and "putting hostages to death" during the period from April 1944 to May 1945, and that he "should be delivered up for trial." These charges came from a December 1947 document, File F-25572, submitted to the UN commission by Yugoslavia, which was recently published by the Belgrade daily *Vecernje Novosti* (26 March). This article also notes a memorandum addressed to the Yugoslav embassy in London suggesting that particular attention be paid "to registering Waldheim since there is strong evidence for this and the report is complete and sufficient." Yet in the reams of material written in the Western press on the Waldheim affair, little attention has been paid to the original charges.

The Yugloslav news agency Tanjug has made available to *Workers Vanguard* translations of File F-25572 and other relevant reports which show that:

• According to a Wehrmacht clerk, Johann Mayer, who worked in the Intelligence-Counterintelligence (I-C) branch of German Army Group E, Lieutenant Waldheim was the O-3 officer in the department. "Waldheim's task was to prepare drafts for his superior officer Lt. Col. Warnstorff on all actions of group I-C concerning procedures for hostages, reprisals, war prisoners and civilians."

• According to an organization chart of the I-C branch (*Novosti*, 31 March), O-3 was in charge of intelligence from the Allies, Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, as well as radio interception. Also among its duties were "mopping-up operations" and interrogations.

• According to convicted war criminal Egberg Hilker, Waldheim was responsible for a reprisal in October 1944 in which 114 people were killed and three villages burned between Kocani and Stip.

• Waldheim told *Vecernje Novosti*, "I was on Kozara." According to a 27 March Tanjug dispatch: "In the offensive on Mount Kozara, in Summer 1942, the forces of Nazi general Löhr and quisling Ustasha and Domobrani (home guard) units of the Nazi-controlled independent state of Croatia carried out massive and unprecedented atrocities against the civilian population. Large numbers of innocent men, women and children were killed or deported to the Ustasha death camps of Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska. Sixty-eight thousand people from Kozara, including 23,000 children, were deported, very few of them to return to their demolished and burned homes."

Tanjug

Yugoslav partisans hanged by Nazis, 1942.

• Waldheim is listed in a Wehrmacht document as one of 30 German officers participating in the Mount Kozara operation, and he was awarded the fascist King Zvonimir Medal for "merit under enemy fire" by the Nazi puppet state of Croatia for his role in the Kozara massacres.

In April 1943, Lieutenant Kurt Waldheim and Army Group E were based in and around Salonika, Greece. Salonika was once the largest center of Sephardic Jews in the world. Yet by the end of the Nazi occupation, 96 percent of Salonika's Jews had become victims of the Holocaust: 50,000 were deported to their death. ABC-TV's *Nightline* (24 April) showed a front page of the German army newspaper in the Balkans with a huge photo of 12,000 Jews lined up in front of the train station awaiting

deportation. Leon Benmayor, now president of the small group of Jews who returned to Salonika, said:

> "Everybody knew what was being done to the Jews, especially German intelligence officers. They knew about the trains of 50 cars that left every three days. They knew our yellow stars.... How can Waldheim say that he came to a city where maybe one-quarter of the population wore the yellow star and didn't notice that they all disappeared?"
> —*New York Times*, 10 April

Waldheim's response to this and other charges was that he was only a translator. So, Leutnant, how do you translate "Get into the boxcar, Jew"?

Now Robert Herzstein, a professor of history at the University of North Carolina and consultant for the World Jewish Congress, who unearthed the documents on Waldheim in the U.S. National Archives, has produced evidence showing Waldheim directly involved in the deportation of nearly 1,800 Greek Jews from the island of Corfu in 1944. Herzstein also found Army Group E's daybook, kept by Kurt Waldheim, which on 8 August 1943 recorded Hitler's order to kill captured partisans in Greece, and send suspected resistance fighters to labor camps. There is also the photograph showing Waldheim with Italian and German officers, including the commander of the Prinz Eugen Waffen SS Division in Montenegro, Yugoslavia in 1943. According to the division's history, the officers were discussing strategy during "Operation Black," an anti-partisan sweep in which 16,000 Yugoslavs were killed.

Waldheim is clearly a war criminal. Was he a Nazi? *Novosti* quotes a fellow Wehrmacht officer who claims Waldheim rejected Nazism, "more because of religious and conservative reasons than because of social or scientific reasons," and notes Waldheim's Jesuit education. The Waldheim family roots go back to the privileged bureaucracy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. His father, Walter, was stripped of his job as a school inspector by the Nazis for being a follower of Austria's clerical-fascist ruler Kurt Schuschnigg. Waldheim claims he was only an opportunist, seeking to advance his own career—a trait confirmed by those who knew him as UN secretary general. The scion of an old Viennese upper-class family longing for the return of the gilded Hapsburg court might well consider the Nazis *Untermenschen* (subhumans), along with the Serbs, Croatians, Jews, Communists, Socialists and everybody else on the Nazis' hit list.

A home-grown fascist, then? Perhaps at the beginning. Documents show that Waldheim joined the Nazi student organization in April 1938, three weeks after Hitler marched into Austria, and in November 1938 he enrolled in a mounted unit of the SA. This was just four days after the infamous "Kristallnacht," the Nazis' night of anti-Semitic violence when Jewish houses and shops were destroyed and burned, and Jews were brutally beaten and killed. Austrian Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal has noted that "in comparison with the Viennese Kristallnacht, the one in Berlin looked like a cozy Christmas party." When Waldheim claimed not to know the "riding club" was really a paramilitary Brownshirts unit, Austria's social-democratic chancellor Fred Sinowatz quipped, "I get it, Waldheim wasn't in the SA—only his horse was."

But by the end, there can be no doubt. Waldheim's 1944 thesis, written as the Nazi Reich was already heading toward a Wagnerian *Götterdämmerung* (twilight of the gods), declared that "the concept of Reich corresponds to the innate drives of the German nation." "Today," he wrote, "after overcoming so many...difficulties and obstacles, the idea of a unification of all Germanic groups has been realized—although in a more disciplined form...in consequence of the current great conflict of the Reich with the non-European world, in magnificent collaboration of all the peoples of Europe under the leadership of the Reich, the way is being prepared against the...danger from the east" (quoted in the *Nation*, 17 May). And then Waldheim headed back to the Balkan front to instill some Nazi "discipline."

Harald Nap

Vienna, 1934: Austrian workers, organized in socialist armed militias, fought heroically against fascist shock troops and Mussolini-backed Dollfuss regime.

Austria and the German Reich

Tito's partisans, heroically fighting in isolation in the mountains, managed to hold out against the monstrous Nazi terror and inflict punishing blows on the German and Italian imperialist aggressors. They defeated the royalist Chetniks, who were aided by the imperialist Allies, and smashed the Croatian fascist Ustashi. In alliance with the Soviet Red Army, they emerged victorious, overcoming centuries of national hatreds in the Balkans. The Communists' fight for national equality made it possible for a predominantly Serbian CP to mobilize partisans from all nationalities, such as the Croat and Muslim minorities of Bosnia, and for the first time lay the basis for a united South Slavic state. The "Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" was the product of this historic victory. If today national tensions are once again on the rise in Yugoslavia, it is because of its character as a *bureaucratically deformed* workers state.

As the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Vienna was once the political and cultural hub of central Europe. The glittering cosmopolitan life here stood in sharp contrast to the rural hinterland, and it was distinguished in particular by the Jewish intelligentsia who made important contributions in almost every field. Names such as Sigmund Freud, founder of psychoanalysis; the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein; writers such as Arthur Schnitzler, Stefan Zweig and Karl Kraus, the Vienna/Prague circle of Franz Kafka, Max Brod and Franz Werfel; the artist Max Reinhardt and the musician Gustav Mahler come to mind. The leaders of the Austrian working class such as Victor and Friedrich Adler and Otto Bauer were also Jewish. At the same time anti-Semitism runs deep.

With the Austro-Hungarian Empire having lost the war against Prussia in 1866, and being reduced to its German-speaking corner as the result of World War I, Jews were made the scapegoats for the demise of imperial glory. The Trotskyist Abram Leon, who died in Auschwitz, wrote of Vienna in his outstanding Marxist work, *The Jewish Question*:

> "Anti-Semitism showed its roots most clearly in Vienna, one of the great centers of Jewish immigration before the first imperialist war. The petty bourgeoisie, ruined by the development of monopoly capitalism and headed for proletarianization, was exasperated by the mass arrival of the Jewish element, traditionally petty-bourgeois and artisan."

Adolf Hitler, himself an Austrian from Salzburg, in describing his student years in Vienna wrote in *Mein Kampf*: "I had turned into a fanatical anti-Semite."

Today Austria likes to preserve the myth it was an innocent victim of Nazi occupation through *Anschluss*, the 1938 annexation of Austria into the German Third Reich. In reality the German tanks were greeted by hundreds of thousands who cheered wildly when Hitler rode into Vienna, thus destroying the reactionary Catholic Austrian state. A century earlier, had unification with a bourgeois-democratic Germany been achieved as an outgrowth of the 1848 revolution, this would have been a progressive achievement. If in 1938 there was no noticeable resistance to Hitler's occupation of Austria and fascist rule, but instead euphoria on the part of the impoverished petty bourgeoisie, it reflected the decisive defeat of the Austrian working class in the civil war of 1934 by the bonapartist Dollfuss regime.

In 1934, with the German workers already under the Nazi jackboot, the workers of all Europe looked to Vienna. For days, the Austrian proletariat fought pitched battles against the Austro-fascist *Heimwehr*, which later joined with Hitler. Socialist workers militias of the *Schutzbund* defended every working-class housing project, every meeting place they could. But the Austrian workers were abandoned by their social-democratic leaders, who never believed in proletarian victory, and the 1934 uprising was smashed. As Trotsky wrote of the coffeehouse rhetoric of "Austro-Marxism" in his article "After the Austrian Defeat" (March 1934): "It turned revolutionary action into a legalistic-literary threat that it did not take seriously itself."

Already in 1918 Austrian social democracy had sided with its own bourgeoisie by joining the constituent assembly *against* the workers' soviets.

Austria today is not a nation, but a remnant of the breakup of Austro-Hungary, a provincial little Alpine republic with a deeply reactionary hinterland. (Its very name in German, *Österreich*, means the "eastern empire.") Under Hitler there were 500,000 Nazi party members in Austria, a higher proportion than in Germany itself. But, exempted from the Allied imperialist victors' phony "de-Nazification" campaign, in 1949 every one of the Austrian political parties presented former Nazis on their electoral slates. Long-time Austrian chancellor, Socialist Party (SPÖ) leader Bruno Kreisky, a Jewish anti-Zionist and survivor of the Nazi concentration camps, had four ex-Nazis in his first cabinet. Friedrich Peter, the head of the ultraright Freedom Party, presently part of a coalition government with the SPÖ, was an Obersturmführer in the First SS Infantry Brigade which participated in the mass execution of Jews during its operations in the occupied Ukraine.

Today, the Austrian working class still needs a party worthy of its heroic fight of 1934, a Trotskyist party with a program to conquer state power and sweep away the festering Nazi filth and the whole putrified reactionary bourgeois state. Such a party must be forged in combat against the social-democratic traitors of the SPÖ, which is still the recognized party of the Austrian working class. Key to splitting this bourgeois workers party along *class* lines is the fight against Austrian chauvinism. Thus Kreisky initially commented that the Waldheim revelations were a "monstrous meanness," while the SPÖ presidential candidate Steyrer proclaimed that "Austria is capable of dealing with her problems herself" (*Die Presse*, 27 March).

Revolutionary opposition to resurgent Austrian nationalism means the most forceful defense of Austria's biggest minority, the 30,000-strong Slovenian population in the southern province of Kärnten. After *Anschluss*, the rabid nationalism of the German-speaking population gave Kärnten the reputation of the "Führer's most faithful district." Recently officials ordered reductions in the teaching of Slovenian in the schools, in a move to force the population to speak German. It was in this enclave of diehard nationalism, where the Nazis carried out fierce reprisals against villages suspected of harboring partisans, that Waldheim made some of his most demagogic appeals. Only by smashing bourgeois class rule will the victims of the Nazi terror, such as the inmates of the Austrian Mauthausen concentration camp, be avenged and social justice achieved through proletarian class rule.

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

In 1947, Yugoslavia sought Waldheim's extradition for war crimes. However, a 21 April Tanjug dispatch states, "In the era of Cold War and the deterioration of international relations

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Der Spiegel

Vienna, 1938: Nazi storm-troopers forced Jews to scrub streets, including with toothbrushes.

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Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

deaths on "agitators" and "un-Haitian" elements. The foreign press retailed the junta's claims of provocateurs. And what's more, most of the Haitian "opposition" jumped on the anti-communist bandwagon by denouncing "extremists of the right and the left."

Playing on fears of a bloodbath by the Tonton Macoutes and/or U.S. intervention, the junta has systematically denied even the most elementary democratic demands. It has refused to abrogate the draconian 1969 anti-communist law, which specifies that anyone who supports, facilitates or aids expressions of communism, whether written or orally, formally or informally, directly or indirectly, domestically or internationally; who receives, collects or furnishes funds; who shelters or assists anyone propagating such ideas, be they teachers, priests, printshop owners, landlords or managers of public or private halls, "shall be punishable by death and their property confiscated and sold for the profit of the state." The government also continues to require that the hundreds of thousands of Haitians abroad obtain a visa to return to their own country!

The mobilization of the Haitian masses has not slackened since the overthrow of Duvalier. Demonstrations erupt daily, crowds barricade the streets. But so far, the junta has managed to channel the innumerable local groups which have sprung up into innocuous self-help efforts such as cleaning the streets and painting houses. Demonstrators in Fort Liberté recently carried red flags ("Russian flags") as a way of complaining that they had no jobs, electricity or running water. They're quite right to wave the spectre of communism, for in this country of 60 percent unemployment and $300 average yearly income, *none* of the fundamental problems, including the fight for democracy, can be solved without socialist revolution. What's urgently needed is a Bolshevik party to lead it.

Reuters

Haitian masses protest in Port-au-Prince: "Nothing has changed, everything must change."

"Left" Supports the Junta

The present explosive political situation cannot last. Except for two brief "democratic" interludes in 1946 and 1956, Haiti has been ruled by a string of U.S.-backed dictatorships ever since the Marines left (after 19 years of brutal occupation) in 1934. In 1956, after the collapse of the Magloire dictatorship, which distinguished itself by enforcing American-inspired anti-union laws, there followed a period of agitation and unrest. Daniel Fignolé, head of the populist MOP (Workers and Peasants Movement) held power for barely two weeks as the last of four short-lived governments. He was overthrown by a bloody coup in which 3,000 people were killed in the space of two days and which then led directly to the Duvalier dynasty. The possibility of a direct U.S. intervention or a new dictatorship faces Haiti today.

The central task in Haiti today is to channel the intense dissatisfaction with "Duvalierism without Duvalier" into revolutionary mobilization of the working class. A popular song written right after the ouster of Baby Doc captures the mood: "*Fòl jije*" (He must be found guilty), referring in turn to Duvalier, the CIA, Ronald Reagan and "Tonton Sam." The Macoutes and their Uzis have only temporarily gone into hiding—the junta itself is a threat to life and limb of ordinary Haitians. As a matter of elementary self-protection, popular tribunals should be formed to mete out justice to Duvalier's secret police and other notorious Duvalierist criminals. In Cuba in 1959, revolutionary tribunals which tried Batista's most vicious torturers mobilized the population to root out the remnants of the dictatorship while avoiding random acts of vengeance.

Pearson/AFP

Fournier/Contact

"Baby Doc's" General Namphy (right) and junta: Duvalierism without Duvalier.

But in Haiti today, *no one* is calling for revolutionary justice against the dictator's henchmen—except the people. The entire "political class" lives in deadly fear of arousing the masses: they have nightmares of thousands of residents of the *bidonvilles* (slums) marching up Avenue John Brown to the chic suburb of Pétionville in the hills overlooking the capital to settle accounts. As might be expected, the bourgeois "opposition"—such as Sylvio Claude, Grégoire Eugène and Hubert de Ronceray—denounced the April 26 memorial, opposing "extremists of the right and the left." But they were joined by René Théodore, head of the Stalinist PUCH (United Party of Haitian Communists), who reiterated his support for the junta, known by its French initials CNG, after the Fort Dimanche massacre on the grounds that there was "no alternative" (*New York Times*, 30 April).

Scandalously, *the Haitian left is supporting the military junta against the Haitian masses*. PUCH leader Théodore was quoted by *Le Monde* (15 May) saying that the CNG was experiencing "an apprenticeship in democracy." This "democratic" prettifying of bourgeois regimes is nothing new for the Stalinists. In 1946 they actively supported the Estimé regime which stifled a popular upheaval and led to the Magloire dictatorship. Another leftist group, the KID (Democratic Unity Committee), while denouncing the bourgeois opposition, has called on *the Namphy government* to set a calendar for social change (*Guardian* [New York], 21 May). And the American SWP approvingly reported that one local committee called on the army to "control" any protests that "got out of hand" (*Intercontinental Press*, 21 April).

After decades of enforced silence, the Haitian masses are expressing themselves in an explosion of democratic aspirations and demands which bring them into direct confrontation with the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. In Haiti today, the working class must lead the fight to smash the whole Duvalierist edifice of anti-communist laws and anti-union laws, for unrestricted democratic rights of assembly, association and the press, and the simple right of return. We fight for a revolutionary constituent assembly, to bring down the bonapartist junta, as part of the struggle for a workers and peasants government. This is the only road to overcoming the terrible misery which has beset the black republic under capitalism. And the key is the construction of an internationalist, Trotskyist party forged on the program of permanent revolution.

There is no room in Haiti today for "simple trade unionism." The workers who have been streaming into the 40 new unions that have been founded since Duvalier's flight face the threat of a brutal counterrevolutionary crackdown. Mass factory committees, organs of dual power, must be organized and linked together in proletarian centers such as the free trade zone, where organizations with the revolutionary potential of the Chilean *cordones industriales* could arise. Links must be forged with the Dominican workers next door, where Haitian cane cutters, laboring under conditions of virtual slavery, are key to the production of export earnings; and with the hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers in the diaspora, from Miami and New York to Montreal. Together with popular tribunals, food distribution committees and other organizations of the toiling masses, the basis can be laid for soviet power.

Right now, the army and the Macoutes have the guns. The KID calls for "a purge of the army, from which Macoute elements must be expelled" (*Haïti Progrès*, 26 March). To leave the Leopards, the elite anti-insurgency units trained by the Americans?! When the Jacobin commissioner Sonthonax distributed arms to the former slaves in French Saint Domingue in 1793 he told them that these guns were the only guarantee of their freedom. Toussaint L'Ouverture liberated Haiti by organizing a revolutionary army, founded on the ideals of the French Revolution. However, unable to grasp the consequences of Thermidorean reaction, he was killed by Napoleon. Dessalines, who represented the Thermidor of the Haitian Revolution, completed the fight for Haitian independence but also laid the basis for the ruin of Haiti under capitalism ever since. Faced with bloody repression by Namphy's army and the threat of renewed Macoute terror the Haitian masses must hark back to the traditions of Toussaint's revolutionary army to form groups of self-defense.

If the present mass unrest is to become anything but an interlude prior to another dictator or U.S. invasion (or both), Haitian workers abroad will be key. Their experience in the heartland of imperialism can be crucial in fighting illusions in Yankee imperialism or in the possibilities of a "reform" junta. American workers, meanwhile, must fight Reagan's attempts to deport Haitians still held prisoner in concentration camps at Krome Avenue and the "Olympic Village." Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! In the 19th century, revolutionary Haiti defended itself against invasion by France, Britain and Spain by sparking slave revolts in other colonies in the Caribbean. Today, Haiti, a small country whose best-known exports are blood and baseballs, where workers toil for under three dollars a day, can liberate itself only by being the catalyst for workers revolution against the imperialist domination throughout the region. ■

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SYL-called protest sent fascists packing at SF State, March 1975. Racist "White History" punks deserve same treatment!

Race-Hate Leaflets, Rape Threats, Thugs Terrorize Campus

Racist punks are running amok at San Francisco State University (SFSU), menacing a large section of the campus. On May 7—the opening day of a provocative "White History Week" initiated by the so-called "Resident's Liberation Army"—one of these racist pigs assaulted Spartacist supporter Todd Nolan, causing laceration and severe contusion around one eye with damage to a nerve. The assailant—one Greg Foster—was, along with some cohorts, distributing a bogus leaflet purporting to be from the Spartacus Youth League entitled "We Apologize." This forgery describes the "RLA" as a "group of non-violent, non-political pranksters." When SYL supporters confronted these scum, Foster punched comrade Todd, while Foster's weirdo racist buddies ran away. Foster ended up on the ground and was barely saved from getting the lesson he richly deserved. Predictably, the campus cops took no action against the thug Foster and instead "banned" *Nolan* for three days.

Has the KKK slithered onto the campus? Women students have recently been terrorized by something calling itself the "Circle of Twelve"—who specialize in rape threats and death threats. (Recall that in 1865 six college men—former Confederate officers—formed a "club" called the Ku Klux Klan, which derived its name from the Greek word for circle—"kuklos.") What is the "RLA's" connection to this misogynist "circle"? These bigoted creeps have also called for "Heterosexual Day." In San Francisco, where "gay-bashing" has become grotesquely common, this obscene trash is a real *threat*. In April, Spartacist and Labor Black League for Social Defense supporters joined forces with the Hispanic student organization La Raza to defend a student government (AS) meeting under threat by the "White History Month" gang. As the SYL leaflet denouncing the attack on Nolan by the racist thugs put it: "They talk like fascists, they *act* like fascists...and they should get the appropriate treatment!"

The SYL has undoubtedly earned a special enmity among these scum, since we are not only communists but front line defenders of all those they seek to destroy. The ultraright punks would do well to remember our successful 1975 protest at SFSU where brown-shirted Nazis had their butts kicked off the campus by outraged students and workers. The racist, anti-gay, anti-woman, anti-communist hooliganism at SFSU is *no joke*. This filth must be met with a solid mobilization of students, area trade unions and other anti-racist, anti-fascist organizations.

We print below an excerpted version of the SYL leaflet distributed May 1 titled "Crush Klan/Nazi Race Terrorists in the Egg!"

Emboldened by Reagan's terror bombing of Libya and cop riots against anti-apartheid students at UC Berkeley, Klan-style fascists have crawled out of their holes at San Francisco State University. An anonymous leaflet entitled "White History Week" appeared on campus two weeks ago. Part of this hate-sheet read: "In the early years of our nation, the humanitarian whites

KKK-style leaflet is threat of racist violence. Fascists must be crushed in the egg.

generously transported hundreds of thousands of impoverished third world minorities to a new and better life in America." Obscenely extolling black slavery and the genocide of American Indians, this trash bears the unmistakable mark of the lynching, cross-burning KKK. It is an incitement to racist terror against black, Hispanic and other minority students and *it will not be tolerated!*

Scrawled on the leaflet was a call to action: "Meeting Tonight... Bring Your Friends," giving the time and place of a student government meeting on April 17. Dozens of angry students, largely Hispanic and black, turned up determined to deal with the threatened racist mobilization. An integrated team of Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense supporters attended to ensure that any fascists who turned up would receive an appropriate welcome. The Hispanic student organization, La Raza, came, along with some brothers from the Spanish-speaking community. The fascists stayed away.

The foiled racist threat on April 17 is part of an ominous pattern of fascistic provocations on campus. A second leaflet the same week denounced protest against the lynching of Timothy Lee, a black gay man, in the largely white suburb of Concord last year as "anti-Concord propaganda"—openly linking arms with the perpetrators of that brutal racist murder. A gang of white punks in the dorms known as the "Circle of Twelve" have been terrorizing women students with threats of rape or worse. Several years back, white eco-racist Richard Moss stabbed black student Doris Collum for smoking in an elevator; only last fall, a bomb was placed in the Ethnic Studies department. KKKer Tom Metzger, former Democratic Party Klandidate, has been active in the Bay Area and his outfit may well have targeted the SFSU campus. Racist terror is what the Klan/Nazis are all about. *They can and must be crushed in the egg!*

An immediate target for these scum is the largely minority Associated Students (AS) student government, embroiled since elections last fall in a court suit brought by sore loser William Tsangares. Using a racist smear against the Hispanic students who won in the election as academically "incompetent," Tsangares wants himself appointed to the office he lost to a Hispanic woman. His racist cohort Michael Dickson put out a leaflet which said: "La Raza voters and La Raza officers own each other. They also own one thousand votes." The two launched a petition drive for new elections. The April 17 meeting was set to discuss the issue.

While the AS bureaucrats at that meeting stuck religiously to a legalistic defense against the petition, SL and LBL spokesmen were warmly applauded when they said that the fascists behind "White History Week" have no place on this campus or anywhere else. Students especially welcomed LBLer Jeff Higgins who warned the Klan/Nazi race-terrorists: "We're not going to take it. We're going to fight!" Spartacus Youth League supporter Paula Daniels emphasized that what was important was not the AS squabble but the need for mass labor/black action to smash the fascist threat trying to make itself felt on campus. Tsangares and Dickson

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

Dear *Young Spartacus* subscriber,

You may wonder what the *Young Spartacus* masthead is doing inside *Workers Vanguard*. As *YSp* reported in our last issue (March 1986), a discussion has been underway in the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League over the future of the youth organization and its press. A poll of the SL Central Committee has now endorsed the proposal to suspend the publication of a monthly youth press in order to apply the resources of the common movement to other stress points and priorities. Readers are referred to the article "Walkabout" in the last issue of *YSp* for a fuller account. We noted there that "The proposal which seems to be finding favor is to liquidate the national youth organization *per se* in favor of building active local Spartacus Youth clubs, and to establish a youth commission of the party Central Committee with the right to publish from two to four pages a month in *Workers Vanguard* under the *YSp* masthead." With this issue of *WV*, we are initiating the publication of "youth pages" in that format.

Young Spartacus subscribers who so choose will now receive *WV* as the continuation of their *YSp* subs. Joint subscribers to both *YSp* and *WV* may elect to have their *WV* subs extended by the number of issues remaining on their *YSp* subs. However, *YSp* subscribers who prefer a refund will on request receive a cash refund for the unexpired portion of their *YSp* subs. A letter is being sent to all our subscribers detailing these options.

As we said in "Walkabout": "Our political tasks have not changed: we need to continue building communist youth fractions that intervene in the political struggles of working-class, minority and student youth and getting out propaganda both pedagogical and agitational, addressing the issues confronting them.... We also want to maintain the flexibility to publish, in special supplements where appropriate, agitational articles when things get hot." We look forward to reestablishing an organizationally independent youth press on a firmer footing when feasible. Meanwhile, coverage of Spartacist youth work on the campuses, educational articles formerly featured in *YSp* and material specifically directed to the social/political questions concerning youth will be found in *WV* and *Women and Revolution*. Our readers are urged also to read *Spartacist*, the journal of our international tendency.

Young Spartacus
Editorial Board

Harvard SYL Leaflet:

Protest Racist Witchhunter Meese!

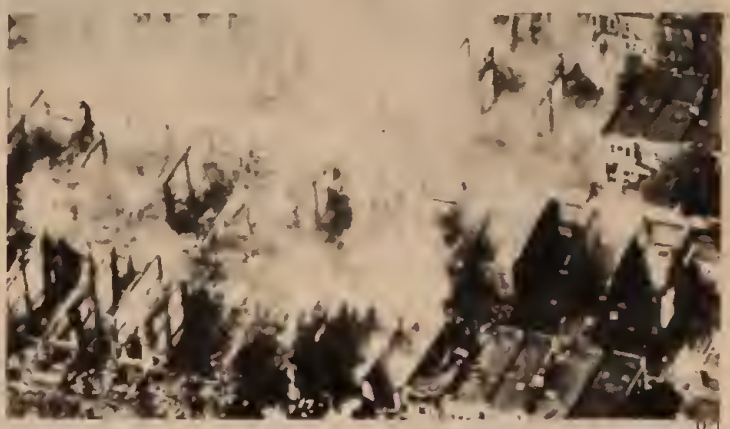
We print below a leaflet issued by the Spartacus Youth League at Harvard University on May 19.

On Tuesday, Harvard's Kennedy School of Government plans to honor Attorney General Edwin Meese III for "distinguished public service." The K-School—named for the U.S. president who brought you the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the dirty colonial war against the Vietnamese people—is paying tribute to one of its own. While Reagan and his War Secretary Weinberger drive toward war against the Soviet Union abroad, Meese polices the home front. Last May, Philadelphia cops bombed the black MOVE commune, murdering eleven people including five babies, without the fig leaf of "legality." The C-4 explosive used in the Philly massacre was supplied by the FBI, an agency under the jurisdiction of Meese's "Justice" Department. And Meese praised the bombing of MOVE to a California cop convention as a "good example" to emulate.

The state-supported terrorism in black Philadelphia may seem far away from Cambridge, but Meese got his start in the repression business on the campuses. In the 1960s, Meese spearheaded then-California governor Reagan's hard line against student protesters. During the People's Park protests, Meese unleashed a brutal police operation on the streets of Berkeley. Hundreds were rounded up, thousands tear-gassed. A 25-year-old man named James Rector had been watching the cop rampage from a roof; he was shot and killed by a deputy sheriff. Said Meese, "James Rector deserved to die."

The all-purpose top cop, Meese also oversaw the murderous police raids against the Black Panther Party during his tenure as Governor Reagan's top aide for "law enforcement." Now the "Justice" Department prosecutes black voter rights activists in the South and seeks to roll back busing and school integration to the days of Jim Crow. Meese's immigration officials have sent thousands of Central American refugees back to certain death squad "democracy." Black Haitians were, if they survived the flight from Duvalier's terror, herded into squalid concentration camps to await deportation.

You don't have to be a dissenting student or black to get into the sights of Meese's guns: he wants to regulate every aspect of life in this country. His anti-"pornography" witchhunt is one example: Meese hired a former songwriter for *Captain Kangaroo* to conduct an official Justice Department "content analysis" of *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler*. This "expert" declared that Hugh M. Hefner is "every bit as dangerous as Hitler"! Ed Meese—with his "thought crimes" anti-porn campaign and his drug testing in the workplace—is the dirty picture. For Meese, the "enemy" to be ruthlessly exterminated is a Berkeley student living with a black lover, writing his application to the Communist Party while smoking a joint and enjoying the latest *Playboy*. He's like General Jack D. Ripper in *Dr. Strangelove*, obsessed with those precious bodily fluids. Will "Justice" Department officials be on hand Tuesday night to administer urine tests to the K-School audience in order to insure the sobriety of the gathering?



Reagan's top cop Meese started by terrorizing students; his FBI helped plan firebombing of Philly MOVE, May 1985.

The Kennedy School's awards ceremony is one filthy fete. War Secretary Weinberger was also given a "distinguished public service" medal, right after the terror bombing of Libya and the U.S.' brazen invasion of Soviet waters in the Crimea. Fearing a repeat of the rousing "welcome" he received from the SYL and other anti-imperialist students on his last visit to Harvard, Weinberger declined to attend and had his medal shipped to the Pentagon. John Kennedy's loser brother Ted is also to receive an award. Where's Baby Doc? Will Kurt "I forgot I was a Nazi" Waldheim swap his iron cross for a "veritas" medal? Will Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos serenade the guests via satellite?

Meese's kudos from the K-School have raised the hackles of the more liberal-minded among Harvard's rich and famous. There's no question that the man is so dumb he wouldn't get a job with the tsarist empire. But by focusing on the "sleaze factor"—Meese's financial chicanery and lack of public accountability—the effete Harvard elite cover up Meese's real crimes. Some Law School faculty and students oppose Meese because of his utter contempt for supposedly constitutionally-protected democratic rights. His "philosophy" was neatly summed up when he was questioned on the Miranda ruling, which gives suspects the right to have a lawyer present before police questioning: "But, the thing is, you don't have many suspects who are innocent of a crime. If a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect."

This racist witchhunter is not about to let constitutional niceties stand in the way of "order." A Pentagon think tank for global counterrevolutionary terror, the K-School has every reason to honor the sinister Meese. For Dean Graham Allison, himself a paid consultant to Weinberger and dubbed "an intellectual strategic reserve" by the Pentagon, the awards ceremony is his way of thanking Washington for letting the intellectual prostitutes at Harvard feed at the government trough.

And the government doesn't want any trouble-making students, striking workers or militant blacks getting in the way of its war machine this time around. On campuses across the country, the cops have been given free rein to beat, choke, club and brutalize student protesters. Particularly at Berkeley, where Reagan/Meese have a personal vendetta going back to the days of the Free Speech Movement, police violence has been used on a massive scale. Anti-apartheid protesters have had their skulls cracked, their kneecaps broken and have been "banned" from campus. Meese & Co. figure if they can smash opposition to government policy at Berkeley, they can do it anywhere.

It's particularly revolting that here at Harvard there's a student "protest" that even Meese would love. Divestment liberals in the Democratic Socialists of America and Southern Africa Solidarity Committee have made common cause with the most reactionary anti-communist scum on the campus. Just days after the bombing of Libya (which these "progressives" refused to condemn), Harvard's Conservative Club erected an anti-Soviet "gulag" next to the divestment crowd's symbolic shantytown. This obscenity should have been dismantled with dispatch—perhaps with a Cuban flag flying over the rubble in honor of the heroic Cuban troops which have for over a decade defended black Angola against the South African army. But the divestment liberals offered the Conservative Club tools to build more "gulags" and joined them in calling for "divestment" from the USSR. The Russian workers have long since taken care of the problem of capitalist private property in their country—by the workers' seizure of state power in the October 1917 Revolution. It is precisely these gains of the Russian Revolution—the planned economy and collectivized property—that we in the SYL unconditionally defend.

Edwin Meese should be met by mass, militant protest Tuesday night. Meese is being honored at Harvard *for his crimes* against students, blacks and workers: take a side—join us in protesting the obscene attorney general! Filth like Meese makes students like us glad to be communists. We in the SYL look forward to the day when a workers revolution will sweep away the world's Edwin Meeses. ■

S.F. State...

(continued from page 7)

nervously denied having anything to do with "White History Week." But given the racist material that they put out, it is not surprising that fascists have sought to join their cause.

Fascists Are No Joke!

According to the *Phoenix* (24 April), members of the so-called "Residents Liberation Army," a group of white punks some of whom were thrown out of the dorms for obscene phone calls and other "pranks," say some of their gang are responsible for the race-hate sheets. These creeps say "White History Week" was taken from an album by well-known comedian and satirist Martin Mull. The *Phoenix* quotes "RLAer" Steve Pratt: "When Martin Mull did it millions of people laughed." Their threat against the AS meeting was no kind of "satire," nor was their vicious defense of the Concord lynchers. Pratt and his buddies must think Hitler's gas chambers were pretty funny, too. But there are a lot of past and prospective Klan targets who would like to wipe the smirk off their faces....

It is an outrage for the *Phoenix* to try to whitewash this crew as presumably harmless "pranksters." The lynching of Timothy Lee was no joke; neither were the stabbings of blacks in Concord by robed and hooded Klansmen. The *Phoenix* is objectively covering for the campus fascists with the same bullshit used by the racist Concord PD, who lied that Lee killed himself and that the Klan robes were just "Halloween costumes." And the line that the Klan and Nazis are isolated weirdos who should be ignored is extremely stupid and dangerous....

The surfacing of outright fascists at State is linked to the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive. The Democrats, no less than the Republicans, have created the reactionary climate "at home" in which these vermin breed. SF mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein flew the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror in the Civic Center until we tore it down. She stands four-square behind the terror bombing of Libya. Like Reagan, the Democrats hate Qaddafi because they see him linked to Russia. Sandinista Nicaragua is next in the cross hairs in the U.S. capitalists' drive to smash the gains of the great October Revolution of 1917. Defend Libya! Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Defend the Soviet Union!

Some of those who applauded our comrades at the AS meeting were only last year helping witchhunt the SYL on campus, at the behest of pro-Democratic Party anti-communists. This witchhunt stirred up the right wing, who baited our black comrades with Klan-like "go back to Africa" epithets. The Red Avengers, born in the fight against the witchhunt, warned: "In their crusade against communism, the Rainbow Coalition, from Malveaux to Workers World Party, has now unleashed this racist filth" (Red Avenger Communiqué No. 4, 16 November 1984). SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez is still fighting legal persecution for the "crime" of distributing Marxist literature at SF State. ..

Drop the Charges Against Guillermo Bermúdez! Smash the Racist Mobilization at SFSU—Drive the Klan/Nazi Scum Off Campus! Finish the Civil War—Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! ■

Don't Let Ma Bell Divide and Rule!

CWA Tops Push Scab Set-Up

Facing a May 31 contract expiration at AT&T, over 600,000 union members at both AT&T and the splitoff "local operating companies" are being set up for defeat by the Communications Workers of America (CWA) bureaucracy. After two years of divestiture, 10 percent of the workforce—53,000 union members—have lost their jobs. And now the CWA tops, slavishly loyal to Ma Bell and the Democratic Party, are setting up CWAers to scab *on each other. We print below excerpts of a 12 May leaflet by the Militant Action Caucus in San Francisco, a class-struggle opposition in the union.*

Smash "Two-Gate" Union-Busting!

Ma Bell is implementing the notorious "two-gate" system of strikebreaking and union-busting. Preparing for a strike by AT&T workers at the end of this month, the company has been "establishing separate entrances" for AT&T and Pac Bell employees, and posting guards to make workers use the "designated" entrance.

We must bust this union-busting scheme. Otherwise we may be left with no union at all. They want to set worker against worker. They want Pac Bell workers to scab on AT&T workers in June, and AT&T workers to scab on Pac Bell workers in August. It is the elementary duty of all phone workers to respect each other's picket lines. We say: No scabbing! Picket lines mean don't cross! A picket line at any phone building means it is a struck building. A struck building means stay the hell out.

And we should take a good look at the *effective* strike action Canadian phone workers took a few years back: they *occupied* central offices in Vancouver, locking scabs and bosses out. Holding the company's multimillion-dollar high-tech equipment, they grabbed 'em where it hurt and squeezed. That's power!

Phone workers know the CWA "leaders" are little more than company stooges. These misleaders set up this "two-gate" union-busting in the first place when they pushed through splitting our contract expiration (something our local officers all stand behind). Now all they're doing is lecturing us on the companies' "legal right" to do it. Well, guess what? Union-busting is perfectly "legal" in capitalist America. Slavery used to be legal too. The bosses own the game, so they make the rules. Play by their rules and you *lose*. Mass, militant class struggle can turn the bosses' injunctions into worthless scraps of paper. That's how the unions were built in this country. Labor has to play hardball to win!

There is a reason why the CWA/AFL-CIO bureaucrats work hand-in-glove with the companies. They long ago enlisted as labor lieutenants of the bosses' government and the bosses' political parties. CWA tops co-founded the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the CIA's Murder Inc. in the Latin American labor movement. AIFLD busts real unions in the service of rightist dictators backed by Washington; it also helps organize coups against governments Washington doesn't like (Chile, Brazil, etc.). AIFLD is so slavishly a tool of the CIA and its butchers that in El Salvador unions they originally had set up have revolted and broken from their AIFLD godfathers.

August 1983: CWA pickets confront scab in San Leandro, California during national phone strike.

It is obscene that AIFLD's bloody business is carried out in the name of our union, but it is hardly surprising. CWA/AFL-CIO officials are fanatical anti-communists who willingly sacrifice the most basic rights and needs of the working class on the altar of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. This war drive abroad means union-busting and racist murder—like the bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia—at home.

Class collaboration means defeat. As we wrote three years ago in "Lessons of the Strike": "THE PARTNERSHIP OF LABOR AND CAPITAL IS A LIE.... When union leaders cooperate in partnership with the company, the bosses get richer and the workers get screwed. It's like the partnership of parasite and host. We need capitalists like we need bloodsuckers.... A union is supposed to fight *against* the company and *for* the workers."

Today the company's "two-gate" union-busting throws down a direct challenge to each and every decent union man and woman. Don't let them get away with it! Smash "two-gate" union-busting! On strike means shut it down!■

Waldheim...

(continued from page 5)

with all the attendant negative consequences, there evolved a negative attitude also towards the extradition and punishment of war criminals. In the given situation, the U.N. Commission of War Crimes was abolished. Subsequently, the Yugoslav State Commission for War Crimes also ceased to function." A *Washington Post* (1 May) article, "Belgrade Kept Silence on Waldheim War Charges," cites Tito's 1948 break with Stalin and Belgrade's subsequent "overriding priority of maintaining good relations with Austria, a major trading partner and neutral buffer amid nonaligned Yugoslavia's three Soviet Bloc and two NATO neighbors."

Perhaps diplomatic considerations influenced Belgrade to drop the issue. However, this is small potatoes compared to the more than 40-year coverup of Nazi war criminals run by the United States government. In mountains of files in the National Archives, military archives, CIA/FBI dustbins, etc., there are the records of literally *thousands* of Nazi war criminals who were smuggled out of Europe along the nefarious OSS "rat line" to safe harbor in Paraguay and Argentina, or who were imported wholesale into this country by "Operation Paper Clip" to service new masters in the "war against Bolshevism." Andrija Artukovic, the former police boss of the Nazi puppet state of Croatia, who was last week sentenced to death by a Zagreb court, was harbored for decades by the U.S. because the notorious Ustasha "Butcher of the Balkans" might face "persecution" in a Communist state!

Now Attorney General Edwin Meese is to decide if Waldheim's name should be placed on an INS list of those excluded from entry into the U.S. The man whose hand was behind the bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia has no more right to pass judgment on mass murder than the fire-bombers of Dresden did in the Nuremburg war crimes tribunal! Moreover, we have to ask why it took the initiative of the World Jewish Congress to finally investigate the damning documents in the U.S. National Archives. According to a former Austrian official and OSS agent in World War II, when Waldheim was hired as personal secretary to the foreign minister in 1946, it was with the explicit support of American intelligence. Robert Herzstein notes:

> "One question that comes to mind is whether Mr. Waldheim, an important figure in Germany Army intelligence.. went to work in a higher capacity for the West after the war. He was a multilingual intellectual who had expertise in the evaluation of intelligence from Communists.... Did he now put his skills to work for the West, with the understanding that the war crimes allegation would be allowed to drift into oblivion?"
>
> —*New York Times*, 8 April

There is also the stance taken by Simon Wiesenthal, who claims there is "no evidence" that Waldheim committed crimes—in spite of the Yugoslav and American documentation. It is perhaps relevant that Wiesenthal is a well-known supporter of the same right-wing Austrian People's Party (the ÖVP) of which Waldheim is the presidential candidate. More importantly, in an interview in the New York *Daily News* (16 May), Wiesenthal accuses the World Jewish Congress of creating a Bitburg for Austria. This implicit apology for Reagan is no surprise coming from a man who has joined the campaign for CIA funds to the Nicaraguan contras, and who in 1984 gave an award to Jeane Kirkpatrick as a "Humanitarian Laureate." And the Israelis seem none too happy with the WJC's revelations.

The World Jewish Congress has done a real service in exposing Waldheim's past as a Nazi war criminal. But these Zionists cannot resist equating Waldheim's supporters with the entire Austrian people. WJC executive director Elan Steinberg told the Austrian magazine *Profil* in a March interview that if Waldheim was elected, "Everybody with an Austrian passport will have this cloud of uncertainty travel with him" (*New York Times*, 17 May).

Reagan's salute to the SS Nazi graves in Bitburg last year showed where the American bourgeoisie stands. German imperialism and its Austrian lackey at the time were defeated mainly due to the heroic struggle of the Soviet Union, at the cost of 20 million lives. The U.S. emerged as the dominant imperialist force from the war which ushered in the "American century," lasting all of 25 years until its defeat on the battlefields of Vietnam. Even before Germany surrendered, the American ruling class began recruiting "former" Nazis—from V-2 rocket expert Wernher von Braun and the anti-Soviet Gehlen spy apparatus to Gestapo butchers like Klaus Barbie—and pressing them into service in its drive to reconquer the states torn from the grip of capitalist exploitation, first and foremost the homeland of the October Revolution. It will take world socialist revolution to bring *all* the imperialist war criminals to justice. And in this struggle, the main enemy is at home!■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

demolish another illusion, shared by many Western radicals and Third World nationalists: that the ANC's guerrilla actions, supported by the front line black African states, can do serious military damage to the apartheid state. These desperately backward and impoverished neocolonial regimes cannot stand up to the powerful apartheid state. Thus it's no accident that, as the Reagan State Department accurately points out: "The governments of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe have made serious efforts to limit cross-border violence directed at South Africa." This, of course, has not prevented cross-border South African violence directed at them!

Zambia's Kaunda declared the attack on the three black African states "will be avenged somehow, somewhere, sometime." That is true. The avenger will come from the very heart of South Africa, the six-million-strong proletariat on whom apartheid capitalism rests. The power and combativity of the black proletariat was dramatically demonstrated this May Day with the biggest general strike in South Africa's history. Once broken from petty-bourgeois nationalism and under the leadership of a communist vanguard party, including white revolutionaries as well, the black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian working people of South Africa can sweep away the apartheid terror state and free all black Africa from the chains of neocolonial subjugation and imperialist exploitation.■

William Campbell

Funeral near East London: Workers revolution will avenge martyrs of apartheid repression.

Bloody Cop Attacks on Picket Lines

Victory to the Colt Strikers!

HARTFORD, May 13—Nearly four months into a bitter walkout against Colt Firearms, 600 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 376 picketed and rallied outside the company's aged factory here today. The pickets, many of them black, Hispanic and female, chanted "We want the scabs!" but a massive police presence, as well as riot-equipped rent-a-cops, escorted the scabs past the picket lines. The Colt strike is in grave danger.

The rank and file of Local 376 is determined to win, but they're shackled by the policies of their union leaders. Today, representatives of the Teamsters, Machinists, IBEW, 1199, ATU and other unions, as well as officials from various labor councils and the Connecticut AFL-CIO, arranged to take "symbolic" arrests in front of the plant. Earlier, the Local 376 ranks had been instructed not to interfere with the scabs in any way because this would distract the media from the bureaucrats' civil disobedience gimmick. But the strikers don't need "moral witness" from a bunch of labor fakers—Local 376 needs the massive mobilization of the ranks of those unions to shut down Colt!

Meanwhile, the cops are running wild. There have been more than 80 arrests since the strike began, not counting those today. Local president Phil Wheeler, arrested on March 11, is facing charges of inciting a riot and assaulting and interfering with a police officer. The most brutal cop attack came April 1 when 18 were arrested as a crowd of 1,000 strikers and supporters rallied outside the plant. Wheeler told *WV*: "The police started shoving and pushing people and they pushed an elderly lady, knocked her over. A couple of police stepped on her and that really got it going. Some people went over to pick her up and they arrested them, punched a few people, hitting them with sticks, punching them with their fists."

Colt, which makes the new A2 version of the M-16 automatic rifle for the Army and the Marines, as well as commercial handguns, provoked the strike and now is clearly out to bust the union. In February 1985 Colt made its one and only "offer," which included a wage freeze in the first year of the contract, cutbacks in health benefits and elimination of the cost-of-living allowance. For ten months the local worked without a contract. Finally, on January 24 of this year, the local leadership walked into the plant at 11 a.m. and told everyone to leave. Ten minutes later there were 1,100 strikers on the street.

Colt immediately informed the strikers that within five days the company would start hiring permanent replacements. Currently, under heavy cop protection, hundreds of hourly and salaried scabs are entering the facility here and one in East Hartford daily. Wheeler admitted that the scabs are turning out 800 M-16s a week but he said that this is only a fraction of pre-strike production. This must be stopped! Hormel started with a trickle of scabs and *no* production and now, thanks to the sabotage of the union tops, the heroic seven-month meatpackers strike in Austin, Minnesota has been defeated.

WV Photo

Cops protect scabs from angry UAW strikers at Colt Firearms, Hartford, May 13.

Wheeler also stated that if necessary the AFL-CIO tops would appeal to police "unions" to boycott Colt! AFL-CIO consumer boycotts have been the tombstones of strikes from PATCO to Hormel—and this time the bureaucrats are talking about enlisting the "aid" of the professional strikebreakers who are brutally attacking them on the picket lines! The predominantly white Colt strikers have in fact gotten a good dose of the treatment usually reserved for the black population. And while the bosses have sought to pit black against white by advertising for scabs in Hartford's impoverished ghettos, minority workers have been a mainstay on the picket lines. Integrated class struggle—not appeals to the bourgeois state—is the road to victory.

In order to win, Local 376 must fight Colt *politically*. The strikers must link their fight to the struggles of all the oppressed. For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to provide jobs for all! No more givebacks and cuts in social services! The union should be in the front line in response to attacks on blacks and Hispanics by the racist Hartford cops. And when the Pentagon starts demanding resumed production in the name of "national defense," Local 376 militants should answer, "To hell with Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive!"

Today the mayor sent a letter supporting a "just contract settlement" and regretting the "friction" between strikers and police. Those cops work for the mayor! But that's what you get from the "friend of labor" politicians: the bosses' contract wrapped around a policeman's nightstick. Enough of this crap! What hard-pressed Local 376 needs is some old-fashioned labor solidarity action to bring Colt to its knees. Victory to the Colt strikers! ■

James Grimes...

(continued from page 3)

mugging: "Token booth clerks are required to transfer receipts with an escort, but when the attack took place, no escort was on the scene." Saying not one word about the right of self-defense or about defending Grimes, the *Bulletin* thus upholds the Local 100 bureaucrats' line that more TA cops are the answer. This is consistent with WL's prior support for *arming* NYC welfare guards (presumably to shoot angered black welfare mothers), its support to the racist 1971 NYC cop strike and its demand for the inclusion of racist killer prison guards in the union movement. Such an organization is certainly not going to defend a black worker who defends himself with a gun. The WL waited for Sonny Hall's seal of approval to even *mention* Grimes, because for them Hall *is* the TWU. But tell that to the scores of unionists who have stood by James Grimes for months!

Long after the Local 100 bureaucrats had departed from the May 7 demonstration, determined union brothers greeted James Grimes and his family as they emerged from the courthouse with chants of "D.A., TA, Drop the Charges Now!" The crowd, swollen by dozens of cheering youth who poured out of an adjacent high school, accompanied Grimes to his attorney's car two blocks away. Fifty unionists then marched through downtown Brooklyn and demonstrated in front of TA headquarters on Jay Street. The rally concluded with the following remarks by David Brewer of the Committee for a Fighting TWU:

"All right. We understand that if brother Willie Turks [beaten to death by a racist mob in 1982] at Coney Island had been packing that night in Gravesend, he would be here today with us. We understand that if brother James Grimes had not been, he might not be here today. So the working people of this city see James Grimes as a hero for his act of armed self-defense but he is treated as a criminal by the criminal 'justice for the rich' system. And when I say 'criminal,' I'm talking about the criminals, the crooks and the killers who run this city from Tammany Hall to City Hall to the stun-gun precinct. You know what I'm talking about. You know what they've been doing. Their list of victims is long. It's Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart...

"Every terminal and every depot in this system should have had a freedom train, should have had a freedom bus to bring our troops down to this courthouse. If there had been a massive union mobilization to protest the murder of Willie Turks, this type of thing would not be happening today. We're saying that this union has got to get organized, it's got to have elected shop stewards to go out and represent the membership, to collect the dues, to know what the members want, to know what harassment the members are under. And in a case like this to mobilize the members to make an offer the corporate power structure in this city and their high politicians *cannot refuse!* Either you get your hands off our brothers, either you drop all the charges against brother Grimes, TA and D.A. charges, or we strike the trains and buses in this city." ■

Winpisinger Shafts Another Strike

TWA Flight Attendants Busted

On May 18, officials of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) abandoned the ten-week strike against TWA. IFFA's doublespeak statement talked about "continuing" the battle, but the strike is over and the company has said the strikers don't have jobs. The courageous flight attendants have been left high and dry—no union, and no jobs! The responsibility for this defeat lies with the Machinists' William Winpisinger and other airline union bureaucrats. In ordering their members to cross the picket lines of the flight attendants, they handed IFFA's head on a platter to TWA boss Carl Icahn.

A fortune in union funds was wasted on a corporate lobbying campaign to ensure that "good boss" Icahn took over TWA instead of Continental chief Frank Lorenzo. Then Icahn proceeded... to bust the flight attendants union. When IFFA went on strike, Machinists and Teamsters initially honored their picket lines. Winpisinger then used a judge's court order as an excuse to scabherd. IFFA officials alibied this criminal backstabbing; the bureaucrats along with the fake-left pushed an impotent consumer boycott of TWA. *Workers Vanguard* told the truth: "If the Machinists and other airline unions at TWA don't honor the IFFA's picket lines, the flight attendants strike is dead" (*WV* No. 401, 11 April).

Crossing picket lines means dead strikes and dead unions, today at TWA as earlier at Continental and with PATCO air traffic controllers. Avenging these defeats requires the ouster of Winpisinger and the rest of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, and the forging of a class-struggle leadership that is prepared to stand up to the bosses, their political parties, courts and jails.

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Keep the Contras on the Run!

Remember the Bay of Pigs

"I look at Cuba, 90 miles off the coast of the United States. By 1965 or 1970 will there be other Cubas in Latin America?" This was John F. Kennedy in his final 1960 campaign debate with Richard Nixon. That morning the papers headlined a Kennedy statement calling for aid to the "fighters for freedom" who aimed at "overthrowing Castro." JFK won the election, in part because of his "tough on Communism" stance against Castro's Cuba. In fact, the preparations for the CIA-concocted invasion of Cuba were already well advanced. Yet only a few months later, on 18 April 1961, it ended in a perfect disaster for the U.S. This year we join the Cuban masses in celebrating the 25th anniversary of their stunning victory over the Yankee imperialists' mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs.

But Ronald Reagan, having forgotten nothing and learned nothing, is intent on repeating this debacle. Today Reagan asks, "Will we permit the Soviet Union to put a second Cuba...on the doorsteps of the United States?" He is putting the arm on Congress to come through with $100 million for Nicaraguan "freedom fighters" to overthrow the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime in Managua. The "democratic resistance" Reagan hails as the "moral equivalent of the founding fathers" are the CIA's *contras*, vicious killers and torturers left over from the bloody Somoza dictatorship. A quarter century ago it was the *gusanos*, equally squalid remnants of the Batista dictatorship whom the CIA recruited, paid and sent off—ironically, from Somoza's Nicaragua—to meet their fate on Cuba's shores.

"The Company" had trained some 1,500 Cuban counterrevolutionaries in a Central American training camp named Happy Valley, while future Watergate bungler burglar E. Howard Hunt scraped together a "government in exile" in Miami. On 17 April 1961, "Brigade 2506" hit the beaches at Playa Girón and Playa Larga—and stayed there. Instead of a popular uprising against Castro, the invasion sparked a mass wave of support for the revolution and heroic defense of their country by the Cuban working people. While the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier and warships which had escorted them watched offshore, the gusanos' landing boats and their communications ship were smashed to smithereens by the tiny Cuban air force. The American air support that the CIA had promised never arrived. Within 64 hours, the invasion force was crushed.

Editorial Letras Cubanas

Fidel Castro (center) leads Cuban army in wiping out CIA gusanos at Playa Girón, April 1961.

The contra invasion of Nicaragua has been accurately termed a "slow-motion Bay of Pigs." Today Reagan says he is "not talking about American troops. They are not needed; they have not been requested." Back then John F. Kennedy declared "there will not be under any conditions an intervention in Cuba by United States armed forces." But without U.S. forces, the invaders *could not* succeed. In both cases, the CIA's plans have shattered on the bedrock of popular backing for the revolution. The president of the Cuban-American Committee, Manuel Gómez, recently noted that "it was mostly the militia, not professional soldiers, that beat back the Bay of Pigs invaders" (*Los Angeles Times*, 15 April). In Nicaragua, as well, it has been the militias (lately aided by special anti-guerrilla brigades) that have chewed up the contras, while the regular army has been held in reserve to meet a major invasion.

Nicaragua is not an island, however, so the contras have been able to slink back to their Honduran border sanctuaries after getting their asses kicked by the Sandinistas. In late March the Sandinista Army (EPS) moved against these sanctuaries and dealt the CIA's mercenaries a major defeat. Some 800 EPS troops, up against thousands of counterrevolutionaries, attacked bases in a border area known as the Las Vegas salient, pushing to the inside perimeter of the contras' main training camp, destroying it and causing 650 casualties, including 350 killed. Washington dramatically escalated the conflict by using U.S. Army helicopters with American pilots to ferry Honduran troops to the border. But it was too late.

But while they have been hard-nosed militarily, the Sandinistas are politically wedded to their holy trinity of "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment." As the Bay of Pigs attack was underway, during a funeral demonstration for the victims of the American air strike that preceded the landing, Fidel Castro for the first time proclaimed the "socialist" character of the Cuban Revolution. (A workers state had been consolidated, though bureaucratically deformed, in the summer and fall of 1960, as the Castro regime responded to economic sanctions by the Eisenhower administration with the expropriation of property owned by U.S. and Cuban capitalists.) In contrast, in Nicaragua today—despite the U.S.-sponsored contra war and Reagan's trade embargo—the Sandinista-led National Assembly is preparing a constitution which would officially guarantee capitalist private property.

© Urraca

Sandinista troops patrol near Honduran border: Give CIA contras the Bay of Pigs treatment!

The present gang in the White House has vowed to "get back" at Castro for the stinging defeat handed to the Yankees at Playa Girón. Reaganite hawk Jeane Kirkpatrick's brother Lyman was the CIA inspector general who did the post-mortem on the Bay of Pigs fiasco, and Ronald ("I'm a contra") Reagan has made "no more Cubas" his battle cry. For years, under Democrats and Republicans alike, the CIA tried one scheme after another to murder the Cuban leader, using everything from exploding cigars to Mafia hitmen. That they're still in the assassination business, bigger than ever, was shown by the recent murder attack on Libyan strongman Qaddafi. Speaking on the 25th anniversary of the Bay of Pigs, Castro denounced the U.S. raid on Libya as "brutal, shameful, criminal and terrorist," and declared that "Reagan is Hitler's legitimate heir," only potentially more dangerous:

> "In comparison to what Reagan has, Hitler was armed with bows and arrows or spears ... Even if Hitler had so desired, he couldn't have placed the world on the brink of nuclear war, he wouldn't have been able to carry out adventures that might mean the end of the human race."
>
> —*Granma Weekly Review*, 27 April

That is exactly what Reagan is doing. In the face of aggressive U.S. imperialism intent on "rolling back Communism," the defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union begins in Central America. Yet while providing badly needed material and military aid, Castro and the Kremlin alike have urged the Sandinistas not to make Nicaragua into "another Cuba." They want to freeze the revolution halfway, leaving the capitalist economic stronghold of the "internal contras" intact—a sure formula for disaster. The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency call to "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" It is the special duty of revolutionaries "in the belly of the beast" to bring out the American working class against the war drive and defend the intended victims of Yankee imperialism, from Nicaragua to Cuba and the USSR. To celebrate the Bay of Pigs, keep the contras on the run, all the way back to Miami—and mobilize workers action to bring down Contra No. 1, Ronald Reagan! ■

Guillermo Wins...

(continued from page 12)

can they make that stick on the same frame-up basis that has just disintegrated in court?"

One day after the charges against Guillermo were dropped in court, the UC administration announced campus disciplinary charges against 13 anti-apartheid protesters for "violent actions or inciting others to violence and for failing to obey university or other public officials" (*Daily Californian*, 12 May). Seventy-three additional protesters received letters from Chancellor Heyman "admonishing" them for "disobeying regulations" and threatening them with charges if they fail to toe the administration's line. These charges stem from the bloody *police riots* on the Berkeley campus on April 1 and 3, when the cops violently smashed protesters' symbolic "shantytowns." Ironically, Heyman's action against 86 student protesters gives the lie to his McCarthyite smear of the April protests as the work of "non-student" outside agitators. Many of the anti-apartheid protesters are facing court trials on frame-up criminal charges. We demand: Drop all the charges now! Stop administration/cop attacks on campus protest!

One of the demands of the "shantytown" protest was that the suspension of Guillermo Bermúdez be rescinded and charges be dropped against campus protesters. The defeat of the administration/D.A. attempt to jail Guillermo strengthens the hand of all those victimized by UC's repression, and underscores the importance of militant, united-front defense against the administration's attacks. As Guillermo told *WV*: "My victory is a victory for all who would protest the policies of this racist, capitalist government. It was a determined fight and we won." Bermúdez thanked the many organizations and individuals—on campus, in the Bay Area labor movement, across the country and internationally—who vigorously defended him throughout the course of the case.

Jane Scherr

Guillermo Bermúdez in choke hold by campus cop, January 1985.

Victories cost money! Send urgently needed contributions for Guillermo's defense today. Make checks payable to Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund and mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

D.A. Drops Charges Against Berkeley Spartacist, Finally

Guillermo Bermúdez Wins!

Cal Reichschancellor Heyman Pursues Vendetta

BERKELEY—In a dramatic victory against the University of California's witchhunt of leftist student protesters, the charges against Guillermo Bermúdez were dismissed May 8 by the Alameda County District Attorney's office, on grounds of "insufficient evidence." The dismissal of the case amounts to an open admission by the state that the case against Guillermo was a frame-up all along.

On 29 January 1985, Bermúdez, a Berkeley student and member of the Spartacus Youth League, was arrested for leading a militant protest against Marine recruiters on the University of California campus. Bermúdez was singled out and assaulted by campus police, who seized him in a choke hold, broke his arm, and then falsely charged him with assaulting a police officer and resisting arrest.

Beset by student protest, the UC administration has been on an all-out campaign to crush political dissent. As U.S. imperialism escalates its anti-Soviet war drive—preparing an invasion of Central America and now launching a murder raid on Libya—preemptive strikes against student activism are an important part of the Reagan/Meese White House war plans. That Berkeley chancellor Ira Heyman's campaign of police violence, prosecutions and disciplinary actions is part and parcel of the Reaganite offensive was underlined by UC's participation in a Washington, D.C. conference last September on stopping "campus disruption." Other prominent participants included the U.S. State Department, Mobil Oil and the South African embassy. The Cal administration hoped to make an example of Bermúdez, an avowed revolutionary Marxist, in its drive to intimidate student protesters.

Young Spartacus

Guillermo Bermúdez addresses April 3 rally at Sproul Plaza.

But the showcase frame-up fell flat at Guillermo's trial in February. Only one juror bought the District Attorney's preposterous charge that the 5'4", 129-lb. Bermúdez, shown in a *Daily Californian* photo dangling in the air in a choke hold applied by a 6'4", 240-lb. plainclothes policeman, had assaulted that cop. The trial ended in a hung jury. The UC administration has failed, in fact, to get a single conviction against protesters who fought the charges against them and demanded a trial. Desperate for a "win" at trial, the UC administration cohorts in the Alameda County D.A.'s office—where Edwin Meese cut his teeth witchhunting Black Panthers and antiwar activists in the 1960s—planned to retry Bermúdez. But at the beginning of the scheduled retrial they finally admitted they didn't have a case.

While the dismissal of the charges against Guillermo is a real victory, we note with bitterness that for the last year and a half this young, working-class student of Salvadoran origin was forced to undergo the ordeal of facing criminal charges, defending himself against this frame-up at great expense. Bermúdez' attorney, prominent civil rights lawyer Howard Moore, has filed a civil suit against the university and its cops for damages.

Frustrated in the courts, the UC Berkeley administration has meanwhile vindictively suspended Guillermo from school. Publicly denouncing the courts as "notoriously unreliable," the administration has appointed itself judge, jury and executioner. This arrogant high-handedness provoked an uproar even in the university's own Student Conduct Committee. Bermúdez received support as well from the student government, the *Daily Californian*, a number of student groups, unionists and 1,500 students and faculty who signed a petition demanding the frame-up charges be dropped and Guillermo's suspension rescinded. And in Nicaragua, the Sandinist Youth hailed the courageous anti-imperialist example set by comrade Guillermo.

Commenting on the dismissal of charges, Guillermo Bermúdez told *WV*, "They wanted to throw me in jail because I am a Marxist, opposed to this ruling class's war on the workers and peasants of Central America and its gearing up for bloody imperialist war against the Soviet Union. They wanted a scalp to wave to scare students away from protesting. It hasn't worked so far and we will continue to fight the suspension for next semester. But how

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NYC Channel 5 Backs Down

Murdoch Swastika Smear Retracted

The press release printed below was issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. on May 16.

New York City's WNYW-TV Channel 5 broadcast the following statement Thursday evening, May 15, on the "10 O'Clock News" in settlement of a libel lawsuit brought against it by the Spartacist League:

> "On March 31, 1986, Channel 5 reported that someone had painted swastikas on the front of the Austrian Consulate and that an anonymous caller claimed it was the work of the Spartacist League. Channel 5 has investigated the matter further and has found no evidence linking the Spartacist League with the incident. The Police Department has advised Channel 5 that the Spartacist League is not a suspect in this matter."

The SL suit had charged that the original Channel 5 newscast "falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously" defamed the SL, setting up the organization as a target for police repression and right-wing violence. The SL categorically denied that it or any of its members was involved in, nor did it urge others to initiate or participate in the reported events. Channel 5 "grossly departed from usual and normal standards of journalism," the SL suit charged. Channel 5 had made no effort to check with the Spartacist League about the "anonymous caller," nor to check its own files, where they would have found extensive material from the Spartacist NYC election campaign last fall, amply documenting our Marxist politics.

Both the newscast's false statements and its repeated and prominent display of images of the swastika were a lethal double whammy, the SL charged, portraying the SL as terrorist crazies and simultaneously trying to tar it with the brush of fascism, equating our Marxist organization with the hated swastika, symbol of anti-Semitic terror and genocide. The SL press release of April 5 announcing the suit noted that it was no accident that this display of gutter journalism came just a few weeks after Channel 5 was bought by Fox Television Stations, owned by Rupert Murdoch, who also owns the *New York Post*. Murdoch, the Australian-born press baron, is a notorious union-buster currently seeking to destroy the British newspaper unions.

Attorney Jonathan Lubell, of the firm of Lubell & Lubell, and SL general counsel, attorney Rachel H. Wolkenstein, filed the successful action on behalf of the Spartacist League. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 405 6 June 1986

Avenge Soweto! Workers to Power!

Bury Apartheid Slavery!

Across the world South Africa stands as a symbol of the most brutal, naked and hideous racist oppression. This is especially true for black people in Reagan's America, who see in apartheid a magnified mirror image of the racist oppression they, too, suffer every day of their lives. The tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre on 16 June 1976—when South Africa's white rulers killed over a thousand student-youth in the huge black township near Johannesburg—could well be met with massive anti-apartheid protests in the U.S. The just outrage of all decent people against racist terror in South Africa is being channeled by Democratic Party politicians, white and black, into pressure for a more "liberal" policy by the U.S. government. Yet it is American imperialism, under both the Republicans and Democrats, which is the greatest oppressor and exploiter in the world, and the main protector of white supremacy in South Africa.

The totalitarian police state in South Africa is based on the capitalist superexploitation of black labor. In the dark pits and stifling heat, black miners dig out gold, key to the financial system of the "free world." Separated from their families, they are forced to live in male-only barracks under prison-like conditions. The superprofits they produce go not only to the South African bosses but also to Wall Street and the City of London. It is appropriate that South Africa's giant mining and manufacturing conglomerate is called Anglo American, since half of it is owned by Englishmen and Americans.

"South Africa is a capitalist country, and that has oppressed us," said "comrade Lucas" to an American reporter. "So now, all of us, in Cradock, are Communists." Lucas and his comrades may only vaguely understand what communism is about, but they know what apartheid capitalism means and they hate it. For them, communism means total opposition to their oppression. And indeed only a racially integrated Leninist vanguard committed to a program of workers revolution can liberate the black African, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian masses from the chains of apartheid slavery.

Gubb/JB Pictures

The red flag flies over funeral of Peter Nchabeleng, anti-apartheid fighter killed while in police detention.

Forge a Bolshevik Party in South Africa!

Unlike the Sharpeville massacre a generation before, the bloody suppression of the Soweto rebellion did not crush black resistance. Rather it opened up a period of militant struggle, especially the development of a powerful black and coloured labor movement. This June 16th is shaping up to be a major test of strength between the white supremacist rulers and the rebellious black majority. At the end of March a conference on the crisis in black education issued a call for a national stayaway strike on June 16-18, and this call has been taken up by the 650,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Backing the strike is the principal political organization of black resistance, the outlawed nationalist African National Congress (ANC).

Preparations for the mid-June general strike come right after the black industrial proletariat dramatically demonstrated its power and combativity on May Day. One and a half million workers struck on this day of international working-class solidarity. The apartheid economy was paralyzed, forcing bewildered whites to pump gas, repair pipes and cook in restaurants for the first time in a long while. It was the biggest political strike in South Africa ever. There could have been no clearer sign that blacks are not taken in by the Botha regime's latest steps in "reforming" apartheid: the announcement of the abolition of the hated pass laws in April, and proposals for an impotent black chamber to be added to the white-dominated parliament.

Over the past two years, as the apartheid cops and military have failed despite bloody repression to stop waves of political strikes, industrial actions, school and consumer boycotts, and sporadic guerrilla-sabotage attacks, every section of South African society has in its own way recognized that the apartheid system is in deep crisis. However, no society can exist in a state of perpetual crisis and massive popular unrest. Recent events show that what we have warned repeatedly is now truer than ever: South Africa stands on a razor's edge (see *WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985). A communist vanguard could lead the way to workers revolution—but without it the black masses' heroic struggle could be drowned in a racist bloodbath, as the recent destruction of part of the Crossroads squatter settlement attests.

Rifts in the White Laager

The failure of the Botha regime to dampen the black revolt has deepened the rifts within the dominant and privileged white caste. Important elements of the ruling class, including English-speaking magnates like Anglo American's Gavin Relly and even figures in the ruling Afrikaner National Party, are contemplating "power sharing" with "moderate" (meaning pro-capitalist) black leaders and calling for talks with the ANC. At the same time there are signs that many whites are getting tired of living in a garrison state permanently at war with the black majority. It is claimed that as many as one third of the young white males drafted into the army last year have not

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Democrats Front for Reagan Racism

Smash Racist Terror from U.S. to South Africa....11

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

One hundred years after the Haymarket massacre, bloody capitalist "justice" still has but two places for its perceived political opponents—in prison or in the grave. Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt, locked away in the same San Quentin hellhole in which George Jackson was murdered, and many of the best militants of his political generation remain behind bars for crimes they did not commit. In the frame-up trial of Stephen Bingham currently under way in California, the government seeks to justify its cold-blooded murder of George Jackson and its racist COINTELPRO campaign to exterminate the Black Panther Party. The PDC demands that the charges against Stephen Bingham be dropped. Meanwhile, in Philadelphia, MOVE member Ramona Africa, like Pratt, is sentenced to years in prison for the "crime" of surviving a murderous cop assault bearing the Reagan/Meese signature. The power of the working class must be mobilized behind these victims of capitalist injustice to demand their freedom.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Four months ago the PDC announced that we are reviving the tradition established by the International Labor Defense (ILD) under James P. Cannon of monthly stipends to class-war prisoners. At its first national conference in 1925, the ILD stated the importance of these stipends and communications with class-war prisoners:

> "sealing the bonds of solidarity and expressing fraternal remembrance of the imprisoned fighters, keeps up the morale of these captives of capitalism and strengthens their will and courage to face their prison burdens."

The PDC has been sending stipends to Geronimo Pratt, Ramona Africa, Watsonville cannery striker Amador Betancourt, and five British miners—Terry French, Chris Tazey, Clive Thompson, Russell Shankland and Dean Hancock—who are still in prison for defending their union during last year's strike. And now we have added Johnny Larry Spain of the San Quentin Six, and Black Panther supporters Edward Poindexter and David Rice.

In February 1986, the PDC issued an appeal for monthly sustaining contributors to place the PDC on a firmer organizational and financial basis. We have received an enthusiastic response and over 30 people have become regular PDC sustainers pledging a monthly total of more than $1,000.

Workers Vanguard readers have been consistently generous contributors to the cases and causes supported by the PDC. We are proud to announce that this column will appear regularly in *WV* and include biographies of class-war prisoners (see *WV* No. 397, 14 February). Correspondence and financial contributions can be sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.

* * * * *

Ramona Africa recently wrote the PDC of her confinement in "quarantine" at the state prison in Muncy, Pennsylvania. The PDC has sent a letter of protest to prison authorities. Reprinted below is an edited copy of Ramona Africa's letter to PDC staff counsel Valerie West.

May 28

Ona MOVE Valerie! I received your letter and money order yesterday (5/27)—thank you again for your continued donations. I would like to give you an interview but I'm not sure if it could be arranged right now. You see, I am in *"the hole"* and have *been* in the hole *since* my arrival at Muncy on April 15th. The *excuse* these prison officials are using to keep me here is the fact that I will not allow them to draw my blood, it's against my religion, the teachings of *John Africa*. This is only an *excuse* though, because my sister Alberta Africa was admitted to Muncy and was cleared thru a sputum and urine analysis in *two weeks*. I submitted to sputum and urine analysis also but I am told that it is not enough to medically clear *me* and that I will be in "quarantine" at least til July. At first I was told I would be quarantined for *42* days (from 4/15) but the time was suddenly extended til *July* which is when I am scheduled to see the parole board. Of course the parole board will *not* interview you if you are in the *hole* and *that's* why the quarantine was extended til July. This quarantine is nothing to do with any question about my health, these officials *know* MOVE is *healthy*. Our skin is clear, our eyes are bright and our limbs are strong thanks only to the *God-powerful* coordination of *John Africa—Long Live John Africa the Coordinator!* I work (exercise) in my room and I run 5-8 miles *daily* in the yard, these officials *see* this and see the *same* example in my sisters so they *know* MOVE people are healthy. In any event, take care of yourself and keep in touch.

Ona MOVE,
Ramona Africa,
Revolutionary Disciple
of John Africa

Letter

ET Grooves on Astronauts' Blood

Toronto
18 May 1986

Dear Comrades,

Here's the latest creepy manifestation of the former "External Tendency," now born again as the "Bolshevik Tendency." This clot of rightist quitters is positively reveling in the death of the seven astronauts aboard the space shuttle Challenger. At our May 17 forum on "Flashpoints for War—Don't Mess with Russia!" two ET supporters spoke from the floor during the discussion period. The second evoked gasps from the nearly 40 people in attendance with his statement (we've got it on tape), that "I'm glad there was no escape hatch. I don't think that's bloodthirsty at all. Let the American people be disillusioned. Let there be no escape for people that tie onto Star Wars.... They were Star Warriors and they knew exactly what they were doing." (If so, they must have had severe suicidal tendencies.)

WV said at the time, "The bourgeoisie's tears are not for the seven dead astronauts but rather for their military space program." But as the article noted, "What we feel toward the astronauts is no more and no less than for any people who die in tragic circumstances, such as the nine poor Salvadorans who were killed by a fire in a Washington, D.C. basement apartment two days before" ("Challenger Blows Up in Reagan's Face," *WV* No. 397, 14 February). You don't have to be a Marxist, just a decent person, to be repulsed by the needless deaths of these seven human beings. But the ET/BT rub their hands in glee at the possibility that these people experienced the torture of plunging to their deaths, fully conscious and with no way out. It's sick, downright pathological.

But it's nothing new for these vicariously bloody-minded renegades. The oh-so-ferocious ET denounced us over the KAL 007 spy plane affair for standing with the Soviets (who rightly shot down what looked to be a military aircraft) in deploring the loss of life and laying responsibility at Reagan's door. Similarly, the ET found a "flinch" in our call for "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!"—because we didn't hail the pointless deaths of the 240-plus Marines in Beirut, blown up by god knows who in a situation where *none* of the feuding

continued on page 4

Trotsky on "Disarmament"

TROTSKY

LENIN

While Reagan's America openly strives for nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union, the Kremlin bureaucracy still pursues "disarmament" schemes with imperialist militarism. The warmakers in Washington and the other NATO capitals can be disarmed only through the conquest of power by the revolutionary proletariat. As Trotsky wrote in a classic attack on the Stalinist perversion of Leninism:

A program of "disarmament," while imperialist antagonisms survive, is the most pernicious of fictions. Even if it were realized by way of general agreement—an obviously fantastic assumption!—that would by no means prevent a new war. The imperialists do not make war because there are armaments; on the contrary, they forge arms when they need to fight. The possibilities of a new, and, moreover, very speedy, arming lie in contemporary technique. Under no matter what agreements, limitations and "disarmaments," the arsenals, the military factories, the laboratories, the capitalist industries as a whole, preserve their force.... The idea of a so-called "progressive disarmament" means only an attempt to cut down excessive military expenses in time of peace. It is a question of funds and not of the love of peace. But that task, too, remains unrealized. In consequence of differences of geographic position, economic power and colonial saturation, any standards of disarmament would inevitably change the correlation of forces to the advantage of some and to the disadvantage of others. Hence the fruitlessness of the attempts made in Geneva. Almost twenty years of negotiations and conversations about disarmament have led only to a new wave of armaments, which is leaving far behind everything that was ever seen before. To build the revolutionary policy of the proletariat on a program of disarmament means to build it not on sand, but on the smoke screen of militarism.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

Let Them Read Playboy!

The following letter was printed in the June 1986 issue of **Playboy** *magazine. The editorial note referred to by the writer appeared in WV No. 395, 17 January.*

PLAYBOY —June 1986

OH, FINE

Workers Vanguard is my favorite left-wing (Trotskyist) bimonthly newspaper and ordinarily uses its space to denounce Reagan and capitalism and other villains, but recently, it took on a cause familiar to PLAYBOY—the sexual repression of the New Right. In an editorial titled "Reaganite Bigots *vs.* the Blind" (subtitled "Let Them Read PLAYBOY!"), this New York journal railed against the Congressional ban on Braille editions of PLAYBOY in the Library of Congress. *W.V.* says, "PLAYBOY is pretty tame stuff. The magazine has nonetheless become a special target of the New Right, who seem to view it as the granddaddy of them all. Undoubtedly, the contents of the magazine, which champion First Amendment rights and the right to privacy in one's sex life, please them no more than do the erotic photographs and dirty jokes."

I don't know how you feel about praise from leftists (though I think you should feel good about it), but the article certainly shows that the real message of PLAYBOY is freedom and that the message has gotten through. It is significant that on the left, freedom is praised, while on the right, it is assaulted.

Whitney Wrenn
New York, New York

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 405 **6 June 1986**

Union Tops Scabherd for AT&T

Phone Workers: One Out, All Out!

JUNE 2—By the second day of the national strike against AT&T, the scenario was similar at hundreds of phone locations across the country. While pickets assembled outside specially designated "AT&T gates," their coworkers in the local operating companies—many of whom belong to the same union local—were herded by union misleaders through separate entrances to scab on the strike. Some 155,000 AT&T phone installers, technicians, clerks and operators organized by the Communications Workers of America (CWA) are going it alone against Ma Bell's giant communications octopus. Meanwhile IBEW (electrical workers) bureaucrats made a separate deal with AT&T and ordered 40,000 workers who manufacture phone equipment back on the job.

The vicious "two-gate" system is made to order for union-busting and strikebreaking. It pits worker against worker, undermining the very word "union," as one Bay Area striker correctly put it. AT&T strikers have been isolated, while hundreds of the militant phone workers who won't stomach scabbing have been set up for firing. Yesterday, CWA national president Morton Bahr issued a scab order, that "Bell Operating Companies should NOT be picketed during the AT&T strike." But while Bahr is calling on

AP

Striking phone workers picket AT&T headquarters in New York.

workers in the "Baby Bells" to "adopt AT&T families," AT&T announced plans to hire 7,000 scab operators. This divide-and-rule scheme must be smashed. Picket lines mean don't cross! The slogan of phone workers should be: one industry, one contract, one strike—shut it down!

The CWA misleaders who are acting as company cops have been complicit in this scabherding scheme from the beginning. Bahr & Co. worked hand in glove with the bosses by agreeing to move up the expiration date of the national AT&T contract from August to the end of May, thereby splitting AT&T workers from the 400,000 local operating phone workers. The bureaucrats parrot the bosses' line that the government-sanctioned split-up of AT&T/Bell gives the companies a "legal right" to separate contracts, separate bargaining, and separate "gates"—in short, the "right" to bring in scabs. And the CWA and IBEW tops are the scabherders. They're running this strike just like the company wants it: to wear down the membership and teach them the "rules of the game" under divestiture.

Many phone workers are outraged at being ordered by their union "leaders" to stab the brothers and sisters who marched with them on picket lines during the national phone strike three years ago. In the Bay Area, striking CWAers from AT&T Technologies (formerly Western Electric) picketed the main building of the local company, PacBell, in downtown Oakland. Dozens of "non-striking" CWAers honored the picket line, as did some unionized electricians from an outside contractor. Then the bureaucrats went into action. Local 9415 president Bill Harvey shook hands with a high-level manager on the spot, sealing a deal to remove the picketers. A furious CWA picket with 34 years in the union confronted Harvey: "You're dividing the union! You should just get out!"

In the Bay Area, a well-received and widely distributed leaflet issued May 12 by the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA exposed the scabherding scam. The MAC leaflet demanded: "A picket line at any phone building means it is a struck building. A struck building means stay the hell out.... On strike means shut it down!" Forty-seven

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Defend NYC Subway Clerk James Grimes!

Gun Control Kills Blacks

For nearly five months, the New York City "justice" system has persecuted James Grimes. This courageous black subway token booth clerk defended himself with a gun from robbers who jumped Grimes and threatened to kill him while attempting to steal Transit Authority funds he was transporting. The cops arrested *Grimes* and chained him to a bench in the precinct for nine hours, and Democratic Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman is still trying to turn Grimes into a criminal. He's facing up to a year in jail on a criminal gun rap as well as TA discipline (including possible firing). This legal mugging could turn into a death sentence for Grimes. He has suffered two heart attacks, and since the January assault had a pacemaker implanted.

As Grimes arrived for a May 30 hearing at the Brooklyn criminal court, he was greeted by fellow members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU). A solid core of subway clerks and militants from the Committee for a Fighting TWU have repeatedly mobilized at solidarity rallies for Grimes. What is urgently needed is the mobilization of the TWU's 37,000-strong ranks. TWU Local 100 president Sonny Hall, however, sent a solitary "organizer" as the union's only official representative.

As a leaflet distributed by the Committee for a Fighting TWU explained: "After three months of stabbing James Grimes in the back the Sonny Hall leadership did an about-face and organized a tiny delegation consisting of Sonny Hall and a dozen or so union payrollers to make a show of public support for Grimes [at Grimes's May 7 arraignment]. While there were official organizers from sections throughout the industry *they didn't organize to bring out masses of transit workers!* A token turn-out by the Sonny Hall leadership and a single leaflet sent out in the TA mail to token booths is not enough. It will take the union *as a whole* to win this fight."

James Grimes's legal ordeal was prolonged once again as Judge Seymour Gerschwer adjourned the case until June 25. During a lengthy recess, a transit worker supporter of the Spartacist League showed the mainly black TWU members photos he took during a recent trip to the Soviet Union. They noted in particular Moscow's immaculate subway stations and the spotless trains which cost pennies to ride in contrast to the stinking, dangerous horror of mass transit in the financial headquarters of U.S. imperialism. After the hearing close to 50 demonstrators, including a group of black high school students, escorted Grimes, his wife and their attorneys to their car. As Grimes climbed in, a transit worker shouted "We'll be back!" Afterwards, David Brewer of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, addressed the crowd:

"We made the point last time that if the union had mobilized union defense squads in Brooklyn, in the Gravesend area, to stop racist murder at the time of Willie Turks [a transit worker beaten to death by a racist mob in 1982], this situation with brother Grimes might not have happened. The situation that happened down in Coney Island the other day [another racist murder, on May 28], might not have happened. We have a saying that 'Gun control kills blacks.' We can also say that when you have a lackey labor leadership that bows down before the Democratic Party, that points the finger at Grimes, and says he's guilty, 'let's just have justice with mercy,' like Sonny Hall said last time—that kills blacks, too. When they don't mobilize to exercise labor power to stop it, blacks are going to die, unions are going to be busted. And the White House is preparing for war.

WV Photo

Victimized black transit worker James Grimes and supporters outside Brooklyn criminal court, May 30.

"Now we've got a situation in this city that's going to be coming up in a couple of days. These Sunday-sermonizing labor leaders are going to be marching up Fifth Avenue saying they are against apartheid. Right? You know how hypocritical this is because you've got racism right here in this country and they won't do anything about it. They say it's okay to leave the race-murderers of Coney Island in the hands of Holtzman and the Democrats. They say it's okay for transit workers to be victimized on the job. They won't lift a finger to defend blacks in this country. They won't lift a finger to stop job harassment every day which scares people so they won't come out here to defend James Grimes. But they will say 'Oh, we're against racism in South Africa.'

"We've got to be very clear about this because a lot of people have illusions that the union leadership is finally coming out and marching against apartheid. What they're worried about in South Africa is the safety of U.S. investments. That's why they're for divestment.... What is clear is that we have to build a new leadership in the unions to stop union-busting, to stop racist attacks. We have to take up the cause of black freedom in the labor movement and that's what this mobilization is about and that's what future mobilizations are going to be about. And this is a core of people that are going to be fighting in this union and going to be fighting in this city against all of the injustices of this capitalist system."■

Racist Murder Attempt at Johns Hopkins

Frat Thugs Torch Anti-Apartheid Students

At the very moment that South Africa's racist rulers were directing the destruction of the Crossroads shantytown, students occupying symbolic anti-apartheid shanties at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore barely escaped death from a firebomb attack in the predawn hours of May 24. As three students were drinking beer and arguing politics in one of the shanties, right-wing racists from the Delta Upsilon fraternity doused the structure with gasoline and threw a match, engulfing the anti-apartheid activists in a wall of flames. Kevin Archer, a 28-year-old graduate student and Fulbright scholar, suffered first- and second-degree burns which left his lower back "a mass of torn skin and blisters the size of half dollars" (*Washington Post*, 26 May). Had he been in his sleeping bag, chances are he never would have made it out alive.

Three of the would-be assassins—one of whom was chased and caught by shantytown protesters roused by the blaze—face charges of arson and assault with intent to murder. Baltimore's chief prosecutor, Kurt Schmoke, revealed the careful planning that went into the murderous attack including a reconnaissance visit to the shantytown and an escape route through the woods. Yet Schmoke outrageously minimized the firebombing, describing it as "something more serious than a prank," but "not motivated by political beliefs" (*Baltimore Sun*, 30 May). This was no frat rat panty-raid! This was a nightriding KKK-style premeditated attempt at *racist murder* at "Johopkinsburg"—an elite white enclave in the middle of black Baltimore.

The university administration, which had turned a blind eye to previous attacks (including the hurling of a cinder block through a shanty), moved quickly this time—to clear their lawn of blackened timbers before commencement exercises, leaving a "gulag" erected by anti-Soviet yahoos intact. But anti-apartheid protesters blocked off the university's demolition squad, and issued a statement which read: "The ashes of the shanty on the Johns Hopkins University campus recall the ashes of South African townships and the recent bombing raids on South Africa's neighbors."

Ellis/Washington Post

Reaganite terrorism on campus: right-wing firebombers destroy shanty, attempt murder of anti-apartheid protesters.

Across the country, the shantytown protests have been met with vicious right-wing thuggery. At Dartmouth, 12 sledgehammer-wielding scum of the virulently racist *Dartmouth Review* leveled shanties on the night of Martin Luther King's birthday. At the University of Washington in Seattle, the "Students Against Apartheid" found their shantytown torn apart and police discovered a gasoline time bomb in the rubble. College Republicans have set up barbed wire "gulags" as racist, anti-communist provocations. The marching orders for these racist campus hooligans come from both wings of the bourgeoisie, from the rabid, mad-dog Reaganites to the staid establishment *New York Times*—which called for the "regulation" of shanties by the construction of "countershanties." In *Timesspeak*, this is a thumbs-up "Go For It!" sign to right-wing yahoos, like the frat arsonists at Johns Hopkins.

The scum who burn and bomb student leftists take their cue from the top—from Reagan's terror-bombing of Libya, the massacre of Philadelphia MOVE, and the apartheid butchers' murder raids on the black border states. It is indicative of the racist political climate in this country that on predominantly white campuses something as tame as a shanty, a token symbol of solidarity with the struggle for black freedom in South Africa, has junior Reaganites raging—backed by a full arsenal of cops who've been clubbing anti-apartheid protesters from Berkeley to Yale. While vermin like the *Dartmouth Review* crowd prefer pinstripes to Klan hoods, their message is the same: "Whites Only." Klan-style attacks on symbolic shanties make the point loud and clear: the same racist rulers in the U.S. who stand behind the apartheid butchers have a program of racist terror here. It's no wonder that black enrollment at Ivy League campuses like Dartmouth is dropping from even its minuscule current level. Just as ROTC cadets are taught that to "kill a commie for your mommie" will get them their stripes, right-wing thugs figure they'll get tickets to the ruling class by terrorizing blacks, leftists and student protesters.

The American ruling class and its underlings in university administrations are frustrated by anti-apartheid protest, and are waging all-out war against it, from brutal busts at Berkeley to mass arrests at Yale. For many students, these protests are their first lesson in the wanton state violence and right-wing terror usually visited on blacks, ghetto youth and striking workers as the Democrats and Republicans move to crush *all* opposition to their plans for war against the Soviet Union. These protests, however, remain hog-tied to the Democratic Party and politically mired in the utopian and reactionary call for "divestment" which posits that this country's racist rulers can become a "progressive" force for social change by shifting their stock portfolios.

The Coalition for a Free South Africa is demanding that Johns Hopkins require students to take classes in racism, sexism and "violence" (looks to us like the shanty torchers would get straight A's in racism and violence already!). Group therapy sessions with racist thugs would be as useless as "divestment" has proved to be in breaking Botha's reign of terror in South Africa. Racism, sexism and violence are key pillars of the capitalist system here and in South Africa which pit one section of the working class against another, thwarting the necessary united mobilization to smash the bosses' racist rule. To put an end to these symptoms of a sick system, anti-racist students must be won to the perspective of *class* struggle. When the race-hating terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan threatened to march in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, they were stopped cold by the SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization; over 5,000 mostly black students and trade unionists turned out to stop the fascists in their tracks. They came from D.C., Baltimore, the Tidewater area. Under revolutionary leadership, it is the integrated workers movement, in alliance with student opponents of racism, that has the power to smash racist attacks, on the road to smashing capitalist class rule. ■

Letter on ET...

(continued from page 2)

parties was fighting imperialism, and *all* sides were jockeying for U.S. backing.

The ET/BT grooves on Challenger just as they grooved on the deaths of the Marines, many of them blacks, who were sent to Lebanon in the first place because they were considered "expendable" by the Pentagon. The ET line on the astronauts reveals exquisite self-consciousness on "bloodthirstiness"—a pose taken in direct proportion to the distance between the dubious ETs and wherever the blood is being shed. When it gets close to home and the heat is on, the ET is hard to find—especially when the victims of the U.S. terror state are black.

When one year ago the cops rained death on black Philadelphia, deliberately bombing black babies in the MOVE commune on orders from the Democratic mayor and with the aid and approval of the FBI, in a massacre that bore the indelible signature of Reagan's America, we immediately raised the loudest cry we could. However, the embittered clot of ET/BT anti-Spartacists were silent on this unspeakable crime until months later, when they printed a despicable smear job, sneeringly suggesting that MOVE supporter LaVerne Sims was a cop fink (and attacking the SL for enabling Sims to tell her story in New York instead of denouncing her from the podium).

What now for the ET/BT? Tom and Cathy might find true happiness as PR agents for Philly mayor Wilson Goode, except that he's black. Is there *nothing* they won't say in order to defame the SL? Or maybe they just get their kicks sitting in cloistered rare books libraries plucking the wings off flies.

Comradely,
Jane Clancy
for the Trotskyist League
of Canada

WV replies: Now it's in writing, in the second issue of the ET/BT's *1917* (Summer 1986). Except for schoolteacher Christa McAuliffe, the rest of the crew aboard the Challenger are labeled "Reaganauts" who deserved to die; black astronaut Ronald McNair because he "helped develop specialized lasers" at MIT; Jewish scientist Judith Resnick who "operated the spacecraft's remote-control arm" and therefore "must have been aware," etc. With their taste for bloodthirstiness, these New Leftovers must have loved Marion Delgado, the little kid made into a hero by the Weathermen for derailing a passenger train. But the ET/BTs are *vicarious* blood freaks: they want someone else to do it, and they wouldn't have touched the Weathermen with a ten-foot pole.

The Marxist movement has always abhorred the senseless killing of human beings, for instance the millions who perished in two imperialist wars. Ditto for just about anybody on the Reaganites' all-purpose "secular humanist" enemies list. But ET/BT would have us gloat over the astronauts' death. So why do these people positively go out of their way to act like Jeane Kirkpatrick's caricature of a commie bloodsucker? To judge by what's printed in *1917*, the first issue of which is now available from the SL as No. 4 in our series, "Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League," the ET/BT is a profile in provocation whose only *raison d'être* seems to be to piss in our well. *Cui bono*—who benefits?

If they liked the Challenger deaths, they must have loved Chernobyl. ■

Spartacist Forums

Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Harriet Tubman: Civil War Revolutionary Heroine!

Friday, June 27, 7:30 p.m.
UC/Berkeley
Room to be announced
For more information: (415) 835-1535
BERKELEY

Saturday, June 28, 7:30 p.m.
Unitarian Church
1187 Franklin St. at Geary
For more information (415) 863-6963
SAN FRANCISCO

For a Federated Workers Republic of Lanka and Eelam!

Sri Lanka Army Invades Tamil North

JUNE 1—Vowing to "exterminate" the Tamil militants in the North of Sri Lanka, on May 17 the rightist government of J.R. Jayewardene mounted its largest military offensive ever against the Jaffna peninsula, stronghold of Tamil guerrillas fighting for a national homeland ("Eelam") in the Eastern and Northern provinces of the island. The Tamil people of Sri Lanka are a national minority, distinguished from the majority Sinhalese by language and religion (Tamils are mainly Hindus while Sinhalese are mostly Buddhists). Some 9,000 troops of the mainly Sinhalese army advanced on Jaffna from three directions while army forces holed up in the old Dutch fort shelled the city. Aerial bombardment, strafing from helicopters and naval shelling of coastal villages have been going on for weeks, leaving hundreds of civilian casualties.

But J.R.'s offensive ground to a humiliating halt as the troops encountered fierce resistance from well-equipped Tamil guerrillas. The roads into Jaffna were mined and a key bridge blown up; the government forces, stopped at Elephant Pass, retreated into their fortified enclaves and launched another wave of bombing attacks to terrorize the Tamil population. As one Sinhalese commander put it, admitting they were unwilling to take the massive casualties required to crush the rebels, "You cannot win a guerrilla war when your enemy is fighting on home territory with the backing of the people. The Americans lost in Vietnam" (London *Guardian*, 21 May). And J.R.'s ferocity is no doubt tempered by the fear of provoking a military intervention on the part of India, where Rajiv Gandhi faces substantial pressure from the 50 million Tamils in the southern state of Tamil Nadu.

Raghu Rai/India Today

J.R. Jayewardene's army tries to "exterminate" Tamil militants in Jaffna.

Sandro Tucci

Tamil nationalist group now claims "credit" for blowing up Air Lanka jet filled with tourists.

State Terror Against the Tamils

Coinciding with the army invasion of the North, a government decree put Tamil employees of state-run institutions in Colombo and the South on involuntary "leave" from their jobs. This blatantly racialist move, which in effect convicts Colombo Tamils of being a fifth column of potential terrorists, underlines the regime's deprivation of civil and national rights to its Tamil citizens. In the summer of 1983 many hundreds of Tamils were killed in Sinhalese communalist pogroms instigated and led by government thugs, which brought massive murder and destruction of Tamil-owned (and Indian-owned) property in Colombo. This was a calculated attack by the Sinhalese chauvinists on the economic interpenetration of the island's peoples, intended to obliterate the significant layer of Tamil merchants in the capital. In the East, the government has combined army atrocities with intensification of long-standing schemes to settle poor Sinhalese there in order to shift the ethnic balance.

In the overwhelmingly Tamil North, where growing separatist sentiment had forced the mainstream Tamil politicians to espouse the "Eelam" demand, the regime deprived even these moderate parliamentarians of a voice in the system by making explicit disavowal of Eelam a condition for them taking the seats to which they were elected. Thereby the Jayewardene government ousted the largest single Opposition from Parliament and in effect disenfranchised the entire northern population, which it then subjected to military occupation. And in recent years an ominous pattern has emerged of sporadic organized Sinhalese thug violence against the hill country Tamil plantation workers, who for decades have kept the economy afloat by providing most of Sri Lanka's exports for foreign currency. According to human rights workers, in the North and East there were 2,578 confirmed killings of civilians in the ten months up to February of this year; in the same period 12,105 Tamils were reported arrested and 547 "disappeared." It is the Sinhalese chauvinist state which has dragged the country to the brink of civil war.

Jayewardene, having devoted months under a fictitious "cease-fire" to pacifying the Eastern region and building up the military, moved on the North with the intention of finally crushing the Tamil resistance and wiping out their cadres. The openly pro-U.S. regime appeals to "the English-speaking world" to help "suppress the alarm and rebellion here" (London *Sunday Times*, 11 May), and the imperialists have obliged. The Sri Lankan army is now equipped with 150 armored personnel carriers from South Africa, 21 U.S.-built helicopters, six Marchetti planes from Italy, as well as 50 patrol boats and some 40,000 land mines (*Asiaweek*, 1 June). British and Israeli commandos are training counterinsurgency teams, while thousands of officers are sent to Pakistan for training; British and South African mercenaries are piloting the bombing runs over the North. And Jayewardene can no doubt rely on the backing of his pal Reagan, holding out as bait the strategic naval base at Trincomalee for U.S. warships in their hostile encirclement of the Soviet Union and its allies.

In a pitch to his anti-Soviet allies, Jayewardene paints the Tamil insurgents as Marxists: "Terrorism is no longer ethnic but an attempt to install a communist dictatorship by force and destroy Sri Lanka's democratic form of government" (London *Times*, 19 May). Unfortunately, the Tamil militants, however just their struggle against genocide and for national self-determination, are far from being Marxists. The logic of petty-bourgeois nationalism has led them increasingly into acts of pointless slaughter of innocent civilians and bloody fratricidal warfare between rival Tamil groupings. The massacre of over a hundred Sinhalese pilgrims at Anuradhapura, a historic Buddhist site, last May marked a clear turn toward targeting Sinhalese civilians for indiscriminate attack.

On May 3 an Air Lanka aircraft was blown up on the runway at Katunayake International Airport in Colombo, killing 16, mainly foreign tourists on their way to the Maldive Islands, and including the wife of a PLO ambassador. Probably only a delay in the scheduled departure time prevented the plane from exploding in midair. Tourism was meant to be one of the pillars of the capitalist prosperity promised by Jayewardene's UNP government, and the airport bombing is clearly a devastating blow to tourism, logical from the indefensible nationalist standpoint as an effective act of economic warfare.

Soon after, a bomb exploded in the Central Telegraph Office, killing at least eleven and injuring over 100. Situated in downtown Colombo, in a country where only the rich can afford telephones, the CTO is usually crowded with ordinary people. These bombings were acts of indefensible indiscriminate terrorism, which can only deepen the communal divisions and provoke bloody anti-Tamil pogroms. In fact the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students claimed responsibility for both the airport bombing and the telegraph office attack. Another group took responsibility for a dam collapse in April which killed 40 people. During a Buddhist religious festival (May 24-25), 20 Sinhalese villagers, including women and children, were massacred allegedly by Tamils at Siripura, near Trincomalee, and another 12 were killed in nearby villages (*Le Monde*, 27 May). An explosion at a food and soda processing plant in Colombo on May 30 killed ten workers and injured 50.

All the Tamil armed struggle groups, with their nationalist politics, countenance such attacks on innocent civilians, lending credence to the regime's attribution to them of any and every atrocity. Thus the massacre at Siripura, which presents some unusual features—mainly, the immediate presence on the scene of reporters and photographers, who have been kept out of the Trinco area for many months, and the prompt appearance of a detailed article on it in the *New York Times*, which has been virtually silent on recent events in Lanka—is attributed to Tamil militants by the government which in this context can expect to have its version widely believed.

Fratricidal Warfare

Some of the ugliest incidents have occurred in the course of the bloody internecine warfare among the Tamil organizations themselves. As many as 300 Tamils were killed in recent fighting between the Liberation Tigers (LTTE) and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), said to have been sparked by the kidnapping by TELO of two of the Tiger commanders. In three days, the better-organized Tigers wiped out all 24 of TELO's camps and assassinated the TELO commander, Mohan Sri Sabaratnam. *Le Monde* (14 May)

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Lanka Spartacist

Colombo, July 1983: Government-instigated pogroms slaughtered hundreds, burned Tamil-owned shops to the ground.

Courts Out of 1199 Hospital Union!

Facing a June 30 contract showdown with the New York City hospital bosses, the heavily black, Hispanic and female union, Local 1199, has been hijacked by the U.S. Department of Labor. In the April 15-22 election which was ordered and run by the feds, 1199's ranks voted to replace Doris Turner, charged with fraud, gangsterism and conspiracy, with the pro-Labor Department "Save Our Union" slate headed by Georgianna Johnson. Turner protested and the feds are letting her stay in office pending an investigation. Now "Save Our Union" is demanding that a federal court install them. Only one thing is certain: when the feds show up, workers lose. Thanks to the bankruptcy of both sides in this sordid election, Reagan's labor cops are the only winners. Militant hospital workers must demand: "Sellouts, finks and government—out! 1199 will clean its own house!"

NYC hospital workers have plenty to be pissed off about. After a 47-day strike against the League of Voluntary Hospitals in the summer of 1984, Turner claimed she'd won a victory without concessions. While the rest of the left (*Daily World*, *Workers World*, *Militant*, etc.) fell in line hailing the "victory," *Workers Vanguard* uniquely told the truth, headlining "1199 Hospital Workers Shafted" (*WV* No. 362, 14 September 1984). We proved it by printing a facsimile of the secret hit list, initialed by Turner, which offered tens of millions of dollars in givebacks to the League of Voluntary Hospitals. Turner gave up at least $29 million in concessions and the ranks still don't have the 5 percent pay increase they thought they won a year and a half ago.

Then in January 1985, former 1199 executive vice president David White charged that Turner's May 1984 re-election was the result of massive forgery, alteration and destruction of ballots, and that it was all supervised by Turner herself. White, an admitted participant in the vote fraud, sang his song to the feds, and the opposition, then known as "Unity and Progress," turned this crook/fink into a hero. Since then the union has been hit with one anti-labor lawsuit after another. On April 7, "Save Our Union," citing the sinister RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) dragnet, filed a $9 million complaint in Federal Court charging Turner and other union officials with conspiracy, abuse of authority and the embezzlement of more than $3 million in union funds.

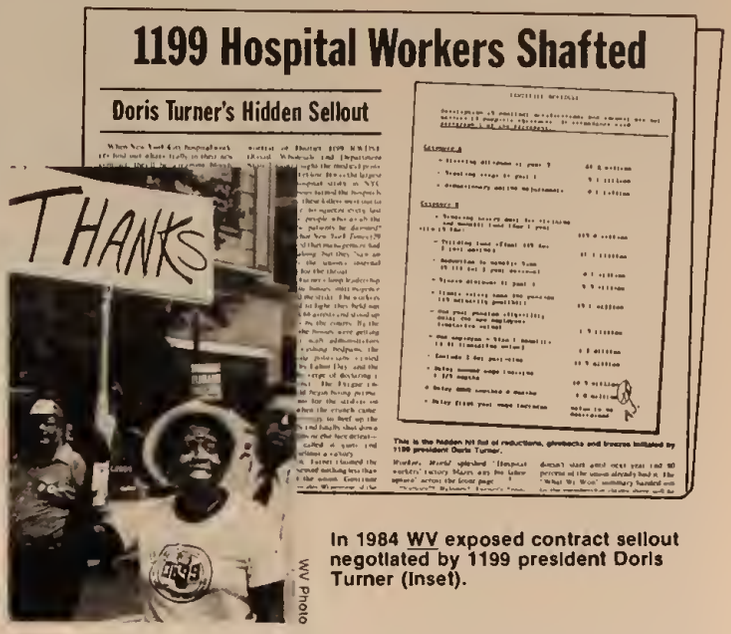
Calling the government's labor cops into the union is a betrayal of the membership and a gift to the labor-hating Reagan administration which seeks to smear all working-class and socialist organizations as "criminal enterprises." Many supporters of "Save Our Union" are self-proclaimed leftists, in a union which is one of the few which did not completely cave in to the anti-Communist hysteria of the McCarthy period. But today it is the "progressive" opposition which is climbing into office by wielding the union-busting RICO club against 1199.

Thanks to "Save Our Union" (even their name sounds like an invitation to the government) the feds were all over the election. They approved the final list of polling places; they allowed Turner to rehire Election Services, the same outfit that admitted erasing voting machine tallies in the 1984 election; and they passed judgment on the union bylaws under which the election was to be conducted. But "Save Our Union" lobbied the House Labor Committee for an even stronger Labor Department presence in the elections. Already there is a federal grand jury probe of 1199's finances being conducted, and in March a federal court ruled that the union must pay $145,000 in fines and court costs for alleged picket line "violence" during the strike! That's the "justice" unions get in the bosses' courts.

This should be a lesson to others—such as Local P-9 meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota who are suing the United Food and Commercial Workers' International tops for sabotaging a bitter, seven-month strike against Hormel. The courts intervene inside unions for one reason only: to throttle labor militancy. Thus in 1972, when "reform" candidate Arnold Miller became the president of the United Mine Workers of America in a Labor Department-supervised election, the rest of the U.S. left hailed Miller's election as a victory for miners. The Spartacist League warned that "reformers" who owed their office to government meddling in union affairs could only betray the ranks. And during 1975-77 Miller sabotaged three massive coalfield wildcats. In the heroic 110-day UMWA strike in 1977-78 miners repeatedly burned Miller's sell-out contracts! By the end, Miller was so discredited that Democrat Jimmy Carter's *Labor Department picked new negotiators for the union* to ram the contract down the miners' throats.

The precondition for union democracy is labor's complete independence from the capitalist state. Hospital workers are understandably disgusted with Turner & Co., but "Save Our Union" is no alternative. Under the guise of "union democracy," these "progressives" rail against Turner's "unnecessary, unprepared" strike. Their solution? "Georgianna Johnson and the 1199 Save Our Union Slate will not call strikes" (*Save Our Union News*, election edition). And indeed, the "opposition" was nowhere to be seen during the '84 walkout. Why? Because they didn't want a strike in the first place and did nothing to oppose the sham "settlement."

Under the union's old guard of Leon Davis and Moe Foner, 1199 was one of the last city unions led by Communist Party supporters. The union organized among the most oppressed workers, predominantly black women. But the Davis/Foner leadership betrayed the union's combative ranks with their endless support to the capitalist Democratic Party, which has been in the forefront of subordinating the unions to the state. A militant NYC hospital strike in 1976 was sold out in order not to "spoil" the Democratic convention which nominated Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter.



In 1984 WV exposed contract sellout negotiated by 1199 president Doris Turner (Inset).

Mildred Grossman

Malcolm X and A. Philip Randolph (right) at rally for 1199 hospital workers in 1962.

Davis was president of both the NYC chapter of 1199 and the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, an affiliate of the Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union. On retiring in 1982, Davis turned the presidency of the New York local over to Turner but endorsed Henry Nicholas as president of the National Union. When Nicholas sought to affiliate the hospital workers directly with the AFL-CIO, Turner kept "her" local, which made up half of the national membership, with RWDSU. The dirty bureaucratic power struggle, however, was only beginning. Supporters of Turner, who is black, have charged her opponents with racism, while Turner herself has been attacked for anti-Semitism. Turner's stronghold has been the union's Hospital Division, which is mainly black, unskilled women, while the opposition is strongest among the mainly white technical workers in the Guild Division.

Davis eventually regretted his support to Turner, and his backing for the little-known Johnson was doubtless key in her election victory. For her part, Johnson promised to get the 5 percent raise being held up by Governor Cuomo, "because we were the ones who fought for 1199's endorsement of Governor Cuomo in 1982. Turner opposed it" (*Save Our Union News*, election edition). This bankrupt "strategy" of relying on the phony "friend of labor" Democrats is a threat to the union itself.

Local 1199 members should check with their brothers and sisters in the NYC Transport Workers Union. The TWU tops gave the ranks' money to Cuomo, and Cuomo gave them Robert Kiley, a CIA spymaster and veteran union-buster, as boss of the transit system.

Reliance on the Democrats means enforcing Reaganite austerity in the service of the anti-Soviet war drive. Thanks to the treachery of Davis/Turner and the former opposition, the traditionally combative union has played no role in mobilizing against racist attacks, such as Koch's cop terror and the closing of Harlem's Sydenham Hospital, when 1199 hospital workers should have been shoulder to shoulder with their brothers and sisters in AFSCME Local 420. Real victories require class-struggle methods like mass picket lines that nobody dares cross, occupying the hospitals to shut them down completely, and real solidarity *action* to stop all deliveries and services. And it means a fight for the class independence of labor—cops and courts out of the union, break with the Democratic Party, for a class-struggle workers party! ■

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Workers: Smash AIFLD!

Ronald Reagan would be hard put to find a more enthusiastic partner in the business of global counterrevolution than the American labor bureaucracy. Ever since the American Federation of Labor's International Affairs Department conspired with Washington to destroy left-wing unions in West Europe after World War II, U.S. government-funded "labor" institutes have been active around the world under the banner of "free trade unionism." The only "freedom" they're interested in protecting is the freedom of capital to exploit labor. South of the Rio Grande, the "American Institute of Free Labor Development" (AIFLD) is so infamous for its anti-labor, pro-coup activities that its parent organization is widely known as the "AFL-CIA." And recently they have cloned the AIFLD to set up similar "free trade union" outfits to export anti-Communism everywhere from South Africa to the Philippines.

The AIFLD was founded in 1962 as an adjunct of the "Alliance for Progress," John F. Kennedy's response to the Cuban Revolution. Its first project was to help topple the leftist Jagan government in British Guiana by underwriting a campaign of "destabilizing" strikes. The AIFLD soon proved its mettle by abetting the 1964 military coup that overthrew the nationalist Goulart regime in Brazil. Perhaps AIFLD's most "successful" operation was the 1973 truckers "strike" in Chile which was instrumental in bringing down the Chilean Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende. But a decade later the "AFL-CIA's" operations are backfiring in El Salvador. *Business Week* (4 November 1985) asked pointedly, "Is Big Labor Playing Global Vigilante?"

In the early '80s the AIFLD designed the Christian Democratic/military junta's "land to the tiller" program, intended, in the words of its architect, to "breed capitalists like rabbits." But even this counterinsurgency measure was too radical for rightist generals and landowners. In 1981, two AIFLD agents were rubbed out by a death squad in the San Salvador Sheraton together with the head of the agrarian reform program. But lately the Yankee labor cops have been running into problems from a different direction. On February 8, the Popular Democratic Union, AIFLD's own creature, split with the U.S.-backed Duarte regime and joined forces with the left to form the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS). The UNTS has demanded that the AIFLD be expelled from the country "as it has been a destructive, divisive force which has done nothing for El Salvador" (*Central America Report*, 11 April).

U.S. imperialism's attempt to create a political "center" in Salvador has foundered on the reefs of class struggle. Washington wanted a government that would prosecute the war against leftist guerrillas on a program of "reform plus repression." But as the civil war raged on, with workers forced to bear more and more of the economic burden, a strike wave swept the country. And when the AIFLD's man in San Salvador threatened to cut off the American dollars to striking unions, the workers revolted. The *Wall Street Journal* (31 December 1985) worried that AIFLD's "heavy-handed tactics have in some cases...divided the very moderates it is trying to strengthen." But if the business press is alarmed, now is the time for labor militants to seize the opportunity to demand that their unions break all ties with the AFL-CIO's sordid international operations.

Irving Brown: "Mr. AFL-CIA"

> "In the main, the officialdom of the American trade union movement functions brazenly and aggressively as an agency of American imperialism at its worst. Our labor leaders are, with too few exceptions, primarily serving as labor lieutenants of American imperialism in the ranks of the organized and unorganized workers. On the whole, these trade union officials react swiftly and decisively to the needs and demands of the Yankee imperialists."

These lines could easily have been penned by a Daniel De Leon or James P. Cannon. In fact, they are to be found in a 1926 pamphlet titled *The Labor Lieutenants of American Imperialism*, written by one Jay Lovestone, then leader of the Communist Party who fell afoul of Stalin and was expelled from the CP in 1929. During World War II Lovestone took his place as a professional anti-Communist renegade in the front ranks of Wall Street's labor lieutenants, as director of the AFL's Department of International Affairs. With the onset of the Cold War, Lovestone dispatched his protégé Irving Brown to line up European workers for the crusade against Communism. Brown used CIA money to break a Communist-led general strike in Paris and hired Corsican Mafia thugs to smash dockworkers' pickets in Marseilles.

• Nicaragua 1985: Last summer, just as the Democratic-controlled Congress was voting "humanitarian" aid to the CIA's contra mercenary army, Irving Brown was leading a delegation to Nicaragua. A memo by Brown denounced the Sandinistas as "moving towards totalitarianism," but didn't mention that the AFL-CIO had secretly funneled to the right-wing CUS union federation tens of thousands of dollars from the Reaganite National Endowment for Democracy, which also provided more than $100,000 to the voice of the internal contras, *La Prensa*. Nor did Brown mention that AIFLD director William Doherty is a founder of the pro-contra PRODEMCA, which also receives NED money to finance U.S. speaking tours by contra leaders.

no credit

AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland (right) joins Reagan in fomenting contra terror in Central America.

When Lovestone died, he was replaced by Brown as head of AFL-CIO foreign operations, and the CIA connection was continued. Today the American union federation boasts four foreign labor institutes, doing imperialism's work in 83 countries. Last year alone, the U.S. government supplied 90 percent of the AFL-CIO's $43 million international budget, now channeled through the Agency for International Development and the Reagan-established National Endowment for Democracy. (The federation's entire domestic budget only comes to $45 million.) And Irving Brown still gets around. His globetrotting in recent years reads like a CIA contingency planner's list of hot spots.

• Poland 1981: As Solidarność consolidated around a counterrevolutionary program of anti-Soviet clerical nationalism, plans were announced for a U.S. labor delegation including Irving Brown to attend this yellow "union's" congress in Gdansk. The AFL-CIO funneled *millions* of CIA dollars to Solidarność. The Polish government, however, denied visas to the entire American delegation.

• South Africa 1982: As black unions began to pose a serious threat to the U.S.-allied Pretoria regime, Brown led a U.S. labor junket to the land of apartheid. While many militant South African unionists shunned Brown, not wanting to be associated with the CIA, the AFL-CIO delegation presented a "George Meany International Human Rights Award" to Zulu chief Buthelezi, whose *impi* goon squads have been used to break strikes, sack union offices and kill union leaders. Last year, the federation sponsored a U.S. visit by ten South African trade unionists who were working with the "African-American Labor Center" (AALC). But even they were sharply critical of the AFL-CIO for its support to the "Sullivan Principles," a whitewash program to cover up American companies' participation in apartheid.

• Philippines 1984: As the Marcos regime was increasingly challenged by a leftist guerrilla insurgency and a CP-led union federation launched a series of "people's strikes," Irving Brown visited the Philippines with tidings of a multi-million-dollar boost recently voted by the U.S. Congress to the "Asian-American Free Labor Institute" (AAFLI). The AAFLI has strongly supported the Marcos-backed TUCP labor federation.

American labor officialdom's global counterrevolutionary activities have always been an arm of U.S. foreign policy, politically and militarily. AIFLD organizers went ashore with the Marines in Santo Domingo in 1965, and with Reagan's 1983 invasion of Grenada. In fact, the AIFLD has always been a labor-business-government "cooperative" venture. The board of this "labor" institute has included Nelson Rockefeller, the head of Pan American Airways and shipping magnate J. Peter Grace, benefactor of Nazi war criminal Otto Ambros, a slave labor contractor to Hitler's Third Reich. Today Irving Brown funnels NED/CIA money to the Solidarność underground in Poland and bankrolls fascistic student "unions" in France (*New York Times*, 1 June).

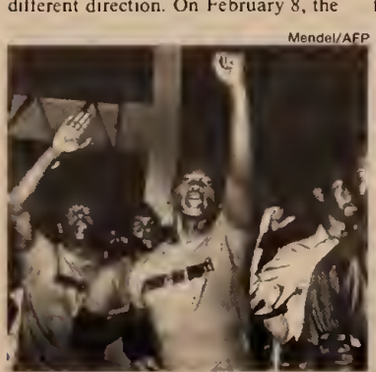
AFL-CIO Tops Squabble in Disneyland

As they meet periodically at poolside in Boca Raton, Florida and Palm Springs, California, foreign policy is seldom a contentious issue among the labor fat cats. But when a division of ruling-class opinion arises, it sometimes has repercussions even in the AFL-CIO boardroom. It was during the Vietnam War, when UAW president Walter Reuther split with Meany denouncing the federation's pro-war policy, that reports of CIA "meddling" in labor came out. (Walter's brother Victor, of course, was a bagman for Irving Brown in postwar Europe.) And last year, simmering disputes over Central America surfaced at the AFL-CIO's annual convention in Anaheim. A group of 25 union leaders calling themselves the National Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador opposed Kirkland's outright support to the contras.

This was hailed by various Stalinoid and social-democratic reformists. One called it a "precedent-setting challenge ...to the federation's longstanding pro-imperialist foreign policy consensus" (*Frontline*, 11 November 1985). Yet the compromise resolution called for a negotiated solution in El Salvador and Nicaragua—i.e., the FMLN guerrillas should sit down with the death squads, and the Sandinistas should parley with the National Guard murderers! In reality what happened in Anaheim was a squabble between two wings of American social democracy, the Reaganite SDUSA (Social Democrats USA) types

continued on page 14

Mendel/AFP



Tom Fawthrop

Venceremos

AIFLD against workers' struggles: San Salvador, May Day 1985 (above); South African black unions (above left); Philippines sugar workers (left).

Dr. Michio Kaku on Soviet Nuclear Accident

Chernobyl: Exposing U.S. Big Lies

When the tragic nuclear accident occurred at the Chernobyl power plant near Kiev in late April, it was immediately seized upon by the American mass media and the White House to launch yet another anti-Soviet propaganda crusade. As we noted in our article "Media Meltdown on Russia" (*WV* No. 403, 9 May), it was a "manipulated media panic" inventing the most incredible Big Lies. Now it's revealed that while the Reaganites were hypocritically denouncing so-called Soviet "secrecy," the federal government sent out gag-order memos to thousands of employees of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the Department of Energy and the Agricultural Department, among others. The word from the top was: get the Russkies, and facts be damned. The cringing bourgeois media snapped to attention.

Now the truth is beginning to come out in dribs and drabs. The ludicrous story of "2,000 dead" at Chernobyl, which originally got screaming three-inch *New York Post* headlines, was finally withdrawn by United Press International—in a retraction buried on the inside pages of the *Times*. The *New York Times* (19 May) belatedly reported that "U.S. Experts Say Construction Is Similar in Some Ways to Plants in America," revealing that the Chernobyl plant had a containment structure after all. That same day another *Times* story, "Soviet Mobilizes a Vast Operation to Overcome the Disaster," graphically portrayed the capacity of a planned economy to meet an urgent social need.

NBC

Chernobyl power plant in the Ukraine, site of tragic nuclear accident.

A public forum on nuclear power and Chernobyl was held in Manhattan on May 9, sponsored by radio station WBAI. While this rad-lib Pacifica station rivaled the White House in spreading scare stories at the time of the accident, the forum proved particularly useful in punching holes in the Reaganite lies. Nicholai Setounsky, Soviet TASS press agency chief in New York, rightly denounced the behavior of the American media as "complete social irresponsibility." And Dr. Michio Kaku, professor of nuclear physics at the City College of New York, gave a powerful speech about nuclear power and Chernobyl, with a brief exposé of American first-strike nuke war plans going back to 1945. We print his excerpted remarks below.

The introduction to a book co-edited by Dr. Kaku on *Nuclear Power: Both Sides* (1982) notes his "affiliation with the antinuclear movement," though concluding that "atomic energy could make a substantial contribution to our fuel reserves." We are far from being "no-nukers," who falsely equate nuclear power with nuclear weapons. As scientific socialists, we seek to harness the tremendous energy of nuclear power for mankind. We pointed out in our article on the Three Mile Island accident ("No-Nuke Syndrome," *WV* No. 229, 13 April 1979) that this requires socialist revolution to replace the capitalist system which sacrifices safety to profits. And concerning reported bureaucratic screw-ups at Chernobyl, as we noted in "Media Meltdown...," "workers democracy would clear up a lot of snafus in this degenerated workers state."

As for nuclear weapons, we are damn glad the Soviet Union has The Bomb. Otherwise, you better believe that the imperialists' first-strike nuclear war plans would have been executed. In his speech, Dr. Kaku, who refers to the imperialist U.S. as "us," calls for "arms control" to counter the threat of nuclear war. But as Leon Trotsky said in a statement to an antiwar congress in 1932, the question is "*in whose hands are the weapons?*" The vicious history of American imperialism—the only power to ever use atomic weapons against civilians—should make it clear that the only way to make the world safe from nuclear war is to disarm the imperialists ...by world proletarian revolution.

Last week I debated a professor of nuclear engineering from Columbia University, and he was gloating about the accident in the Soviet Union. He said that such an accident could never happen in the United States. I pointed out to him that one already had. He was like somebody in a glass house throwing stones. He smirked and said, well, those Russian reactors, they have no containment, and if we had Bechtel or if we had General Electric build a reactor, it would have been a hundred times safer.

WV Photo

Japanese American physicist Dr. Michio Kaku.

Let me say just a few words about American reactors first, before I get into Chernobyl. Three years ago I was in Los Angeles debating Jerry Bailey, senior nuclear engineer for Bechtel, builder of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power station. That's built a few miles off the Hosgri Fault, which is an active offshoot of the San Andreas Fault, which leveled San Francisco in 1906 or so. And Jerry Bailey said that that reactor was so reinforced, he liked to call it the unshakable reactor. I pointed out to him that there was a problem, that the reactor was installed backwards.

In fact, he admitted to it, he explained what happened. He was senior engineer at the site. There were two blueprints, for Unit 1 and Unit 2. They are mirror images of each other. But the engineers on site thought they were carbon copies of each other. The blueprints for Units 2 and 1 were confused. He mentioned that the containment annulus containing all the emergency core cooling systems were installed 180 degrees backwards in Unit 1 by accident. So he said that this was an unshakable reactor. I told him that I had a different nickname for the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Station—I like to call it the "Shake-and-Bake reactor."

Like I said, last week the distinguished professor from Columbia gloated that we have higher safety standards in the United States. Let me say something about higher safety standards. Go down to Washington, D.C. Go to the public documents bureau of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and get the file for the Ravenswood Nuclear Power Station. The Ravenswood Nuclear Power Station was to be built by Con Ed, and it was to be located opposite the United Nations, in the heart of New York City. It was to be placed at Ravenswood, Queens, so you would throw the blinds of the United Nations open, you would look out on the East River, and see the gigantic dome of a nuclear power plant right in the heart of New York City.

Well, they lifted the license of that reactor in '64. Con Ed petitioned and said, please let us build that reactor, we'll place it underground, under concrete. They insisted on having a nuclear power plant in the heart of New York City. Now, you know, the Reagan administration, Shultz, all these people have been gloating about this accident. And I have the perfect place for the Ravenswood Nuclear Power Station. Let's put it not in the heart of New York City; let's put it right opposite the White House. And see how safe nuclear power plants in the United States really are.

Chernobyl and Three Mile Island

Now let's get into the unfolding situation. First of all, there's an astonishing similarity with regards to how the accident unfolded. It started at about 1:23 in the morning on Saturday, a week and a half ago, and according to Soviet officials, the local officials on site apparently were overwhelmed by the accident. They had not understood the magnitude of what was happening; delays were made. I remember a press conference that I attended in March of 1979, at Three Mile Island. That day, Jack Herbein, one of the VPs for GPU [General Public Utilities], was trying to say that everything was under control. That morning, March 28, 1979, details of the accident at Three Mile Island had not come out. And he insisted that everything was under control. Even though the NRC was beginning to bring in its own staff, realizing that GPU was overwhelmed with the magnitude of the accident. At one press conference, according to *Time* magazine, Jack Herbein had an unfortunate quote. He said, oh, what's all this fuss about Unit 2?

Miller/Time

It has happened here. The near meltdown at Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in 1979 could have devastated densely populated area of Pennsylvania.

We have accidents like this at Unit 1 all the time.

The second astonishing similarity is the question of confused information coming out of that accident. What leaked the word of the Three Mile Island accident? Read the Rogovin report. It consists of three volumes, it's about six inches thick. And it mentions that the reason why we even knew about the accident at Three Mile Island was because of "Captain Dave," the roving traffic reporter in Harrisburg. Captain Dave that morning was turning on his police frequency, trying to monitor traffic patterns around Harrisburg, and he picked up the fact that there was chaos erupting at Three Mile Island. Squad cars were being positioned to get into there in case something happened. Captain Dave, traffic reporter for a Harrisburg station, saw a story, and it was a good one. He got on the telephone and he called the emergency control room at Three Mile Island, and he heard all this chaos erupting in the background. Captain Dave then called United Press International, and it was all over the headlines in the world: "Big accident at Three Mile Island."

It was even worse than this. Evacuations: the Soviets have admitted that evacuation took place late; they had underestimated the severity of the accident, especially given the reports of the local officials, who were overwhelmed. What happened at Harrisburg? There was even deceit at the Three Mile Island accident. The Freedom of Information Act has released about four feet worth of private communications between officials of the NRC during the accident. The only thing they talked about, for several hundred pages, was how *not* to evacuate Harrisburg. They were saying, my god, how can we stall, until the very last minute, before we have to evacuate Harrisburg.

Now let me get into comparisons, because the industry in this country is already making those comparisons. They say that nuclear reactors are safer because we have containments and they don't. Well, the Shoreham Nuclear Power Plant in Long Island has a containment structure which is weaker than the containment structure at Chernobyl. The reactor there has a containment—not the four-foot concrete dome characteristic in U.S. plants, it has a structure which can contain 57 pounds per square inch overpressure. What about the Long Island Lighting Company's Shoreham Nuclear Power Plant? It has a containment structure that can only withstand 30 pounds per square inch in the case of a steam explosion.

It is a boiling water reactor, manufactured by General Electric, and boiling water reactors have notoriously thin containment shells. Pressurized water reactors like Three Mile Island can withstand up to 100 pounds per square inch—they've been more reinforced than Chernobyl. So statement number one: we have a reactor in Long Island, operated by the Long Island Looting Company, which has a containment structure that is thinner, less able to withstand pressure than the Chernobyl reactor.

Second of all, we have several graphite reactors in the United States. Historically, the industry went for graphite. England went for graphite, with the Magnox reactor. We went for graphite—in fact the very first nuclear reactor built by Enrico Fermi was a graphite reactor. The world went for graphite because of its superior properties. Graphite happens to have a larger specific heat than ordinary light water. It rises in temperature very slowly, compared to light water reactors where the meltdown takes place rather rapidly. That's why the British went for a commercial graphite reactor.

Light water is a very mediocre design. We went for light water because of the Rickover nuclear submarine program. When that *Nautilus* went underneath the North Pole, it dazzled the industry in the late '50s, and we went light water all the way. The rest of the world stayed with graphite. Except for Canada, that went with heavy water, which is of course even more expensive. In fact, General Atomics, builder of the Fort St. Vrain reactor in Colorado, even boasts and says, in the middle of a meltdown you can take a lunch break—I wouldn't do it if I were you—because the graphite heats up so slow.

Third, the uranium rods are further spread apart, meaning you're not going to have one great clump of metal going into the water, creating a steam explosion. In fact, Dr. Stratton of the Los Alamos weapons laboratory in New Mexico performed the most massive computer simulation at Three Mile Island, and concluded that a half an hour more, and that core would have reached the point of no return, and over your kitchen.

Ten years later, in a secret report by the British parliament to the Queen of England, they admitted, we goofed. They will own up to perhaps 40 people that probably will or have died because of general radiation exposures around that reactor.

What Went Wrong

Now let's get into the Chernobyl accident itself. What went wrong? As we know, on Saturday, 1:23 or so in the morning, there was an engine room fire—engine in Russian probably means turbine in English. I'm putting two and two together, and I'm assuming that the hydrogen ignited in the turbine room. The Soviet press release reads "engine room." At that point, they still thought they could bring it under control.

U.S. war criminals A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki (right).

Today Pentagon targets Soviet Union for nuclear annihilation.

meltdown. That is because light water reactors melt in one hour. Graphite reactors melt in six to 12 hours—making graphite, like I said before, a superior design.

So what the hell happened at Chernobyl? Graphite has an Achilles' heel—at 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit, it goes up like a Roman candle. Captain Dave, of course, released the information at Three Mile Island within hours of the accident, and the cat was out of the bag. The British took almost *ten years* to admit that they had a devastating nuclear accident in a graphite reactor. On October 7, 1957, there was Wigner energy stored in the graphite—graphite is like a sponge, it sponges up neutron energy. They didn't release the Wigner energy correctly, and as a consequence, it hit 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit. At that point, hydrogen gas began to be produced: carbon reacts with water to create carbon monoxide and hydrogen; metal reacts with water to create the oxide and hydrogen. And the Wigner energy set off the whole shooting match.

Blue flames came out of that reactor [at Windscale]; 20,000 curies of strontium came out of that reactor. For three days the British did not know what to do with a flaming nuclear reactor. And you know how they finally took that reactor out? They don't tell you this on TV. On October 9, 1957, the British got a suicide squad and they gave them—not sand, not boron, not lead—they gave them a fire hose. They walked up this ladder and shot hose water into the middle of a flaming graphite uranium metal water reactor. That is the last thing you want to do in a reactor accident. It's like having a grease fire in your kitchen. Putting water on it splatters everything and you get a million grease fires all

Gradually that fire spread from the engine room into the main reactor room. As a consequence, power was lost, water levels began to drop, and the graphite core began to rise to 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit. When it hits 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit, a number of effects take place. The Wigner release, hydrogen gas from carbon, hydrogen gas from metal, hydrogen gas from radiolysis. As a consequence, on Sunday there was probably a hydrogen gas explosion, which then blew the top of the reactor off.

At that time we had a full-scale, class nine accident raging in the Soviet Union. CIA reports said that fire spread to a second reactor, and we had two meltdowns. The CIA was wrong. The CIA has admitted that it was wrong. And it was wrong because we only have one KH-11 spy satellite going up in the sky at the present time. We only have one KH-11 spy satellite because of the setbacks in the space shuttle Challenger, the blowup of the Titan, and the Delta rocket. Then we claim that American high tech is so great. KH-11 spy satellites rotate around the earth once every 90 minutes; it takes once every day and a half to go over precisely the location of the Chernobyl reactor. If you follow the press releases very carefully, every day and a half the CIA made correct statements. In between, they were flopping all over the place.

Second of all, the arbiter of truth in New York City, the *New York Post*—the gospel according to Murdoch—says that we had mass graves of 15,000 people. You cannot kill 15,000 people in a few days. In the United States, we've had seven Americans blown apart in reactor and criticality accidents. You may say to yourself, wait a minute, I find the statement saying that no Americans ever died in a commercial nuclear power plant. Well, notice, how they made that statement. If you change *one part* of that statement it becomes incorrect.

We know about criticality accidents. We had one in Los Alamos a few days after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where some of my relatives were killed. Harry Dagnian, 26 years old, a technician. He had two hemispheres of delta phase plutonium, about five kilograms. He tripped and fell. He hit the tungsten carbide, it went into the reactor, caused criticality, and he was hit with about five thousand rads of radiation—that is, about ten times the critical amount of radiation. It took him two weeks to die in the Los Alamos hospital. You cannot have 15,000 people in mass graves a few hours after an incident, even of this size. The real death count, I don't know. But I think as the weeks go by, unless the bone marrow transplants work, you will see an increasing amount of deaths take place. I think that's inevitable. I think you are dealing with a tragedy: a tragedy at Three Mile Island, a tragedy at Chernobyl. You're talking about thousands, in fact millions of curies, which came out of that reactor just last week.

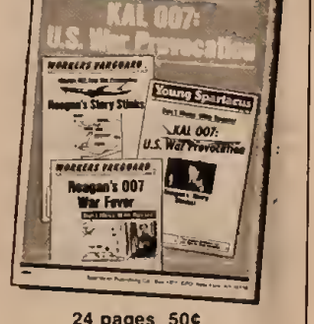
U.S. First-Strike War Plans

Perhaps one of the most important things to link this accident up to is the question of arms control. First of all, remember that we have the Hanford reactor in Washington, a plutonium production reactor. And because Ronald Reagan wants *17,000* more warheads, we are going to take this decrepit nuclear power plant and make it work overtime. That Chernobyl reactor was brand new. We have a reactor that is 23 years old; it's practically dying of old age, and yet Reagan wants to squeeze 17,000 more warheads out of the Hanford graphite N-reactor, almost to the design in the Soviet Union, except worse. A decrepit reactor whose accident rate is rapidly accelerating.

Of course our president has been heard to say that he can't trust the Russians because of this accident. If anything, in arms control, I think it shows the opposite. We have one KH-11 spy satellite in outer space, with a resolution of six inches to 12 inches. It shows that we can indeed verify a nuclear freeze with the Soviet Union. It shows that our technology is good enough that you don't have to "rely on trust." If all nations trusted each other, we wouldn't have arms control at all. There'd be no need at all. It's precisely because nations don't trust each other. And the Soviets of course cite the fact that the United States in the past has had warlike intentions on the Soviet Union.

Let me just end on this one last note. I've just completed a book, which reviews some of the most classified documents ever released by the United

continued on page 14



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Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 5)

cites an eyewitness report by a journalist of the United News of India, who describes how "fifty young Tamils belonging to the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation, some of them 13 or 14 years old, were burned alive in public after being doused with gasoline by their adversaries."

Noting the ominous shift among the Tamil groups from attacking legitimate targets of military occupation to victimizing innocent Sinhalese civilians, and the rise of violent clashes among the Tamil nationalists themselves, we wrote last December:

> "The petty-bourgeois nationalist Tamil organizations have come to mirror the worst Sinhala chauvinism of the traditional Ceylonese left parties with their own murderous logic of racialism and nationalist communalism. Marxist revolutionists, who base themselves on the morality of internationalist class struggle, abhor racialism in all its forms, and find deeply repugnant the terror methods of gangsterism employed by those who fight in the name of social justice."
>
> —"Bloody Communal Terror in Sri Lanka," *WV* No. 393, 13 December 1985

The nationalist perspective of the Tamil insurgent organizations has led them into reliance on capitalist India and the regime of Rajiv Gandhi—itself stained with the blood of communalist slaughter in the Punjab and Assam—to save the Lankan Tamils from J.R.'s genocidal terror. And the Tamil groups have remained indifferent to the struggles of key potential allies among the exploited Sinhalese workers in the South and particularly the plantation Tamils on the upcountry tea estates, struggles which point toward the possibility of a progressive class-struggle alternative to the current spiral of bloody communal violence.

Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain protests anti-Tamil terror in Sri Lanka, London 1984.

Dunne/Sunday Times

Tamil demonstrators in London appeal for help to capitalist India.

Plantation Tamils Key to Revolution in Lanka

Under pressure from the plantation workers, their main organization, the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) led by S. Thondaman—trade-union boss, big landowner and cabinet minister in Jayewardene's government—called a three-month "prayer campaign." Plantation workers were to "pray" for five hours a day, a threat to utterly disrupt tea production. Two days after this thinly disguised strike began on January 14, it was called off as the government promised to grant citizenship to 94,000 "stateless" Tamils and their dependents who had been disenfranchised since independence in 1948. Despite the wretched slave-labor conditions and communalist terror they continue to face, wresting from the state a promise of citizenship rights is a victory for the plantation Tamils and a demonstration of the power of working-class action. And whatever the CWC's claims that "problems can be resolved through peaceful dialogue and prayer without resort to conflict and confrontation" (*Sun*, 21 January), it was not neo-Gandhian prayer but strike action which achieved it.

Predictably, the promise to grant citizenship unleashed paroxysms of anti-Tamil chauvinism among Sinhala communalists. Leading the pack was the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of former prime minister Mrs. Bandaranaike, who told the Sinhalese to "get ready for a war with the estate workers." And on the weekend of January 25-26, Sinhala communalist thugs attacked the Tamils in the Nuwara Eliya hill country district. But this time the plantation workers fought back: tens of thousands went on strike, many estate workers armed themselves, they felled trees and rolled rocks down from hilltops to block the movement of police and army convoys. An SLFP leader lamented that the police were afraid to go onto the tea estates to make arrests. Fearing a "third front" the government made an effort to cool the situation by appearing even-handed.

When the new citizenship law was enacted on February 1, the SLFP representatives stomped out of Parliament in protest. But the blatant Sinhala chauvinism of the SLFP—which first gained prominence in the '50s with their "Sinhala only" campaign against Tamil language rights—has never prevented the fake-left parties of Ceylonese parliamentary reformism from joining wholeheartedly in SLFP popular front coalitions. The cravenly reformist Communist Party and the stinking corpse of the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP), sometimes falsely characterized as "Trotskyist," were thoroughly discredited when they joined Mrs. B's popular front government and hailed the 1971 massacre of Sinhalese youth who rose up against it.

Today, as the SLFP aims to renew its popular front of Sinhala racialism in the form of a "National Front" with the Buddhist religious hierarchy, the reformist left is dutifully tagging along behind. The NSSP, the "New" LSSP formed by a split in the 1970s after the old LSSP had thoroughly discredited itself by slavish subordination to Mrs. Bandaranaike, showed itself wedded to the same popular front perspective as its parent when it hailed the SLMP, a thoroughly bourgeois split-off from the SLFP, as a "working-class formation." On the question of rights for plantation Tamils, the SLMP has declared that the new citizens would be "an additional burden which the economy cannot bear" (*Sun*, 27 January). And the Communist Party paper *Aththa* worried: "There is the possibility of Indians and people from Tamil Nadu infiltrating the plantations. It will be the Sinhalese people who will be in danger" (quoted in the *Island*, 6 February).

Against the wretched popular frontism and pandering to Sinhala chauvinism of the reformist Lankan left, the international Spartacist tendency and its section on the island, the Spartacist League/Lanka, have fought consistently in defense of the Tamils and for the right of Tamil national self-determination, in the framework of a Leninist/Trotskyist program of internationalist class struggle.

The plantation workers are not the only section of the working class to show combativity. In March nurses went on strike for almost a month. The government banned their union and seized its funds under the emergency regulations. Notably, like the plantation strikes and the militant strikes at textile factories like Polytex and Magnum, these struggles centrally involve women workers. Deeply oppressed, and all too often treated with disdain and indifference by Lankan and Eelamist leftists alike, these women have shown their willingness and capacity for struggle. Militant class-conscious women can and will be won to communism and will be among its best fighters.

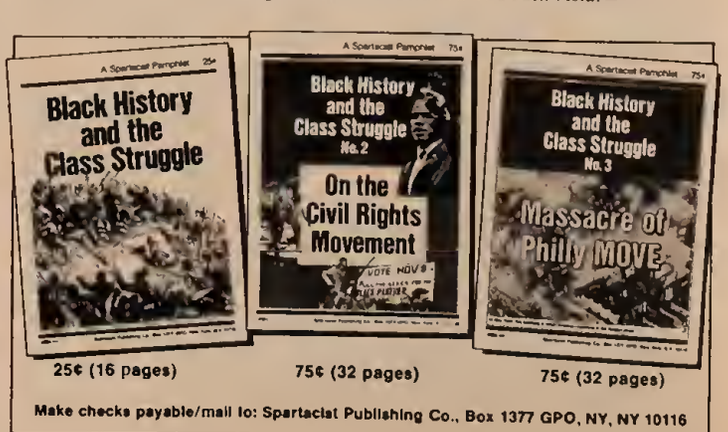
The bonapartist J.R. regime faces pressures from all quarters. In Jaffna prior to the army invasion of the North, Muslims protested the terror-bombing of Libya by J.R.'s friend Reagan in a 2,000-strong demonstration. More recently fighting in the Slave Island quarter of Colombo left seven dead, as local inhabitants, mainly Muslims and Tamils, resisted the riotous soldiers from a neighboring army camp. The regime continues to imprison Sinhalese leftists accused of having ties with Tamil groups, as well as countless Tamils held under the draconian "Prevention of Terrorism" laws. The imperialist bloodsuckers of the International Monetary Fund have threatened to cut off "aid" and loans unless the government demonstrates it can find a "solution" to the ethnic problem and get back to the orderly business of making money for domestic and multinational capitalists and their world bankers. Meanwhile the army seethes with mutinous elements and Jayewardene's own party is itself rent with factions including an ultra-racialist wing which sees J.R. as "soft" on the Tamils. And the regime has succeeded in deeply antagonizing anew its powerful neighbor India, which could swat away Jayewardene's forces with minimal effort.

But Tamil Eelam achieved on the bayonets of the Indian army could be at best a pathetic client of capitalist India, itself a prisonhouse of peoples with its own bitter communal divisions and murderous suppression of minorities. A socialist Eelam is conceivable only in the framework of proletarian revolutionary struggles of the key plantation Tamils and Sinhalese workers to overthrow capitalist rule in the South as well, and the extension of revolutionary conflagration to the oppressed masses of the Indian subcontinent.

Indeed any perspective for revolution in Lanka makes little sense unless the island is seen as a staging area for proletarian revolutionary struggle throughout the Indian subcontinent. Ceylon has always been an organic cultural component of India; the island's history has always been linked to that of the mainland except when the English made Ceylon a separate administrative unit for their own convenience. The best traditions of the old Ceylonese Trotskyist movement date back to World War II when the Ceylonese communists were united with their Indian comrades in one party of common struggle against British colonialism and capitalism.

In the period since independence in 1948, the policy of Sinhalese racialist exclusivity sought to make external to "our people" first the plantation Tamils and Burghers (mixed-race descendants of European settlers) and now the Muslims and Tamils. As the island today is torn apart by Sinhalese state terror and retaliatory Tamil terrorism against innocent civilians, it seems clear that the cycle of bloodbaths will not easily be broken. The pressure on India to step in to restore order is rapidly becoming irresistible. Rajiv Gandhi is perhaps impeded from action by his evident desire for a rapprochement with U.S. imperialism, and by the precarious condition of bloody national antagonisms inside India. But if he permits the Sri Lanka government to accomplish the genocidal slaughter of Tamil Hindus, it would mean his undoing as surely as his mother's falling out with the Sikhs meant hers. Sooner or later, and likely sooner, the Indian army will be forced to intervene in Lanka, the Sinhalese will "get theirs" and the Tamils won't like it very much either.

As against the despairing perspective of nationalists, for whom guerrilla counter-terrorism and eventual Indian invasion represent the only logical program, we fight for the perspective of revolutionary class struggle across national lines. The bloody horror of communal slaughter, in India no less than in Lanka, will be ended only by international class struggle, uniting the toiling masses across all ethnic, national and religious divisions under the leadership of a world party of socialist revolution, a reborn Fourth International. For a federated workers republic of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■



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Smash Racist Terror from U.S. to South Africa!

AP

Rojo/Cambio 16

NYC Democratic mayor Koch's cops attack blacks protesting closing of west Harlem's only hospital (left). March in Cape Town demanding freedom for Nelson Mandela is smashed by Botha's cops.

Democrats Front for Reagan Racism

When South Africa launched murder raids on black African states last month, white supremacist ruler Botha took his cue from Reagan's terror strikes against Libya. As apartheid vigilantes burned down shantytowns in Crossroads, Reaganite thugs were torching protest shanties in Baltimore. Especially among American blacks, who see the cause of South African black freedom as their own, there is a keen sense of solidarity with the anti-apartheid revolt and a burning desire to struggle against racist terror. But the Democrats and union bureaucrats who have called the June 14 demonstrations for "divestment" and sanctions against South Africa are seeking to prettify American imperialism and channel black outrage away from struggle against racist oppression here at home.

Standing on the steps of New York City Hall, rally organizers and Bishop Desmond Tutu boost the anti-apartheid rally...endorsed by New York City's No. 1 racist pig, Mayor Ed Koch! From Koch's flunkey, Manhattan borough president David Dinkins, to Atlanta mayor Andrew Young, black Democratic front men for Reagan racism are trying to renew tarnished "anti-racist" credentials. The NYC demonstration was announced at Central Labor Council headquarters, fiefdom of the Van Arsdale dynasty. Van Arsdale's own union, job-trusting IBEW Local 3, marched in last year's Labor Day parade in a contingent featuring a huge Confederate flag, banner of chattel slavery and race-terror!

Demonstration coordinator Cleveland Robinson of UAW District 65 set the tone when he said that since Botha's attacks on the black front line states were inspired by the U.S. bombing of Libya, "This has left us no choice but to demand immediate and comprehensive sanction against the racist government of South Africa"! If he were consistent he would call for international sanctions against the racist USA and its terror bombing. Instead he looks to the anti-Soviet war-crazy nuts in the White House to champion the rights of black people! And don't forget that the Democratic sponsors of the Soweto commemoration were gung-ho for Reagan's terror rampage against that North African state.

A wave of racist terror is spreading across this country. In Coney Island, three carloads of whites beat a lone black bike rider to death; days later an Asian was stabbed by a racist mob. In "liberal" San Francisco, Klan-style fascists spew racist hate literature and rape threats on the SF State campus, while across the Bay in Concord a young black man was lynched late last year. And in Atlanta, where the "New South" ends at the perimeter highway, the black Democrats who came forward during the Civil Rights movement now run the city for Coca-Cola. As a comrade reports, "Their main job is to keep Atlanta quiet—'too busy to hate.' On the other hand there is an enormous and striking gap between them and the black working people and poor."

Racist terror in America takes its cue from the White House, and it's presided over by the Democratic overseers of Ronald Reagan's plantation. Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman gave a slap on the wrist to two of the racist punks who beat black transit worker Willie Turks to death, but when black subway clerk James Grimes defends himself from a murderous hold-up attempt, Holtzman drags him through the courts. And on 13 May 1985, Philadelphia cops firebombed the black MOVE commune, incinerating eleven black people including five children. Burning out 61 black families, they turned West Philly into America's Crossroads. This murderous conspiracy, extending from black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode to Meese's FBI and the White House, will live in infamy as the signature of the Reagan years.

The Spartacist League fights for labor/black defense to stop the racist terrorists in their tracks. On 27 November 1982, when the KKK, emboldened by the election of their Klandidate, Ronald Reagan, threatened to come out in the nation's capital for the first time since 1925, the Spartacist League led a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization of Washington area black unionists and youth which made sure the racist killers never even got their white robes and hoods out of the bag. It was the revolutionaries who organized these actions, while the reformists tailed after the black Democrats who *opposed* every real mobilization of the power of workers and oppressed against the racist terrorists.

The liberal Democrats and their kept trade-union bureaucrats claim that opposition to apartheid means "divestment" from companies doing business in South Africa. Divestment is an empty moralistic gesture, whose only effect is to create more business for stockbrokers. And last summer, when Wall Street and West European banks called in more than $2 billion in loans to Pretoria, it did nothing to aid South African blacks. Dismantling industry in South Africa would only increase the impoverishment of the black masses and weaken the organized workers movement. A spokesman for South Africa's black unions, Alex Erwin, stated that he and his comrades opposed the withdrawal of assets from South Africa:

> "...we view them not as the simple property of foreign companies, but as assets which have been built up through the sweat and labor of South African workers, and which now absolutely belong to this society.... We see absolutely no sense in handing over part of the social wealth of this country in order to place pressure on the regime."
>
> —*Work in Progress*, June 1985

What can class-conscious workers and black militants in the U.S. do to fight apartheid? South Africa's black proletariat has admirably demonstrated its internationalist solidarity. The impoverished gold miners sent money to the British coal miners' strike last year, and South African black workers for 3M staged a sympathy strike to protest the company's closing of a plant in Freehold, New Jersey. American labor must do its internationalist duty, by "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) arms shipments from the U.S. to the apartheid butchers. Instead of a weekend rally to commemorate the Soweto massacre, what's needed is a general strike against racist terror, to shut down Ed Koch's New York and Andy Young's Atlanta like our South African union brothers and sisters are doing under a totalitarian police state.

The Democrats and labor bureaucrats are not interested in fighting apartheid, for that means taking on and defeating the *American* ruling class. These agents of Wall Street and the Pentagon are only interested in advancing their careers by *preventing* labor and black struggle. The scabherding, anti-Communist sellouts who run the AFL-CIO must be ousted and replaced with a class-struggle leadership fighting to break the workers movement from the partner parties of American capitalism and build a revolutionary workers party. The power of the American proletariat, white and black, must be mobilized to smash the racist terrorists, from Harlem to Crossroads. Only then will the great wealth of the U.S. and South Africa be "divested" from the capitalists and used to overcome poverty and degradation throughout the world.

From USA to Africa: we contribute to the struggle against apartheid not with empty charity or teacherous calls on Reagan to aid blacks, but by making a revolution here. The international Spartacist tendency is dedicated to the goal of a communist future for all mankind. ■

WV Photo

NYC, 13 August 1985: Spartacists, transit unionists say: "Fight Racist Terror from Harlem to Soweto!"

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Avenge Soweto...

(continued from page 1)

reported for military training.

A small but politically significant number of whites are prepared to side with the black revolt. For example, in the face of right-wing bomb threats a thousand whites attended a meeting of the United Democratic Front (UDF, in effect the legal, above-ground organization of the ANC). Late last month 50 black and white students at the University of Witwatersrand near Johannesburg were savagely attacked by police for protesting apartheid. And a handful of whites like Helene Passtoors have been convicted of aiding the ANC's military underground.

On the other hand, there is a sinister fascist mobilization under the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) headed by one Eugene Terre Blanche (the name means "white land"), a former bodyguard to ex-prime minister John Vorster. With its swastika-like emblem and brown-shirted stormtroopers, the AWB represents a hard core of white racists—mine foremen, farmers who have black workers as virtual slaves, civil servants, cops and military personnel—who oppose any weakening of apartheid and believe the government is selling them out. In late May 3,000 AWB supporters jolted Pretoria by taking over a major National Party rally at which foreign minister "Pik" Botha of the government's "pro-reform" wing had been scheduled to speak. Cabinet minister Pietie du Plessis publicly accused the police of aiding the AWB at the rally.

The divisions within the white ruling caste have to some extent hampered its ability to suppress the anti-apartheid resistance. But it is a grave error to see the AWB only as a sign of weakening of the Botha regime, for it represents a crystallization of a political force considerably more reactionary and more ruthless than the current government. Already, especially where white suburbs lie close to black townships, there has been a rash of random killings of blacks by white vigilantes.

Apartheid Terror in the Townships

A few months ago we warned:

> "The black townships are already set up for civil war, surrounded by an empty 'free fire' zone. A South African Hitler could seal them off, blow up the sewer lines, demolish the hospitals, cut off electricity, food and water...and wait. After about 18 months the resulting hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of dead would secure 'social peace' for a generation."
>
> —"Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!" *WV* No. 395, 17 January

Recent events in the huge squatter community of Crossroads near Cape Town are a chilling confirmation of this danger. Throughout 1985, as in countless townships across the country, youths in Crossroads were being gunned down in stone-throwing clashes with the cops. In April it was reported that cops were repeatedly being fired on from ambush in the maze-like shantytown. One cop was killed. That set the stage for the destruction which came in May. Playing on divisions between the militant young "comrades" and an older reactionary faction, "the fathers," the cops unleashed a black vigilante force. While the cops cordoned off the camp, the vigilantes torched the areas dominated by the "comrades," killing 30 to 50 and leaving an estimated *30,000* homeless.

From KwaMashu in Natal, the stronghold of the sinister Zulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi, to the Witwatersrand around Johannesburg, black vigilantes are now a highly dangerous force. Recruited from among black cops, hangers-on of local black puppet authorities and backward dwellers in the starving bantustans, they have halted anti-apartheid resistance in some townships. In Leandra near Johannesburg, according to white South African liberal Nicholas Haysom, "what the police and intrigues of the development board could not achieve in five years has been accomplished in two months by vigilante violence" (*Black American*, 15 May).

These developments should give pause to talk of establishing "liberated zones" in the townships. Over the past year and a half the black revolt in the townships has resisted rent increases and other government impositions, broken down partly the regime's network of informers and puppets, and provided some defense for anti-apartheid militants targeted by the cops/vigilantes. The disruption of apartheid control has provided opportunities for revolutionary organization. But the idea of establishing an alternative township administration and instituting "people's education" is utopian as long as the white police state remains intact.

Mendel/AFP

South African fascist leader Eugene Terre Blanche (literally "white land").

Workers Power Can Smash Apartheid!

As we said in 1976 in the face of uncritical enthusing by the American left over the Soweto uprising, youth-led township revolt will not by itself topple apartheid. The key role must go to organized workers. The townships are dormitory settlements without an independent economic existence. The one real source of power they have is in the millions of workers who journey from the townships and squatter camps to the white-owned factories. As we emphasized in counterposition to the guerrilla enthusiasts and celebrators of youth revolt, as well as those who called for U.S. imperialism to embargo its South African junior partner, the crucial task of that period was the struggle for unionization and proletarian political leadership of the then largely unorganized black working class:

> "...the strategic economic position of black workers enables them to force concessions even from hardline Afrikaner reactionaries. The 1973-74 strike wave resulted in the Vorster regime tolerating and even (to a limited degree) bargaining formally with illegal black unions. This important development gives the lie to petty-bourgeois nationalists who deny the power of the proletariat, instead hailing impotent guerrillaism....
>
> "A Trotskyist leadership must be forged that can channel the militant plebeian currents in the African 'townships' into a class-conscious and disciplined workers movement (whether legal or illegal, open or clandestine), and link the struggles of the black working class for economic gains and elementary democratic rights to the fight for proletarian power."
>
> —"Avenge Soweto!" *WV* No. 115, 25 June 1976

Peter Magubane

Soweto rebellion, June 1976—Over a thousand black student youth massacred by apartheid butchers.

Today, now that powerful black unions exist in the key industries, the formation of a Trotskyist workers party is more than ever the burning necessity. The formation late last year of COSATU marked not only the greatest consolidation of black working-class power in South Africa's history, it marked also a definite movement of the unions toward political subordination to the ANC. The political links were cemented in the selection of its leadership and in the visit of that leadership with the ANC in Lusaka this year.

The ANC, backed by the Stalinist South African Communist Party, is a petty-bourgeois nationalist formation. Its strategies of international divestment, guerrillaism and "making the townships ungovernable" are designed *not* to destroy apartheid capitalism but as a means of pressure for a "power-sharing" deal with the white bosses. Thus the ANC has had cordial meetings in Lusaka not only with COSATU but also the black workers' mortal enemies, the chairman of Anglo American and other big South African industrialists. The London *Financial Times* (21 May) reported:

> "For the first time in many years, even hardliners in the ANC are floating the idea that it could accept a form of interim power-sharing with the regime as a step to its eventual goal of political system based on 'one man, one vote in a unitary state.'
>
> "ANC leaders have indicated privately that they may be prepared to accept temporary guarantees for minorities in a new South African constitution—perhaps along the lines of the 20 entrenched white seats guaranteed under Zimbabwe's independence constitution."

One has only to look at Zimbabwe to see the rotten consequences of such a deal. The Black Consciousness nationalists of AZAPO (rivals of the ANC) also look to Robert Mugabe's regime in Harare as a model. This neocolonial regime has imposed slave labor legislation on Zimbabwean workers in the interests of imperialist and domestic (white) capitalists and has carried out tribalist terror against the minority Matabele people.

AP

Johannesburg, May 30: Savage police attack on university students, both white and black, protesting apartheid.

However, the historic alternatives facing South Africa's black, coloured and Indian oppressed are not limited to continued apartheid terror or some version of Zimbabwe writ large. South Africa is the one place in sub-Saharan Africa where there is the possibility for a workers state because the black population has been partially absorbed, at the bottom, into a modern industrial society which can, based on the revolutionary reorganization of society, provide a decent life for all its citizens. Whites too must have a place in an anti-racist society. Only such a perspective of a black-centered workers government, through forging a racially integrated communist vanguard party, can break down the white-vs.-black line in the struggle to smash apartheid. ■

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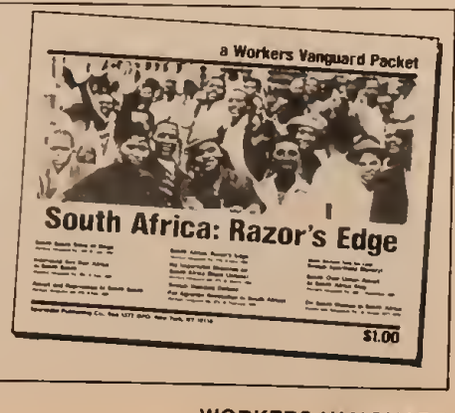


25 Years Ago: How CIA Murdered Patrice Lumumba

Reagan's terror raid on Libya rained death on the Libyan people, murdered Libyan leader Qaddafi's daughter and severely wounded two of his young sons. Reagan's lying denial that the U.S. government was out to assassinate Qaddafi is belied by widely publicized photos taken from the air force bombers showing Qaddafi's tent literally in the cross hairs. While the U.S. government's spy agencies invent fantastic schemes accusing the "reds" of trying to kill the pope, political assassination is *normal* M.O. for the CIA, Pentagon and the other hitmen for American imperialism. Back in 1975 a U.S. Senate committee investigated a whole series of CIA assassinations of foreign leaders in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The CIA *admitted* at least eight different plots to bump off Cuba's Fidel Castro, including bankrolling the Mafia to do the dirty work. In reality the murder attempts have never stopped.

One of the most barbaric U.S. interventions, which moreover was ordered by liberal Democrat John F. Kennedy, was to liquidate militant nationalist Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese prime minister. When the former Belgian Congo (now Zaire), became "independent" 25 years ago, the imperialists were determined to retain the vast copper, cobalt, manganese and zinc riches of the country for themselves. The powerful mining concern Union Minière and the Belgian government greeted independence by setting up stooge Moïse Tshombé as head of a client state in Katanga Province, where the mineral wealth was concentrated. While Belgian troops organized a bloody civil war against Lumumba, the CIA sought to poison him.

As was later documented by the select U.S. Senate Church committee, toxic biological materials, along with rubber gloves, masks and syringes, were hand-delivered to the CIA station in Leopoldville by U.S. operatives. When this attempt failed, the CIA plotted various alternatives, from setting up a sniper squad to enlisting Congolese forces for the purpose of "immobilizing or arresting" Lumumba. In January 1961 Lumumba was in fact turned over to Tshombé by the pro-U.S. Mobutu government and murdered. In his book *In Search of Enemies* (1978), the former CIA station chief in Angola, John Stockwell, recounts a CIA officer telling him he had driven around with Lumumba's body in the trunk of his car, trying to decide what to do with it.

In the prologue to its findings on the assassination plots directed at Lumumba, Castro and others, the Church committee underscored the connection between these bloodthirsty conspiracies and "a global Cold War against Communism." The directive issued by CIA head Allen Dulles to get Lumumba stated explicitly: "In high quarters here it is the clear-cut conclusion that if [Lumumba] continues to hold high office, the inevitable result will at best be chaos and at worst pave the way to communist takeover of the Congo.... Consequently we conclude that his removal must be an urgent and prime objective and that under existing conditions this should be a high priority of our covert action."

During this sordid, bloody affair the United Nations "peacekeeping force" in the Congo served as direct agents of U.S. intervention under the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations. The staging area for the UN operation was the giant American Wheelus air force base located outside Tripoli. (Clearly, the Americans and British have never forgiven Qaddafi for the loss of their strategic military bases in Libya.) The UN troops became a spearhead for the civil war directed against Lumumba. Disillusioned in the UN, Lumumba appealed for Soviet aid; in response Mobutu staged his coup and expelled the Soviet and Czechoslovakian missions. The UN garrison shut down Lumumba's radio station and sealed off the airport. UN security responsible for Lumumba in effect placed him under house arrest—from where he conveniently ended up in the hands of his murderers.

UPI

Patrice Lumumba, who led fight for independence in Belgian Congo (now Zaire).

The hitter experience of the Congo convinced not a few American black militants of the futility of trying to reform U.S. imperialism. Malcolm X, for one, repeatedly denounced imperialist efforts to whitewash their brutal atrocities as a fight against "terrorism." In one of his last speeches, on the occasion of U.S. intervention in the Congo in 1964, Malcolm said:

> "Right now, in the Congo, defenseless villages are being bombed, black women and children and babies are being blown to bits by airplanes. Where do these airplanes come from? The United States, the U-n-i-t-e-d S-t-a-t-e-s. Yes, and you [the press] won't write that. You won't write that American planes are blowing the flesh from the bodies of black women and black babies and black men. No. Why? Because they're American planes. As long as they're American planes, that's humanitarian. As long as they're being piloted by anti-Castro Cubans, that makes it all right....
>
> "So these mercenaries come in, and again, what makes these mercenaries acceptable? The press. The press doesn't refer to them as hired killers. The press doesn't refer to them as murderers. The press refers to the brothers in Stanleyville, who are defending their country, as rebels, savages, cannibals."

Today, Reagan's Terror, Inc. in the White House is the No. 1 terrorist in the world. Malcolm X had their number a long time ago. ■

Phone Workers...

(continued from page 3)

members of Local 9415 signed a motion against the two-gate system. But CWA officials hardlined it for the company. A Local 9415 bulletin shortly before the strike ordered all CWAers employed by PacBell to "enter through PacBell door and report to work as usual." Workers who encountered pickets at the "door marked for PacBell" were advised to "go to the closest pay phone and call your supervisor"! This scab sheet makes crystal clear to the workers *and* the company that it's open season on anyone who respects picket lines.

In New York the union officials initially struck a more militant pose. On the union's taped phone message, Local 1101 president Ed Dempsey had vowed to observe any picket line. On Sunday, June 1, a reported 75 percent of all unionized local company employees scheduled to work refused to cross picket lines. But even before the company had gotten a court injunction, striking CWA locals took down lines in front of NY Tel entrances, Dempsey's "solidarity" collapsed and workers were ordered back on the job.

WV Photo

Oakland, June 1—Smash Ma Bell's divide-and-rule!

While AT&T has raked in $2 billion in profits over the last five quarters, it is demanding concessions from the union, including eliminating the cost-of-living allowance, making workers pay part of medical insurance premiums, and imposing a two-tier wage system for several job categories. Particularly targeted are women workers, whom the company claims are paid 30 percent above "comparable" workers elsewhere. But economic takeaways are only part of it: what the bosses want is a totally compliant workforce where all distinction between union and management is erased—similar to its non-union competitors like Sprint and MCI. AT&T already has one supervisor per 1.8 employees—the highest manager/worker ratio in U.S. industry. These managers—whom the union *never* interferes with during a strike—provide a huge scab force to run the highly automated phone network.

The company wants to root out any semblance of union solidarity, thereby demonstrating that "it's the boss." And the union bureaucrats are playing the company's game. Bahr's posture that the CWA "won't take concessions" is so much hype: in the past two years alone AT&T has "divested" itself of 56,000 jobs while the union looked the other way. Pieced together from an amalgam of company unions, the CWA has never won a real strike and has maintained its existence as an extremely junior partner to the phone bosses. CWA officials have always been enmeshed in class-collaborationist productivity schemes, the Democratic Party and CIA "labor" fronts like the AIFLD whose job is to export company unionism. Discipline on the shop floor is abetted by a bureaucratic system of appointed shop stewards, who today are being mobilized to scabherd.

The arrogant and widely hated Ma Bell and Baby Bell bosses can be broken. In February 1981, some 11,000 phone workers in British Columbia (Canada) occupied every major BC Tel installation. For five days they held the company's precious private property, while BC Tel shrieked helplessly. During the last nationwide phone strike, we put forward a strategy to win: hundreds of thousands of phone workers should occupy the buildings, rally unionists throughout the country, and "with a flick of the switch, phone workers could win millions of allies among working people by providing free phone service...."

But CIA-loving, pro-company bureaucrats are not about to lead a serious fight that threatens the vital communications networks of U.S. capitalism, from Wall Street to the Pentagon. A genuine class-struggle leadership must be forged. It is vital that phone workers rally behind MAC's call to defend their union now: smash two-gate union busting! Don't let Ma Bell divide and rule! ■

Corrections

The article "War Criminal Waldheim" (*WV* No. 404, 23 May) stated that Hitler was an Austrian from Salzburg. He was from a town near Linz. Also Max Reinhardt was described as an artist; he was a theatrical director.

* * * * *

Our article "Reagan's Insane War Provocations" (*WV* No. 400, 28 March) stated that the 1958 convention on the sea cited by the U.S. to justify its invasion of Soviet Black Sea territorial waters was rejected by the USSR and other East European countries. This was taken from a 1978 legal review. A French comrade has brought to our attention that by 1983 the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries had signed (but not ratified) the convention after years of negotiations. The Soviets' revised 1982 Law on the State Boundary incorporates the right of foreign warships to "effectuate innocent passage" through Soviet territorial waters "in the procedure established by the USSR Council of Ministers" (Oceana Publications, December 1983).

However, Soviet deputy minister of defense, Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, emphatically pointed out (*Izvestia*, 23 March):

> "...peaceful passage through territorial waters by warships is permitted only in specially designated coastal regions, which are announced by the Soviet government. By the way, there are no such regions in the Black Sea off the coast of the Soviet Union."

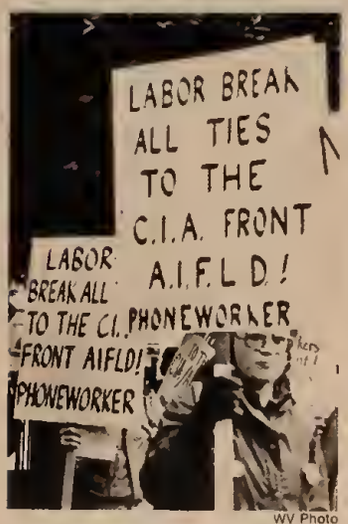
The U.S. Navy's blatant penetration of Soviet waters, sending American spy ships packed with electronic eavesdropping gear to within six miles of the Crimean coast near the Soviet Navy's Black Sea home port of Sevastopol, had nothing "innocent" about it. This was a deliberate provocation, with no legal basis, of a piece with the KAL 007 spy plane which overflew vital Soviet Far Eastern naval facilities. Reagan & Co. claim an imperial right to ignore every other country's law, but as we pointed out, the Soviets would have been "well within *their* rights if they blew the intruders out of the water." Admiral Chernavin ended his commentary noting that "this time, we showed patience and restraint."

AIFLD...

(continued from page 7)

around Lane Kirkland and the liberal Democratic DSA (Democratic Socialists of America) around Machinists' union chief William Winpisinger and New York AFSCME leader Victor Gotbaum.

In 1983 AFL-CIO chief Kirkland, a super-Cold Warrior and Rockefeller protégé, was able to represent the AFL-CIO on Reagan's Kissinger Commission on Central America, placing "American labor" on record for pumping in billions to stem the tide of revolution in Central America. But as



WV Photo

Militant phone workers join Spartacist protest of AIFLD conference in San Francisco, 1982.

the AIFLD's operations in Salvador have blown up, Gotbaum wonders aloud, "are we able to do the job in Central America we want to do?" (*Wall Street Journal*, 31 December 1985). The "job" these social democrats want to do on Central America is the same one they have been doing on American labor for years. While Gotbaum played tennis with financier Felix Rohatyn and threw NYC union gains down the Big MAC rathole, his DSA chum Winpisinger called himself a "socialist" while scabbing on the PATCO air controllers strike (and more recently the TWA flight attendants).

The essential job of the union bureaucracy, at home and abroad, is keeping labor in line for U.S. imperialism. The ferocious anti-Communism of the AFL-CIO is what got them their positions in the first place. The only thing that divides the bureaucracy's right and "left" wings from time to time is how to do it. Winpisinger, Gotbaum et al. don't object to AIFLD and the rest of the AFL-CIO's international operations—they just think Kirkland & Co. have picked the wrong horses. Instead of backing losers like Marcos flunkeys and the handful of bought-off diehards for Duarte, they want to find some more credible types. American labor cannot put a stop to this export of counterrevolution without driving out the labor front men for imperialism and forging a genuine class-struggle leadership of the workers movement.

For over a decade, phone workers in the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA have made a special point of demanding that their union break all ties with AIFLD. (The AIFLD was the brain child of CWA president Joseph Beirne, and over the years it has used the union's Front Royal, Virginia retreat to train thousands of labor operatives for U.S. imperialism.) When in 1982 the AIFLD held a conference in San Francisco, militant phone workers and Spartacist supporters picketed outside with signs such as, "William Doherty: The Blood of Salvadoran Workers Is On Your Hands," "Irving Brown: International Union Buster for the CIA," "Social Democrats: Front Men for the CIA" and "Oust Pro-CIA Labor Bureaucracy: Build a Workers Party!"

Today as the AIFLD is in hot water in El Salvador, as the AFL-CIO's attempts to buy off South African black union leaders are going up in smoke and its Philippines operations have been exposed as handmaidens of the Marcos dictatorship, American union militants can do a real service for the workers of the world by demanding: Defend Salvadoran, South African, Filipino workers! Break all the AIFLDs! ■

El Salvador Workers...

(continued from page 16)

from its offices, but the strike remains solid. Now union leaders are threatening a hunger strike.

Under the present state of siege, virtually every strike is illegal, and the government's arsenal includes mass firings, arbitrary arrests and murder, such as the May 6 assassination of postal union leader Aristedes Méndez, during a strike by letter carriers. According to trade unionists who recently spoke to *WV* from San Salvador, the labor mobilization has continued in the face of this anti-union repression. In addition to the phone strike, currently the most militant struggle is a three-week-old plant occupation by workers at the Confiteria Americana candy factory, and plans are being laid for a general strike against the *paquetazo* and demanding dialogue with the FDR/FMLN. In response, the Duarte government, backed up by the union-busters in Washington, has escalated its threats. An official of the FENASTRAS labor federation told *WV*, "The word from the U.S., from the government of Ronald Reagan, is that the Salvadoran government should drown all the strikes and they will finance all the losses." But as ASTTEL leader Sánchez remarked on May Day:

> "If El Salvador's government has an economic crisis, Washington sends money. If it's a military crisis, Washington sends troops. But if it's a labor crisis, it's hard to substitute for the workers."

The Sea Comes to San Salvador

In the countryside the army and the guerrillas are locked in a standoff. Constant overflights by U.S. spy planes and the government's tremendous air power advantage have forced the rebels to operate in smaller units and shrunk their zones of control. Meanwhile, the Pentagon is applying its latest scheme, "low intensity conflict," defined by Colonel John Waghelstein, former head of U.S. advisers in El Salvador, as "total war at the grassroots level." The guerrilla swims among the people, said Mao Tse-tung, as a fish in the sea. So U.S. counterinsurgency experts concluded they must "drain the sea in order to catch the fish." In Vietnam with its population of 55 million, this proved impossible. But in the tiny countries of Central America, the Hitlerite program of forced population removal through mass terror is being put into practice. In Guatemala, it has led to "success"

Free Salvadoran Trade Unionists!

The following is a chronological listing of Salvadoran trade-union members and supporters jailed or "disappeared" by the Duarte government during 1985 and the first four months of 1986 who are still in detention or missing as we go to press. The information was supplied by the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) and the Salvadoran Press Agency (SALPRESS). FENASTRAS urges that telegrams be sent to: President José Napoleón Duarte, Casa Presidencial, San Salvador, El Salvador.

* * * * *

Mauricio Cea Martínez, finance secretary ATMAG (Ministry of Agriculture workers); seized in April 1985.

Ivan Ramírez, member of SETA (water workers); captured by death squads May 26, since "disappeared."

Pedro Armando Oporto Martínez, textile worker; seized June 15 by National Police, since "disappeared."

Raúl Antonio Castro Palumares, public relations secretary FESTIATVCES (food, textile and amalgamated workers); seized June 23.

Miguel López, general secretary ANC (peasants association); seized by National Police in July, since "disappeared."

Modesto Rodriguez Escobar, general secretary FESTIATVCES; seized July 4.

Vilma Angélica Barto Méndez, former general secretary SIP (bakery workers); seized July 17.

Mauricio Ramirez, executive board FENASTRAS, seized July 20

Natividad Bernal, executive board FUSS (United Union Federation); seized August 3.

David Morales, worker at Capri plant; seized August 3.

Rufino Hernández, worker at Capri plant; seized August 3.

Pedro Merino, worker at Capri plant; seized August 3.

Juan Ramón Márquez, public relations secretary AVICOLA (poultry workers); seized August 9.

Héctor Antonio Acevedo, organizer for FESTIATVCES; seized August 16.

Mariano de Jesús Carranza Menéndez, general secretary CUSO (construction workers); seized August 29.

Carlos Humberto Tavoada Represa, member of AFRAMSA (Santa Ana municipal workers); seized by Treasury Police September 17.

Armando Menjívar, administrative council of consumer cooperative in San Bartolo; seized by Treasury Police September 20.

Miguel Angel Rivas, member of FENACOA (agricultural cooperative workers); seized October 17.

Salomón Romero, member of FENACOA, seized October 22.

Gladis Romero, member of FENACOA; seized October 22.

Freddy Coluchu, member of SITA (agricultural workers), seized October 22.

José Pedro Rivera Castillo, member of ANDES (teachers union); seized by Treasury Police November 1

José Vladimir Centeno and **Jaime Ernesto Centeno**, sons of ASTTEL (telephone workers) secretary of international and national relations **Humberto Centenu**, seized together with father (since released) and tortured by Treasury Police November 8

Sergio Flores, member of ANDES, seized November 22

Santos Mateo Meléndez, member of Association of Health Ministry Workers; seized December 12

Sofia Irene López de Orantes, member of SICAFE (coffee workers) at CAPEX in Ahuachapán; seized 1 January 1986, since "disappeared."

Domingo Antonio Marinero, general secretary of SICAFE at Atahualpa Beneficio (coffee processing plant); seized January 13.

Luis Humbertn Ramírez González, secretary of conflicts of SICAFE in Chalchuapa; seized January 19 by 2nd Infantry Brigade in Santa Ana along with **Edith Ramirez** who has since "disappeared."

Oscar Eduardo Orellana, general secretary of SICAFE at Montealegre Beneficio; seized by 2nd Infantry Brigade January 19

Jorge Méndez Márquez, member of executive board of SICAFE at Buenavista Beneficio in Juayua; seized by 2nd Infantry Brigade January 22

Rafael Márquez Méndez, member of SICAFE at Buenavista Beneficio; seized by Treasury Police January 27; since "disappeared."

José Domingo Ayala, member of SGTICSCES (construction workers); seized January 28 by Treasury Police; since "disappeared."

Aminta Naumi Santamaría García, member of Ministry of Health Workers union; seized by Treasury Police February 10; since "disappeared."

Jorge Aguilón Acosta, general secretary of the bread workers union; seized February 11

Pedro Efraín Carranza, coordinator for FENACOA; seized March 4

Omar Gilberto López Sánchez, member of transport workers union; seized by National Guard March 15.

Gregorio Linares, adviser for adult education teachers in Sonsonante; seized March 19.

Maximiliano Castro Navas, union organizer for transport workers union; seized by Treasury Police April 2.

Teoduro Serafín Carranza, member of ABEAS (literacy workers); seized April 2 by 2nd Infantry Brigade; since "disappeared."

Reynaldu Contreras, member of ABEAS; seized April 2.

Salomón Sánchez Márti, member of executive board of transport workers union; seized by National Guard April 3.

Antonio Campos Mendoza, member of transport workers union; seized by National Guard April 4.

Chernobyl Accident...

(continued from page 9)

States Pentagon: the war plans of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. We now know that a few weeks after the bombing of Nagasaki, the United States Air Force drew up the first pre-emptive first-strike plan on the Soviet Union. It was called "Strategic Vulnerability of the USSR in a Limited Air Attack." I know, because I have all these plans. Fifty atomic bombs to be dropped on 20 cities. By April of '46 it was made into a full-scale war plan, with an occupation of the Soviet Union, called Operation Bushwhacker. You would have ten army divisions occupying Moscow; ten army divisions occupy Leningrad; ten army divisions occupy the Vladivostok area. And to run the country, we would import White Russians from Europe to run the Soviet Union. We would then carve up the Soviet Union, splitting off the Ukraine, splitting off the Balkan states, splitting off the Arab states. And now ABC television would like to convince us that the Soviets can take over the United States and occupy Kansas!

Then in 1948, James Forrestal, the first Secretary of Defense, made the recommendation that we execute the operational war plan on the Soviet Union during the Berlin crisis of that summer. In 1954, President Eisenhower on five occasions was told by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs, the head of the National Security Council, vice president and the entire cabinet to launch a nuclear strike on the Chinese. President Eisenhower said, if we hit the Chinese with nuclear weapons, are you prepared to simultaneously hit the Soviet Union? On May 17, 1954, James Ridgeway, army chief of staff, writes a classified memo stating that the advance study committee of the Joint Chiefs is recommending a pre-emptive first strike on the Soviet Union, "Operation Shakedown." Not 50 atomic bombs, 1,000 Mark 6 plutonium bombs dropped by 735 bombers on the Soviet Union! They wanted to hit Russia in '54.

Why didn't the United States go ahead, given its monopoly in '48 and '54, and again in 1961? Well, get a copy of my book, published by South End Press, titled, *To Win a Nuclear War*, the secret story of the United States government. ■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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twice—in the late 1960s and the mid-'80s—although leftist guerrillas keep reappearing. In El Salvador, it could backfire.

Beginning on January 10, the army launched a large-scale invasion of rebel territory. Code-named Operation Phoenix, after the infamous CIA campaign in Vietnam which murdered 30,000 suspected Vietcong sympathizers and cadres, the aim was to drive the FMLN from its long-held bastion on Guazapa volcano, within sight of downtown San Salvador. Guazapa has been unsuccessfully attacked by the government at least 20 times in the past. This time, 5,000 government troops backed up by aerial bombardment torched houses and crops, killed livestock and kidnapped or murdered hundreds of campesinos in an attempt to reduce "heroic Guazapa" to ashes. In addition to driving guerrilla forces off the volcano, the army was able to dismantle some rebel field hospitals and underground tunnels (*tatús*). The operation was a blow to the FMLN, but the army cannot hold Guazapa without stationing whole battalions of elite troops on the volcano. Two later offensives against rebel-controlled areas of Chalatenango and Morazán flopped.

And the FMLN has been able to counter with a series of dramatic actions in the last year, including the June attack on U.S. Marines in San Salvador's Zona Rosa, which badly shook the Americans; a July raid on Mariona prison which freed 149 prisoners; the kidnapping of Duarte's daughter in September, leading to the release of 22 leftist political prisoners and 96 wounded guerrillas; and the October assault on the Salvadoran military training center in La Unión, with more than 200 government casualties. Guerrilla mines have taken a heavy toll of army troops, and FMLN units have continued to seize towns in areas supposedly "cleansed" of guerrillas. A devastating campaign of economic sabotage has focused on blowing up electricity substations and toppling scores of power pylons, leading to frequent blackouts, as well as burning sugar and cotton plantations. During the last harvest, the guerrillas extended their operations to the home base of the coffee oligarchy in western El Salvador.

El Salvador was where the Reaganites declared they were going to "draw the line" against Communism in the Americas. Beginning with the Democratic Carter administration, the U.S. government has poured nearly $2 billion into this tiny Central American country in an effort to crush the worker and peasant rebellion. In that time the Salvadoran army has quadrupled in size to more than 50,000 soldiers, and its arsenal expanded to include a fleet of 60 helicopters. Elliot Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Interamerican Affairs and Reagan's point man for Central America, boasted to Congress recently: "It's a great success story." But in spite of its overwhelming superiority in military hardware and numbers, the Salvadoran army has yet to win a single major battle over the rebels. And while the air force turns the northern tier of the country into a moonscape, by "draining the sea" of peasants they are flooding the capital with guerrilla supporters.

Duarte's "moderate" image and three "democratic" elections have indeed been a great PR success with U.S. Congressmen, who fork over hundreds of millions without blinking at Reagan's "human rights" certifications. In El Salvador, however, rightist oligarchs advertise in the newspapers for the military to take over and disgruntled colonels are held in check only by the need to keep U.S. aid flowing down the pipeline. Both the army and the FMLN talk of an endless war of attrition, while a war-weary population longs for peace. But the current labor upsurge points the way to ending the bloodbath which has claimed 60,000 lives since 1979 in the only way it can be ended—by revolutionary mobilization of the class with the power to root out the Salvadoran bourgeoisie and its professional killers. Fighting for *military victory to the leftist guerrillas* and *workers revolution throughout Central America*, the Trotskyists insist that the key is forging an authentically communist workers party to lead that struggle.

UPI

Der Spiegel

Godfather Shultz backs up Salvadoran puppet president Duarte as victims of death squad "democracy" mount; over 60,000 killed in six years.

For Permanent Revolution in Central America!

But that is hardly the program and strategy of the FMLN—much less that of their liberal/reformist allies of the FDR. The FDR/FMLN have called repeatedly for a "negotiated solution" to the civil war. Duarte, in turn, periodically agrees to some empty "dialogue" when he thinks he can get some electoral mileage, or perhaps split the rebels. After two sessions without results in La Palma and Ayagualo in 1984, the talks were interrupted until April, when FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora met with government spokesman Julio Rey Prendes in Lima, Peru. His aim, said Duarte, was to entice the social democrats and dissident Christian Democrats in the FDR to break with the FMLN guerrillas, pack their bags and rejoin the "democratic process"—i.e., the Yankees' bought-and-paid-for elections which mask the murderous war. Zamora declined, for the moment. Only a few months earlier he was quoted as asking, "What would we gain by ending our alliance now?" (*New York Times*, 22 January).

In El Salvador today, where even moderately left-wing politicians, militant unions or independent newspapers are still banned, bombed or "disappeared," talk of "democratization" is a farce. Any FDR politicians who sought to join a "government of broad participation" with the present rulers, any FMLN guerrillas who tried to form a "common army" with this officer corps of professional killers—measures called for in the rebels' platform for a "political solution"—would be signing their own death certificates. And Contadora, that pact among the local bourgeoisies to "peacefully" strangle revolution in Central America, prohibits supplying weapons to "irregular forces" like the Salvadoran guerrillas. The FDR/FMLN's constant talk of negotiations reflects a reformist political program that has held back the struggle militarily. A recent article by the rad-lib North American Congress on Latin America, echoing arguments by FMLN comandante Joaquín Villalobos, referred to events of 1983-84:

> "The FMLN's very success on the battlefield confronted the rebels with an extraordinary dilemma. Given the worsening geopolitical climate [after Reagan's invasion of Grenada], the FMLN judged that it might be, paradoxically enough, too strong for its own good....
>
> "After overrunning targets as important as the barracks at El Paraíso and the Cuscatlán bridge, what remained? Only the largest of the enemy's fixed positions: other key garrisons, strategic installations such as dams and strikes at the major cities. To hit any of these successfully might invite a U.S. invasion. Likewise, to press on to a 'final offensive,' with the real prospect of the disintegration of government forces and a rebel military victory, would produce the same result. If the FMLN then proved unable to keep power, it would in effect have won the war only to lose the revolution."
>
> —NACLA *Report on the Americas*, January-March 1986

So in order to avoid the "disintegration of government forces and a rebel military victory," the FMLN opted for a "war of attrition," allowing the government army time to rebuild after its near-collapse! During this same period *Workers Vanguard* put forward a sharply counterposed perspective, calling repeatedly for the leftist guerrillas to smash the butcher army, with headlines such as "Forward to San Salvador!" (*WV* No. 323, 11 February 1983) and "Salvadoran Rebels Must Go for Victory Now!" (*WV* No. 346, 20 January 1984). Today, as the battlefield has shifted to the cities, the same treacherous reformism holds back the workers' struggles, as leaders of leftist unions tailor their demands to the program of the ex-Duarte supporters. Thus in early April, the UNTS held a "national forum for survival and peace," including the bitterly anti-communist Salvadoran Small Business Federation (FENAPES) and the National Conciliation Party (PCN), for decades the instrument of oligarchic and military rule.

The forum called for "dialogue" and opposition to Duarte's IMF-style austerity program. The fact that this was agreed to by such diehard conservatives as the PCN and FENAPES indicates the depth of the social unrest in El Salvador: small businessmen are also squeezed by increases in gas prices and a war that has reduced the economy to a shambles. The response of a class-conscious workers movement should not be to "moderate" their demands but to call for audacious revolutionary struggle to bring down the increasingly isolated regime. A labor-led struggle for a workers and peasants government would find tremendous sympathy not only among the poor and unemployed in the *tugurios* (slums) of San Salvador, but also in wide sectors of an economically squeezed and war-weary middle class, and could split the swollen ranks of the conscript army from the corrupt, kill-crazy officers. But such a fight requires the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, forged on the program of permanent revolution.

In a civil war, as Lenin said, you either win or lose. Today "dialogue" is being used as a tactic in the Yankees' strategy of pacification. To Salvadoran workers we say: don't repeat the bloody experience of the "popular front" with liberal politicians and "patriotic" military men which destroyed the revolutionary opportunity of October 1979. And in the United States we call for a sharp fight against the Democratic Party, which together with Reagan provides the real power base for the butcher Duarte. Yet the rad-lib "solidarity movement" has tied itself to the Democrats' cart, campaigning for Jesse Jackson and then Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale in the '84 elections, and since then sinking into oblivion. In contrast, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League are fighting to build an internationalist leadership of the working class, from El Salvador to the U.S.■

At present there are approximately 500 union members being held by the "democrat" Duarte at the Mariona and Ilopango prisons, or in the torture chambers of the various security forces. American labor can bring considerable pressure to bear by demanding their release, something the AFL-CIO has *refused* to do because of its support for Duarte, and by refusing to transport military goods to El Salvador. And in the event of another murderous attack against the Salvadoran unions such as that carried out by a U.S.-trained SWAT team last June against striking hospital workers, U.S. workers should stand ready to respond by hot-cargoing goods to and from El Salvador.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

75,000 March Against Death Squad Regime

El Salvador Workers Face Showdown

After almost two years of escalating labor struggle, El Salvador's working class is facing a showdown with the "Made in U.S.A." government of President José Napoleón Duarte and the military who have run this Central American country for the last half century. During six years of civil war, the Salvadoran union movement has been the principal target of death squad terror. But after a period of clandestinity, throughout 1985 and the first months of this year numerous strikes and marches have reasserted the power of organized labor. Three times in three months the unions have mobilized impressive shows of strength: on February 21, some 60,000 workers and peasants marched to protest Duarte's starvation economic "package"; on April 24, tens of thousands stopped work for four hours; and on May Day an estimated 75,000 marched in downtown San Salvador. There has not been such a powerful proletarian upsurge since 1979-80...when the generals unleashed a bloodbath to head off a revolution.

In recent months the Duarte government and its American godfathers have claimed they have the leftist insurgents of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) on the run. (The guerrillas' social-democratic allies in the Revolutionary Democratic Front [FDR], meanwhile, talk of returning to participate in the electoral games of Duarte's death squad "democracy.") But although U.S.-supplied air power has forced the rebels to change tactics, they have refused to be trapped in frontal battle. So the military are systematically depopulating FMLN-held areas with scorched earth tactics and saturation bombing reminiscent of Vietnam. Rather than increasing government control over the masses, this strategy has moved the war from the countryside to the cities. Now thousands of homeless refugees are joining with urban workers driven to the wall by the regime's brutal austerity policies. So the next battles of this bloody class war may be fought out in the heart of San Salvador.

Reuters/Bettmann

San Salvador, May Day—Mass workers' march against "Reaganomics with machine guns," courageously defying Duarte and Salvadoran army.

"Reaganomics with Machine Guns"

Taking his cue from Reagan, who seeks to finance his anti-Soviet war buildup by slashing social welfare programs, Duarte is trying to pay for the costly war by tightening the belts of already destitute Salvadoran workers and unemployed. On January 21, he announced the inauguration of an anti-worker economic "stabilization" program which included devaluing the *colón* by half, raising gasoline prices by 50 percent and a reduction in government credits for peasant agricultural cooperatives. A rise in the minimum wage was turned by the devaluation into a real pay cut, to US$3.85 a day. This was IMF austerity without the IMF—orders from the U.S. embassy were enough to twist Duarte's arm. The result was an immediate 15-30 percent increase in prices, as the higher cost of transportation rippled through the economy. With galloping inflation and unemployment of 40 percent, the *paquetazo*, or "austerity coup," as it was called, could only be imposed by force. Unionists promptly dubbed this war economy plan "Reaganomics with machine guns."

The political effect was to eliminate the last vestiges of the Christian Democrats' social base. The Popular Democratic Union (UPD), a labor-peasant grouping founded by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in 1980 and bankrolled by U.S. funds, had been largely responsible for Duarte's electoral triumph in 1984. Alienated by his economic policies, failure to continue the land reform and refusal to engage in dialogue with the rebels, as well as some heavy-handed maneuvering by the AIFLD, the UPD split and the majority joined up with some left-wing unions to form the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), representing some 500,000 workers. On February 21 the UNTS called a "March for Survival of the Workers," bringing out the largest crowd for an anti-government protest since 1980. When a newly formed UNOC (Worker-Peasant Union) called a pro-Duarte parade on March 15, it only rounded up two-thirds as many, mostly peasants trucked in by the government.

Indicative of the workers' combativity has been the running battle between the government and the telecommunications workers (ASTTEL). Following a strike last November to release the sons of union leader Humberto Centeno from the clandestine torture chambers of the Treasury Police, other ASTTEL activists were seized. In January, the phone company fired union general secretary Rafael Sánchez for participating in a peace march. When ASTTEL called an eight-hour strike in February to protest forced transfers of union activists, the army surrounded union headquarters and locked officials out. On April 15, about 800 technicians went on strike demanding back salary increases. The government responded by declaring the strike illegal. When ASTTEL extended the walkout, the government sent in soldiers to man the equipment, resulting in service disruption. On May 7 ASTTEL was expelled

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UPI

Leftist rebels liberate town of Berlin, 1983.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 406 20 June 1986

Massive Black Strike
Under Apartheid Reign of Terror

South Africa Showdown

Forge a Bolshevik Party!

JUNE 17—South Africa's black masses observed the tenth anniversary of the Soweto rebellion, which was bloodily repressed by the apartheid state, with a general strike on June 16. The largest ever "stayaway," involving millions of black workers and shutting down major urban centers, was carried out in defiance of the regime's banning of any and all Soweto commemorations and under draconian nationwide "state of emergency" conditions. As we go to press, the near-total blackout of information from South Africa leaves only scraps of information gleaned from dispatches self-censored by the media to conform to apartheid *baas* P.W. Botha's "emergency" restrictions. In Paris, African National Congress (ANC) leader Oliver Tambo said that, contrary to official reports of "only" eleven killed on Monday, there were "unconfirmed reports of massive slaughter."

Film footage that has gotten through shows the streets of Johannesburg virtually deserted, as were the trains and buses that normally bring hundreds of thousands from Soweto to work in the factories, shops and offices. Reportedly the strike was completely effective in the Eastern Cape region, including blacks, coloureds (mixed race) and Indians. One business source reported that up to 90 percent of the nation's black workers participated in the strike. In Durban, 40 percent of the workers reportedly stayed away today as well. However, mass demonstrations and the insurrectionary actions Botha claimed were being prepared by "radical and revolutionary elements" apparently did not materialize. In the June 16 test of strength between the Pretoria regime and the combative black masses, it appears that there has been a cold standoff, for now.

Reuters

Apartheid terror rumbles through Crossroads as black settlement burns, leaving more than 70,000 homeless.

Botha declared the "state of emergency" June 12 after the bogus "parliaments" of coloured and Indian representatives balked at giving Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange martial law powers. In the early hours of the 12th, security forces rounded up at least 1,200 anti-apartheid militants, including leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the president of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) Saths Cooper, Piroshaw Camay of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), and clergymen. During the next days, over 4,000 were "detained," including many lower and middle-level officials of black unions and anti-apartheid groups, as well as the secretary general of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference and members of the End Conscription Campaign, a white group that opposes the draft.

Under the regulations, detainees may be held incommunicado indefinitely, and no security official can be tried for any actions under the "emergency," including murder. The offices of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) as well as those of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) were ransacked. Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was barred from speaking to journalists and restricted to her house from 6 p.m. to 8 a.m. daily. Reporters were completely barred from the black townships and prohibited from reporting any "subversive" statements (such as a strike call), any actions by the police or army, or the names of detainees. On the 16th telephones were cut off for most of the day in the townships around Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and Durban.

Pretoria geared up for repression on a massive, bloody scale. In an interview on ABC News, T.J. Swanepoel, the police commander who ordered the first shot fired in the massacre of over 1,000 black youth during the 1976 Soweto rebellion, said he would do it again: "I will kill a thousand people if I can stop the violence...." On June 15, police fired tear gas into a gathering of nearly 1,000 commemorating Soweto at the St. Athans Road Moslem Mosque in Athlone, a mixed-race suburb of Cape Town. According to the UPI: "Terrified worshippers broke doors and windows attempting to escape and several older people and children fainted and had to be dragged from the building, witnesses said. Police waiting outside the mosque beat fleeing worshippers with whips." At St. Nicholas Anglican Church in the Cape township of Elsie's River, 250 were arrested (including many children) by

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South Africa Attacks Soviet Bloc Ships

Two Soviet freighters were seriously damaged and a Cuban ship sunk in a dawn missile and underwater attack June 5 on the southern Angolan port of Namibe. The Angolan news agency, Angop, said a South African warship armed with Israeli Scorpion missiles destroyed two fuel storage tanks, and frogmen placed mines on the three ships. The Soviet news agency TASS denounced the attack on the *Kapitan Vislobokov*, the *Kapitan Chirkov* and the Cuban freighter as a South African "piratic attack," pinning responsibility as well on "those who patronize" the racist regime, "above all the United States." The Soviet government warned that the attack may have "far-reaching and dangerous consequences."

Cuban Troops Defend Black Angola: Front Line of Freedom Struggle

As with its recent raids on the capitals of the black "front line" states of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbahwe, which South African president Botha himself said were inspired by U.S. attacks on Libya, the apartheid terror state has once again taken its lead from Washington. While talking of a negotiated settlement of conflicts in southern Africa, the U.S. has decided to supply Jonas Savimbi's UNITA mercenaries with $15 million in "covert" aid and Stinger antiaircraft missiles to be used against the Angolan army's Soviet-supplied helicopters and planes. And judging from reported details, the Namibe attack was a carbon copy of the CIA's mining of the Nicaraguan ports of Corinto and El Bluff in 1984.

UNITA, which poses as a nationalist group, is in fact totally dependent on the apartheid regime. Only a cordon of South African troops stopped a large-scale Angolan offensive from overrunning Savimbi's bush "capital" last year. Now that Luanda has launched a new offensive, Botha is trying to head it off through sabotage and terror attacks in the government's rear. But although American dollars have been flowing for some time to the former Portuguese secret police informer, who according to then-CIA station chief John Stockwell was recruited to the agency in 1975, his tribalist guerrillas are in trouble.

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Cleveland

Drop Charges Against Michael Spraggins!

Defends Black Family Against Racist Mob

CLEVELAND, June 14—Marlene Armstrong and her four daughters are alive today thanks to the timely and determined actions of their close friend Michael Spraggins. Last Tuesday night Spraggins, a 23-year-old black restaurant worker, helped disperse a KKK-infested lynch mob with his pump-action 12 gauge shotgun. He repulsed a gang of ax- and rifle-wielding terrorists from carrying out their long-standing murder threats against the Armstrongs, the only black family on West 88th Street on Cleveland's notoriously segregated West Side.

WV Photo

Cleveland City Hall, September 1982: Spartacists protest racist cop attacks.

"It was a matter of life or death," Mrs. Armstrong said later. "It was either we were going to die or those people were going to die. Our lives had been threatened" (*Plain Dealer*, 12 June). Eight of the racist attackers were wounded in the incident, which was clearly a case of self-defense, despite the distortions of the local media with their "evenhanded" talk of a "racial feud." Spraggins has been charged with felonious assault while the racist marauders are still at large.

Only the black *Call and Post* described the night of terror and the string of events leading up to the racist outrage. Even before the Armstrongs moved into their county-subsidized rented home last February, a local thug (perhaps inspired by the nearby headquarters of the National White People's Party) had painted "KKK" on the house. After the family had the letters removed, the racists reapplied them along with other racist epithets. Neighbors identifying themselves as Klansmen, and often armed, repeatedly harassed the Armstrongs and their visitors to the point where they were virtual prisoners in their home.

Michael Spraggins, a family friend and himself a resident of the nearly all-white suburb Parma, had often looked in on the family knowing that there was no man in the house. He was there on June 10 when the white racists started throwing small explosives at the Armstrongs' residence. Firecrackers and Roman candles soon gave way to rifle shots and shouts: "You niggers are going to die tonight or move!" (*Call and Post*, 12 June). Spraggins got the family inside and called the police. But after a perfunctory look at the situation the cops were nowhere to be seen. As long as the racists seemed to be in control the cops kept clear, despite the more than 50 calls received warning of trouble brewing.

It was only after the racists got more than they bargained for that the cops arrived, and put themselves at the head of the mob. Finding that Spraggins had left, they determined to charge the house. "They treated us as if we were the criminals," one of the Armstrong daughters recalled. They were lined up in front of the house and a policeman was on the bullhorn saying, "Come out with your hands up." "We were too afraid to move" (*Call and Post*, 12 June). A couple of white neighbors who courageously defied the racist mob were able to dissuade the cops from a rampage.

In a society with an ounce of human decency, Michael Spraggins would be hailed as a life-saver. He certainly spared the Armstrongs the fate of Nable Gant, the elderly black woman murdered in a firebombing of her house in the so-called Slavic Village section of Cleveland last year. But in racist capitalist America Spraggins has been arrested and faces a sentence of up to 25 years in prison. Charges against him should be dropped immediately and the would-be murderers and fascist scum responsible for the racist attack should be behind bars for good.

The latest racist atrocity to hit the streets of Cleveland comes only days after another lynch mob attacked blacks in another West Side neighborhood, and at the same time that a police investigation cleared the cops who murdered a black suspected car thief. Local politicos, from Republican mayor George Voinovich, who initiated his political career as an opponent of fair housing legislation, to the NAACP, worry about Cleveland's image as an "All-American City." Yet rigid segregation and racist terror are part and parcel of the social fabric of America.

Copeland/Plain Dealer

Mrs. Marlene Armstrong (center) with daughter Adrian (right) and family friend.

Now the Armstrongs have been forced out of their home and have been relocated in an all-black neighborhood. But a mobilization of Cleveland's integrated labor movement could send the cowardly racist vermin scurrying back to their holes. The way for such a mobilization was shown in 1975 when an integrated UAW Local 6 defense guard successfully defended a black union brother C.B. Dennis and his family from racist nightriders in the Chicago suburb of Broadview. And such labor/black defense can point the way to workers revolution that will put a stop to racist terror once and for all. ■

TROTSKY

The Dual Nature of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

LENIN

In late 1937, during discussion preceding the founding of the Socialist Workers Party, a dispute broke out on the class character of the Soviet Union under Stalin which is of particular relevance over Poland today. This fight presaged the split from Trotskyism two years later by an anti-Soviet opposition led by Max Shachtman and James Burnham. Trotsky intervened in the discussion to insist that the USSR was still a workers state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated, and analogous to trade unions led by pro-capitalist bureaucrats, such as the AFL then headed by William Green.

The function of Stalin, like the function of Green, has a dual character. Stalin serves the bureaucracy and thus the world bourgeoisie; but he cannot serve the bureaucracy without defending that social foundation which the bureaucracy exploits in its own interests. To that extent does Stalin defend nationalized property from imperialist attacks and from the too impatient and avaricious layers of the bureaucracy itself. However, he carries through this defense with methods that prepare the general destruction of Soviet society. It is exactly because of this that the Stalinist clique must be overthrown. But it is the revolutionary proletariat who must overthrow it. The proletariat cannot subcontract this work to the imperialists. In spite of Stalin, the proletariat defends the USSR from imperialist attacks.

—Leon Trotsky, "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937)

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No. 406 **20 June 1986**

Atlanta

Integrated Community Runs Off Ku Klux Klan

ATLANTA, June 14—Twelve fascists, one of them black-robed and hooded and several dressed in military fatigues with Ku Klux Klan insignia, rode into an integrated neighborhood in central Atlanta Saturday to disrupt a performance of an anti-Klan musical. The previous night's premiere of *Bang Bang über Alles* had been a benefit for the Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR), formerly the National Anti-Klan Network (NAKN). In the face of the KKK attack, 300 people spilled into the streets, drawn from a street fair and patrons of a nearby liquor store and supermarket, chanting, "Klan Out!" and "Go Home!" This spontaneous outpouring to defend their community against the lynchers included blacks and whites in equal numbers.

The thugs of the "Southern White Knights of the KKK" led by Dave Holland never got to the theater door with their placard which read on one side, "White Power Equals Red Death," and on the other, "Deport Lyn Wells and Center for Democratic Renewal to Russia." Cops herded them back into their cars as other police held the angry crowd at bay. One Klansman panned the crowd with a video camera. The Klan had hoped to link up with local skinhead punks against the gentrifying white and black middle-class liberals in the Five Points neighborhood. The swastika-lovers have engaged in some fascist dirty work of their own, like beating up a black passer-by and, during the Libya hysteria, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The Friday night benefit performance of *Bang Bang über Alles* was attended by Angela Davis and William Kunstler, and hosted by former SNCC leaders Democrats John Lewis and Julian Bond (who are running against each other for Congress). The musical is about a group of performers "who decide to confront the Ku Klux Klan with the moral force of their music on the Klan's turf." Perhaps because of the theme of the play, the Klan thought there would be easy pickings. But the spontaneous protest against the Klan was in contrast to the legalistic and moralistic strategies of the Center for Democratic Renewal/Anti-Klan Network.

Newspaper and television reports of this fascist provocation downplayed or

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Phone Workers: Strike Together!

FLASH! Tentative agreement on national contract reached: giveback pact reportedly surrenders cost-of-living, accepts two-tier wages.

Stop the Scabs!

JUNE 16—Some 155,000 striking AT&T telephone technicians and long-distance operators are saddled with a scabherding policy enforced by their union misleaders in the Communications Workers of America (CWA). Under this "two-gate" system 400,000 CWA members employed by local operating companies are herded through separate entrances to keep the phone system working while their striking union brothers and sisters walk the picket lines alone.

The bosses are out to draw blood: as the strike enters its third week, AT&T has already hired several thousand scabs. The union tops buy the company line that these are "temporary replacements," while CWA president Morton Bahr baldly admits, "We're not gearing up for war."

From coast to coast, many strikers are outraged at this union/company conniving. A news report in New York noted: "The Brooklyn AT&T workers said separating the New York Telephone Company operators from the AT&T operators weakens their strike. They say they blame CWA union leaders for not fighting New York Telephone Company management to keep the dates of their contract negotiations together" (WBAI, 6 June). In the San Francisco Bay Area, the Militant Action Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the CWA, says *picket lines mean don't cross* and has called for a fight against the "two-gate" union-busting. We print below excerpts from a MAC leaflet issued June 12:

WV Photo

Pickets outside AT&T building, New York City.

Militant Action Caucus Leaflet:
"One Industry, One Contract, One Strike—Shut It Down!"

A declaration of war: that's the meaning of AT&T's announcement that it's hiring thousands of scabs across the country, in all job titles, to try to break this strike. They want to do the same thing to phone workers that TWA just did to the flight attendants, and that the bosses—aided by their labor lieutenants—did to PATCO and the Hormel strikers. Make no mistake: AT&T is playing hardball. Labor has to play hardball to win. But the union "leaders" are playing patty-cakes with the company.

No strike can be won unless you stop the scabs! 3 years ago hundreds of Bay Area phone workers chanted: PICKET LINES MEAN—DON'T CROSS! Now the CWA tops are teaching workers that picket lines mean *do* cross, with their "two-gate" garbage and scab-sheets telling people to "report to work as usual" in buildings picketed by our own union. They are breeding scabs in Pacific Bell *and* AT&T. This is a deadly stab in the back to *all* phone workers. The union tops set the whole thing up when they divided the contract expiration dates, helping the companies divide and conquer the workers. AT&T and Pac Bell workers should all be on strike together, now!

We are all one union. To win this strike we must SMASH "TWO-GATE" UNION-BUSTING! A picket line at any building means stay the hell out. Many have died to establish this principle, which is the backbone of the labor movement. ONE INDUSTRY, ONE CONTRACT, ONE STRIKE—SHUT IT DOWN!

AT&T reportedly won a huge "Star Wars" contract recently. This underlines the fact that we're up against the bosses' government as well as the companies. But the labor "leaders" won't fight the bosses because they're *for* the anti-Soviet war drive and they're tied hand and foot to the bosses' rules, the bosses' government and the bosses' parties. If workers in the 30s had worshipped capitalist "legality" and bowed and scraped before every measly paper injunction like the labor fakers do today, the mass industrial unions would never have been built at all. And what the current "leaders"—company cops is what they are—are doing today is destroying what militant workers fought and died for in the 30s and 40s.

CWA has 500,000 members operating a critical industry. To defeat the companies, it's necessary to forge a class-struggle leadership to unchain the workers' enormous power. An effective industry-wide strike with mass picket lines and class-struggle tactics could bring the arrogant phone bosses to their knees. In February 1981, 11,000 phone workers in British Columbia, Canada occupied the central offices for 5 days, locking scabs and bosses out and holding BC Tel's high-tech equipment No, they didn't go to jail—because they used their *power*.

If "two-gate" strike-breaking and union-busting continue, who's to say there will even be a strike in August? Pac Bell may just get the same kind of concessions package that AT&T is demanding. It could be signed, sealed and delivered by the same union sellouts who are scab-herding today. On the other hand, seeing how weak the union is now, Pac Bell may go for even *bigger* concessions than AT&T. Bleating "we picket companies, not buildings," "report to work as usual," "play by the bosses' rules," the Judas-goats of the CWA bureaucracy are leading the way towards the destruction of the union. Throw out the labor traitors! Build a class-struggle leadership!

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross! One Industry, One Contract, One Strike—Shut It Down! ■

Death Threat Against 25 Unionists

Defend Salvador Phone Workers!

The Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers Association (ASTTEL) is fighting for its life. As reported in our last issue, the union has been locked in a prolonged and bitter struggle with the U.S.-backed death squad regime of President José Napoleón Duarte. Over the last seven months, ASTTEL has fought the government to a standoff despite kidnappings, firings, forced transfers and massive military intervention. On June 5 the 1,200 striking technicians were forced back to work after 51 days on strike. Yet the workers courageously continue to fight. On June 16 a three-hour nationwide work stoppage was carried out by some 3,000 telecommunications workers.

However, the Duarte regime refuses to negotiate and is stepping up the "psychological war." Some 25 unionists have received death threats, including ASTTEL technicians leader Carlos Bernal, who was stopped on the street and warned to stop making trouble or else. The Salvadoran phone workers must not stand alone. American workers must back up their class brothers and sisters with labor action in the face of these union-busting attacks.

Last November ASTTEL's head of international and national relations,

Striking phone workers in San Salvador demand freedom for union leader and sons from Treasury Police torture chambers, November 1985.

Humberto Centeno, was seized by the Treasury Police along with his two sons, who were tortured and are still in jail. In December three activists in the union's international section were seized in reprisal for a 19-day strike which shut down national and international phone service. In January union general secretary Rafael Sánchez was fired by the national telecommunications company, Antel, for participating in a peace demonstration. (Antel is headed by Colonel Mauricio Vides Casanova, brother of the armed forces chief of staff who was former chief of the Treasury Police and a notorious death squad leader.) In mid-April, the phone technicians struck demanding back wage increases. The strike was subsequently declared illegal by a labor judge, strikers were drafted by the army and military personnel were sent in to man the installations.

At issue currently is the rehiring of 22 fired phone strikers and the payment of wage raises promised in an earlier settlement. Phone workers together with the rest of the Salvadoran union movement are fighting to defend their livelihoods in the face of galloping inflation, 40 percent unemployment and now an IMF-style "austerity" package. In a speech last week, Duarte tried to divert attention from mushrooming urban unrest by calling for renewed "dialogue" with the FMLN guerrillas and their liberal/social-democratic FDR allies. But having killed more than 60,000 since 1979, the Salvadoran rulers and their godfathers in Washington seek to bury the insurgency under a mountain of corpses. "Power-sharing" with butcher Duarte and the military murderers, in fact any "solution" short of uprooting the Salvadoran bourgeoisie, which funds and directs terror against the working class, is a deathtrap for the workers and peasants.

The Spartacist League calls for military victory to the leftist insurgents in the Salvadoran civil war, to smash the death squad regime and open the road to workers revolution throughout the isthmus. Trotskyist parties must be forged on the program of permanent revolution, to draw in the rural and urban poor behind a proletarian leadership. And in the United States the workers movement has a special responsibility to defend the victims of Yankee imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive which has picked Central America as its prime target. The courageous ASTTEL workers need international support. We urge our readers to send contributions and telegrams of support to: Carlos Bernal, c/o FENASTRAS, Avenida 29 de Agosto, Plaza Barrios, San Salvador, El Salvador. ■

Young Spartacus

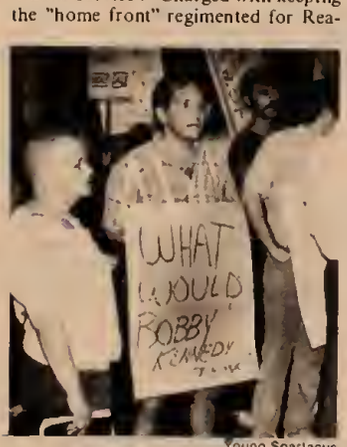
Harvard SYL Pickets Reagan's Top Cop

DSA, CIA and Meese

CAMBRIDGE—Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government honored Attorney General Edwin Meese III for "distinguished public service" on May 20. The Harvard Spartacus Youth League called for a mass, militant protest against the racist witchhunter Meese. As our leaflet stated: "Meese is being honored at Harvard *for his crimes* against students, blacks and workers: take a side—join us in protesting the obscene attorney general!" We were determined that Reagan's top cop would receive a fitting "welcome," and Meese was in fact met with a spirited protest by the SYL and our supporters.

Inside the Kennedy School—that nefarious think tank for the Pentagon—those who opposed Meese's award as an embarrassment to the "good name" of their alma mater staged a quintessentially Harvard-style gentlemen's "walkout." Led by Harvard Law School professor Alan Dershowitz, some 50 graduate students silently exited the room as "Mr. Meese" was introduced; they posed for the TV cameras outside and then called it an evening. This "protest" packed all the wallop of a cup of custard, as intended.

Outside the K-School, SYLers and other militants marched against Meese with signs and slogans like: "Down with Government Censorship—*Meese* is the Dirty Picture!" "From Philly to Tripoli—State-Supported Terrorism: Made in the USA!" and "K-School Gives Meese Kurt Waldheim Award for 'Public Service'!" Charged with keeping the "home front" regimented for Reagan's anti-Soviet war mania abroad, Meese's views on student protesters can be succinctly summed up as "the only good one is a dead one." So even though Meese's appearance just happened to coincide with final exams, there was plenty of sentiment at Harvard against the K-School's fête for the attorney general. SYLers found an enthusiastic reception from other students as we blitzed the dining halls, libraries and dormitories with announcements for the protest.



Young Spartacus

Liberals appeal to the man who tapped M.L. King's phone.

When the moment for protest came, however, a potentially broad-based united action against Meese was torpedoed by anti-communist liberals and social democrats. Confronted with the SYL-led protest, members of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) and the pro-divestment South African Solidarity Committee (SASC) put down their picket signs and huddled in anti-communist paralysis on the sidewalk. What to do? Eventually they sprang into action *against* the SYL-led anti-Meese protest.

Young Spartacus

Harvard, May 20: SYL protests Attorney General Meese at Kennedy School of Government.

Despite prior discussions with representatives of the NLG, who had indicated their intention to protest Meese at the same time as our publicized action, and despite urgings by SYL supporters on the site, the NLG/DSA/SASC clot repeatedly declined invitations to join the picket line. A few individuals even tried—unsuccessfully—to disrupt it by busting in and out, a particularly nasty provocation under the circumstances. Harvard security was out in force and apt to seize on any pretext to disperse the protest, and Meese would have enjoyed wading through a crowd of bloodied campus "troublemakers" to receive his award if it came to that. (The NLG certainly proved that Lenin's remark, "As to lawyers... there is no telling what dirty tricks this intellectualist scum will be up to," retains its validity today.)

The NLG/DSA/SASC in fact did nothing to protest Meese until some members of Students Against Racism, a newly formed integrated group of Harvard activists, showed up, placards in hand and ready to demonstrate. After arguing desperately with these students against joining the SYL-led demonstration (the *only* protest at the time), the lawyers and social democrats set up their own separate line. We promptly marched our contingent into this line, thereby forming a single anti-Meese picket, some 60 strong.

United action with the reds was more than the anti-anti-Meese liberals could stomach. Presumably to avoid being tarred with the brush of Bolshevism, DSA/NLG/SASC refused to take up any of our chants, including such "subversive" calls as "Hands Off the Sanctuary Movement!" "Defend Abortion Rights!" and "Avenge MOVE Martyrs—Free Ramona Africa!" Their own whining sentiments were captured in a placard which read: "What Would Bobby Kennedy Think?" Like his brother Jack, who brought you the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the Vietnam War (and for whom the Kennedy School is named), RFK would likely have applauded Harvard's honoring one of its own, even if Meese did go to Yale. Ask the Freedom Riders who fought Jim Crow segregation while then-Attorney General Robert Kennedy plotted with J. Edgar Hoover against civil rights organizations and purposefully left them vulnerable to murderous Ku Klux Klan attacks.

The "progressives" did find a chant that moved them to action of a sort. Initiated by all accounts by one Richard Drayton—a dilettante campus politico and hanger-about in the SASC milieu—the following cop-baiting slander was the signal to wreck the anti-Meese protest: "Hey, hey, what do you say—the Sparts are from the CIA!" This slander was quashed as soon as SYLers confronted the guilty parties, who in turn squirmed and lied. "It wasn't me." Harvard DSAers Evan Grossman and Rob Weissman were among the CIA-baiting wreckers. Having failed to wreck the anti-Meese protest through slander, the cornered political cowards of the DSA/NLG/SASC exited the picket line altogether. The Students Against Racism group, to their credit, took no part in the anti-communist provocation against the demonstration and continued to hold their signs high, including one which read "Meese Says Rights Are for Whites Only." We continued the demonstration and innovative comrades coined a new chant: "Cold War liberals bloc with Meese—Sweep them into the garbage heap!" We concluded the protest by singing the *Internationale*.

One Should Not Speak of Rope in the House of the Hanged

It takes a lot of chutzpah for the DSA to call anyone CIA agents. They and their forerunners have a long and sordid history of service to the "Company" as fellow fighters against the spectre of communism—not least among students. Government-financed anti-communist provocation is what American social democracy has largely been about for longer than the Harvard DSAers might want to think about. DSAer Grossman has performed fully in keeping with this sordid history and "distinguished" himself as super-fink for Harvard's political purge body, the Committee on Rights and Responsibilities (CRR), which has been boycotted by the student body since its inception in the 1960s. While most student activists continue to respect the boycott, Grossman and his fellow DSAer Damon Silvers collaborated with the CRR's witchhunt against anti-apartheid students, including those involved in a militant SYL-led protest against South Africa's general counsel Abe Hoppenstein last spring. Chips off the old block.

Agent-baiting of revolutionaries in the service of reaction is a timeworn technique, from Kerensky and the Mensheviks' slanders about Lenin and "German gold" to Stalin's grotesque Big Lie that Red Army founder Leon Trotsky was simultaneously an agent of Hitler, the Japanese Mikado and British imperialism. Whether Drayton's penchant for Stalin's portrait, which several years ago graced his dorm room, provides any insight into the CIA-baiting, we don't pretend to know. We do know that DSA honcho Michael Harrington has a documented history of lending his services to CIA-financed operations, going back to the disruption of the 1959 World Youth Festival in Vienna.

To briefly recap his evolution, the young Harrington was associated with the "third camp" socialists led by Max Shachtman, who broke with Trotskyism on the eve of World War II over the Trotskyists' unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. (The mythical "third camp" was ostensibly against both Moscow and Washington, but increasingly came down on the side of the latter when push came to shove.) In the late '50s, Harrington led the right wing of the Shachtmanite youth into the Cold War/pro-Democratic Party clutches of Norman Thomas's Socialist Party. Thomas openly defended his own membership in organizations that received CIA dollars, because, in his words, they reflected "my

political beliefs." And by the time of Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion, the renegade Shachtman went so far as to support the CIA's *gusano* mercenaries, the contras of their day.

As was revealed in a major scandal in 1966-67, for 15 years the CIA used overlapping personnel from the National Student Association (NSA, the most well-known student CIA conduit to be exposed) and something called the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) to combat the influence of the Communist-supported International Union of Students (IUS). IUS festivals in Vienna in 1959 and in Helsinki in 1962 were particular targets, and Harrington's Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL, youth group of the Socialist Party and American affiliate of the IUSY) did its bit. *Ramparts* magazine (7 September 1968) exposed the social democrats at a time when the New Left was shedding Cold War anti-Communist prejudices and scrutinizing the CIA's infiltration of the student movement:

> "By the admission of the IUSY officers themselves, the social democratic youth movement of the 1960's was *entirely* dependent on the CIA for the financing of all its international activities. When the communist youth festivals came around, the CIA usually threw in a little extra money to put on a special show.... "At the 1959 festival in Vienna, for example, the IUSY ran an 'anti-festival,' where the 'other side of the story' was presented by American youths carrying placards reading 'remember Hungary' and literature printed at CIA expense."

The Vienna youth festival was a referendum on the Cold War; record numbers of American youth attended despite the consternation of the State Department and State Department "socialists." The U.S. government did not welcome the prospect of Americans talking "peace and friendship" with the Russians and other Soviet-bloc participants in Vienna. And with protests against Jim Crow racism sweeping the South, the U.S. was also plenty worried about young Americans making contact with the sizable delegations of youth involved in anti-colonial struggles from Africa, Algeria, Vietnam, Cuba, South America and the Philippines. The social democrats in the IUSY called for a boycott of the festival and staged an "anti-festival" provocation in Vienna, bought and paid for by the CIA.

WV Photo

New America

"State Department socialists": Michael Harrington (left), and his mentors Max Shachtman and Norman Thomas (right).

Harrington & Co. were not real popular in Vienna. As he described in a 1962 YPSL pamphlet: "This writer had the novel experience of requiring police protection in order to distribute socialist leaflets against colonialism [!] in the public park outside the Messegalande Festival grounds. Even with six Austrian policemen in attendance, the 'commando squad' from the Festival managed to rip up signs and tear up leaflets. Others without benefit of police protection fared somewhat worse...." We can only add that Harrington and his ilk were fortunate that the source of their "anti-festival" funding had not yet been widely documented.

The antics of the "anti-festival" disrupters are described in the article below by Shane and Judy Mage, reprinted from the October 1959 *Young Socialist*. The Mages attended the Communist-led festival, and even before the direct CIA links were public they exposed the well-financed job these "State Department socialists" were doing on behalf of U.S. imperialism. That "the Company" was behind it all was later admitted and vociferously defended by Ms. Gloria Steinem of feminist fame, who worked as an executive of the CIA-funded "International Research Service" there (*Washington Post*, 18 February 1967). Steinem got some bad press about her CIA past, but Harrington was quite happy to have her as a prominent member of the DSA's immediate predecessor, DSOC.

From Vienna to Harvard

Was the Harvard anti-anti-Meese provocation planned in advance, a mini-version of Vienna? One of the provocateurs at Harvard did implore the police to "shut down the whole goddamned thing," referring to our picket line against Meese (the cops declined). Whatever the case, the inevitable result of the DSA's allegiance to its "own" bourgeoisie is to "unite" with the state and its various agencies against the revolutionary Marxists. In World War I, the great revolutionist Rosa Luxemburg denounced social democracy as a "stinking corpse" for betraying the proletariat and supporting their respective national ruling classes in the imperialist slaughter. For her internationalist opposition to the war, she and her fellow Spartacist Karl Liebknecht were assassinated with the active complicity of the social democrats. Today the social dems are still acting as "bloodhounds" for the bourgeoisie, as they self-admittedly did in sabotaging the German Revolution of 1918.

Today Harrington's DSA stands shoulder to shoulder with the State Department, from backing the feudal mullah reactionaries in Afghanistan to hailing Solidarność, the company union for the CIA and Western bankers in Poland. In southern Africa, where Soviet-backed Cuban troops defend black Angola against the South African army, the DSA's anti-Communism puts it in very bad company indeed. At Harvard, the DSA and SASC blocked with ultraright Conservative Club members who constructed an anti-Soviet

continued on page 10

Vienna Youth Festival 1959

CIA "Socialists" vs. Reds

We reprint below an article by Shane and Judy Mage from the October 1959 issue of Young Socialist, *published by the Young Socialist Supporters, predecessor to the national youth group of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. The Mages had come to Trotskyism from the left wing of the Shachtmanite youth; Shane Mage became a leader of the Revolutionary Tendency, which was expelled from the SWP in 1963 for upholding the Leninist program of the founder of the Fourth International.*

By Shane and Judith Mage

VIENNA—The Seventh World Youth Festival got off to a loud and colorful start on Sunday afternoon, July 25, when 17,000 delegates marched into the Vienna stadium before a crowd of over 60,000. The Chinese stole the show with their huge, gyrating, paper dragon and soaring helium-filled balloons. The Russians made the most noise, exploding hundreds of firecrackers above the stadium so that they, and everyone who followed them, marched in under a thick pall of smoke. Miniature Russian parachutes floated down through the gloom and were fought for as violently as foul balls in the Yankee Stadium.

For the next nine days it was a kaleidoscopic whirl of concerts, discussions, sports, meetings, dances, parades, lectures, circuses. On August 1 a crowd spread over half the Heldenplatz (where Hitler in 1938 addressed a throng of 600,000) to hear Paul Robeson.

In contrast, the "Anti-Festival" fell rather flat, despite the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of good American dollars and the dramatic arrival in Vienna of—the Dalai Lama's brother. And yet to counteract the Festival the Statc Dept. certainly didn't stint its means. Carefully prepared spokesmen for "democracy," chosen from the East-European Institutes of American universities, circulated among the delegates, gaining admission to the Festival grounds with mysteriously procured credentials.

Throughout the Festival three small planes flew over Vienna, trailing streamers that read (in German) "The Festival Without Us," "Remember Tibet," "Remember Hungary." A special daily newspaper, the "Vienna Daily News," was published in Russian, English, German, French, and other languages for free distribution to the delegates. Free movies; daily guided tours to see the "Iron Curtain;" jazz concerts (one, starring Ella Fitzgerald, timed to compete with Robeson); middle-aged ladies with big black satchels full of free copies of "The New Class," "Doctor Zhivago," "Our Europe." "Information Booths" all over Vienna, staffed by a united front of "Socialist" and Catholic youth organizations.

Keystone

American delegates march in defiance of State Department, Vienna 1959.

But these propaganda efforts were met with a deaf ear by virtually all the young people who had come to Vienna. The unconcealed origin was enough to discredit them, especially with the thousands of youth from colonial countries.

Huge Success

Beyond all doubt the Youth Festival was a huge success. The more or less fantastic stories in the U.S. press and the complete blackout in the Vienna press cannot hide that fact. The planned events went off without a hitch. State Department efforts to sabotage the Festival from inside, as by fomenting a "split" in the U.S. delegation, were, despite newspaper stories, a resounding failure. Thousands of youth from the Soviet bloc mingled freely with the other delegates—and none "chose freedom."

But the real question only begins here. The official slogans of the festival were "Peace and Friendship." But a third unofficial slogan quickly took a co-equal place—"peaceful co-existence." Officially the Festival was strictly non-partisan but independent, open to youth of all political views. In reality anyone could see by whom it was organized, financed, and controlled from beginning to end.

What did they get out of it? As in every youth festival, direct propaganda for the "peaceful co-existence" line, and a wide and receptive circulation for brochures painting an idyllic picture of the life of young people in Hungary, East Germany, etc. But, more important, by holding the Festival, for the first time, in a non-"Iron Curtain" country, the Stalinists were able to show the world the image of a strong, united, and self-confident bloc. The Moscow Festival of 1957 was held under the impact of the revolutionary wave of 1956. The Vienna Festival of 1959 expressed the consolidation of bureaucratic rule which followed the suppression of the Hungarian workers' revolution and the murder of Imre Nagy et al.

Does all this signify that the Social-Democratic Youth of Austria and all other countries were justified in refusing to participate? Not in the least. By serving as an open tool for the U.S. State Department the International Union of Socialist Youth merely discredited socialism still further. Every reference to Hungary in the context of State Department propaganda helped the Stalinists to bury the memory still deeper.

Despite Stalinist control the festival presented to thousands of young people from all over the world an opportunity to meet and discuss in a relatively free atmosphere; and the large majority of these young people were motivated by the ideals of peace, socialism, national independence. This fact, for socialists, should be enough to justify participation in the festival now and at any future time. The presence of a strong contingent of revolutionary socialist youth would have made it far more difficult to suppress all organized discussion of the genuine issues before youth all over the world: the need for workers' democracy, for intellectual freedom, for a real struggle against world capitalism and its built-in drive to imperialist war. ■

Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland

The article below was first printed in Workers Hammer No. 80, June 1986, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Britain.

"Solidarity with Solidarność" has been a key slogan linking much of the Western left to NATO imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. For example, last December the French "far left" Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and Lutte Ouvrière joined hands with the CIA-financed Force Ouvrière and the Catholic trade-union group to protest president François Mitterrand's meeting with Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski. In effect they want the French imperialist state to break off even diplomatic relations with Poland. Ernest Mandel, godfather of the French LCR, has over Poland become the pope's "Trotskyist," proclaiming Solidarność to be "the best socialists in the world"! Mandel's supporters in Britain and the U.S. have adapted the Solidarność logo for the mastheads of their own newspapers, as did Argentine fake-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno. In Britain, the Healy outfit sparked a right-wing witchhunt against militant miners leader Arthur Scargill when they attacked him for denouncing Solidarność as "anti-socialist."

Solidarność spokesmen both underground in Poland and in exile have repaid their enthusiasts in the Western left with blackest ingratitude. Taking their cue from Ronald Reagan, they have denounced the social-democratic-led "peace" movement in West Europe as Kremlin agents and dupes. The so-called "Walesa Report," issued last August, called for a "full market" economy for Poland. And in September the Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarność came out for capitalist restoration in the most extreme and unashamed way conceivable. They called for private industry, private banks and even the opening of a *stock market* in Poland, as well as "legally guaranteed conditions for safe investment" for foreign capital. In other words, they want Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt bankers to take over the Polish economy!

Lech Walesa grabs money from Western sources, 1980; now Solidarność underground leadership demands stock markets and foreign capital investment in Poland.

What a low blow for Solidarność' "left" apologists in the West, who stand exposed as dupes of the CIA and Vatican. One of these outfits, Sean Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* (13 February) in Britain, writes:

> "'Pro-imperialist, Catholic, right wing—they want to restore capitalism.' That was how many left-wingers in the West saw the Polish workers' movement Solidarnose when it flowered in 1980-1.
>
> "A new economic programme issued by Solidarnosc's underground leadership (the TKK) seems to prove them right."

It sure does, Sean, doesn't it! In fact, damn few left-wingers in the West in 1980-81 saw Solidarność for what it was: pro-imperialist, Catholic, right-wing. All manner of social democrats, the Eurocommunists, anarcho-libertarian types, etc. hailed this clerical-nationalist movement with wild enthusiasm. So did the main currents falsely claiming the mantle of Trotskyism (Mandel, Moreno, Pierre Lambert).

The international Spartacist tendency stood virtually alone in warning against the terrible danger of counterrevolution in Poland. We thus protested when in September 1981 Solidarność opened an office in New York City in facilities provided by the violently anti-Communist bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO trade unions. For this action we were threatened by no less an institution of the American bourgeoisie than the *Wall Street Journal*! "Anyone seeking to delegitimize" the AFL-CIO's foreign operations, a *Journal* editorial (29 September 1981) thundered, "should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching." The *Wall Street Journal* and Reagan gang embraced Walesa, Bujak & Co. as their people in Poland.

While *Socialist Organiser* now grudgingly admits that Solidarność is for capitalist restoration, nevertheless Matgamna's outfit *still* supports it against the bureaucracy of the Polish deformed workers state. This position is actually *worse* than its former fraudulent claim that Solidarność was fighting for workers democracy:

> "So maybe Solidarnosc, or a central section of it, *is* now advocating the restoration of a capitalist market economy in Poland. Does that mean that the Western left should support Jaruzelski?
>
> "No. No more than we should support a bourgeois-democratic government in the West which suppresses a Stalinist-minded workers' movement...
>
> "Likewise in Poland we should defend Solidarnosc even under pro-Western leadership."

To begin with, it is *false* to define Solidarność as "the Polish workers movement." While originally sparked by legitimate workers' grievances against the Stalinist bureaucracy, it rapidly became a broad political movement, embracing whole sections of the petty bourgeoisie, led by clerical-nationalists. A survey taken at Solidarność' first national congress in September 1981 indicated that less than half the delegates were members of the working class while almost a third were liberal professionals. A "Letter to Poles in the whole world" issued by this congress stated: "Born of the whole nation's will, Solidarity is not only a trades union of working people, but at the same time a civic social movement of people conscious of their rights and their duties towards the Fatherland and its independence" (quoted in Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* [1984]).

What is fundamentally wrong with *Socialist Organiser*'s position, however, is not just its flagrantly false picture of Solidarność. It is the grotesque *equation* of bourgeois democracy in the West with Stalinism in the Eastern bloc. It is this "third campist" equation which leads Matgamna & Co. to ally themselves with Reagan and Thatcher in supporting capitalist counterrevolution in the name of "defending the Polish workers."

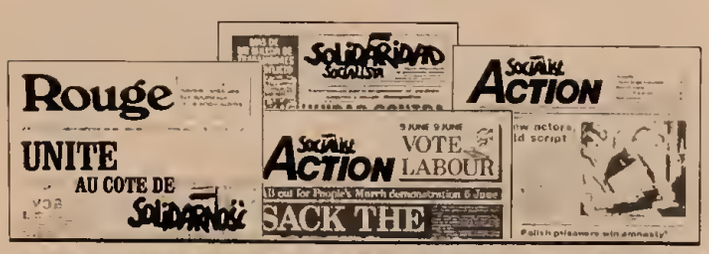
Poland 1981: Counterrevolutionary Bid for Power

To cover this up *Socialist Organiser* claims that in 1980-81 Solidarność stood for workers democracy and only since then has it moved to the right, now calling outright for capitalist restoration:

> "In 1980-81, when Solidarnose was in the ascendant, its central theme was workers' control; but now, battered, repressed and hunted, the Solidarnosc underground leaders have turned to market economics as a 'realistic' (their term) alternative to bureaucratic mismanagement."

Anyone not willfully blind could see from the outset that Walesa, Bujak & Co. aimed to make Poland safe for "free world" imperialism. At its first national congress in September 1981 Solidarność consolidated around a program of "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution in almost chemically pure form. This program could have been written by Radio Free Europe. It called for "free elections" in Poland and "free trade unions" throughout the Soviet bloc. It demanded that Poland join the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the world bankers' cartel whose initials spell starvation and police-state terror from Bolivia to Bangladesh. A delegate's motion to put Solidarność on record for socialism (in order to deflect charges that it was pro-capitalist) was *defeated*. And to top it off, invited to the Solidarność congress was the notorious American CIA labor operator Irving Brown, a man synonymous with the Cold War subversion of the workers movement in West Europe and the colonial world.

As for Solidarność' agitation around "workers self-management," this was intended to dismantle centralized economic planning, and the "self-managed" enterprises were to be run on the basis of *market profitability*. Thus the program adopted by Solidarność at its September 1981 congress declares: "The organizational structure of the economy, serving the command system, must be smashed. The economic administrative organs must be separated from political power.... The union recognizes the need to restore the equilibrium of the market..." (*Bulletin Solidarność*,



Fake-left press (above) joins with anti-Communist reactionaries Lane Kirkland, Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul Wojtyla in hailing counterrevolutionary Solidarność.

March 1982).

Solidarność' advocacy of self-management in 1981 had nothing to do with "industrial democracy" as it's called in Western social-democratic circles. Rather it was a move to oust the incumbent managers and replace them with pro-Western anti-Communists. For example, the Conference of Workers Self-Management at the LOT national airlines proposed for the airline's new managing director one Stanislaw Kutek. A former émigré, Kutek had lived in Britain for 35 years and even served in the Royal Navy during the Korean War. He was a retired capitalist who had amassed a fortune from his own aviation company. Kutek's program for LOT was to stop buying Soviet-made planes and buy American instead:

> "I've got contacts in the American companies—they'll sell us some good Boeings at a reasonable price. And there's no problem about paying for them: I've got lots of friends in the Western banks."
>
> —quoted in Henry Norr, "Solidarity and Self-Management, May-July 1981," *Poland Watch* No. 7 [1985]

That is what Solidarność meant by "workers self-management" *in practice*, "rationalizing" the Polish economy by turning it over to the capitalists.

That much of the Polish working class wanted the likes of Stanislaw Kutek to run the economy testified to the complete bankruptcy of Stalinist rule. Three decades of gross economic mismanagement and political oppression along with endless broken promises of reform and democratization had driven the mass of the Polish people into the arms of Pope Karol Wojtyla, Ronald Reagan and the Common Market of NATO Europe. A top White House official saw in the Polish crisis the greatest opportunity to roll back Communism in the Soviet sphere since 1945.

By the fall of 1981 Poland stood on the brink of civil war and counterrevolution. In early December the Solidarność leadership held a secret meeting in the town of Radom. The "moderate" Lech Walesa declared: "Confrontation is inevitable and it will take place.... We are aware that we are dismantling the system." Zbigniew Bujak, head of the Warsaw region of Solidarność, asserted. "The first action of the workers' militia will be aimed at liberating the radio and television headquarters.... The Government must at last be overthrown." Jacek Kuron, Poland's leading social democrat, stated: "The ground must be well prepared to overpower the authorities" (quoted in Kevin Ruane, *The Polish Challenge* [1982]). Fortunately for the international working class, indeed for all humanity, Solidarność' bid for power was checked a few weeks later in a nearly bloodless countercoup carried out by the Polish regime under General Jaruzelski.

The "Workers Opposition": Anti-Communist Syndicalists

Since then the Solidarność leaders have made it ever more clear that their "comrades" in the West are Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. To *divert* attention from the brazenly pro-capitalist Temporary Coordinating Commission the "left" cheerleaders for Solidarność are playing up a new grouping in Poland, the Press Alliance of the Workers Opposition. "The Left in Solidarnosc," proclaims *Socialist Organiser*, "have declared themselves in favour of an anti-bureaucratic revolution, waged by the working class and aimed at achieving the full liberation of the working class." The Mandelites' *International Viewpoint* likewise claims that the Workers Opposition "identifies with the working class, stands for its self-organization, and poses the question of the revolutionary overthrow of the bureaucracy."

In reality the Press Alliance is a syndicalist current in the stream of anti-Communist, anti-Soviet Polish nationalism. Its attitude toward the militantly pro-imperialist Solidarność leadership is one of comradely criticism, not opposition. It does not condemn "the reprivatization of the means of production" as a program for bloody counterrevolution but considers it a legitimate difference of opinion within the "democratic opposition." The Alliance does not regard Walesa, Bujak & Co. as enemies of socialism and workers liberation but as errant comrades in the common struggle against the "totalitarian" bureaucracy. Thus the Workers Opposition stands four-square for Solidarność' bid for power in 1981.

Marxists stand for the planned, centralized administration of the economy by a democratically governed workers state. But despite their proclaimed "leftism," the Alliance is just as *hostile* to this socialist program as are the advocates of "reprivatization." Indeed, that is what unites them. In fact, the Alliance deliberately refuses to call itself socialist, a term it only uses in quotation marks to define what it is not. The Workers Opposition draft platform declares:

> "The indispensable precondition for the liberation of the working class is for it to lay the economic foundations of its liberty, that is socialization, *outside of the state* and in the framework of a system of workers self-management, of the means of production that are today statized." [our emphasis]
>
> —reprinted in *International Viewpoint*, 23 December 1985

This is a social-democratic/syndicalist utopia. Workers self-management outside the framework of state ownership and control amounts to an economic system of producer cooperatives which are necessarily governed by *market competition*. Profitable enterprises would buy up bankrupt ones and exploit their labor in a fully capitalist manner. And what's to stop enterprises which are losing money or simply want more capital from going into partnership with Western multinationals and financiers? The Solidarność leadership's demand for stock markets and private foreign investment in Poland is in no sense an abandonment of its 1981 program. It is the logical extension of "workers self-management."

The documents of this Workers Opposition are abstract, bloodless, almost scholastic. In the half dozen or so that we've read in translation there is no mention of Ronald Reagan or Pope John Paul II (formerly cardinal of Cracow). Nonetheless, its position on the Cold War is clear enough. To use a term commonly employed by the Trotskyist movement, the Polish Workers Opposition is a "third campist" grouping. That is, it views Western imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy as equally militarist, equally expansionist, equally driving toward war:

> "To the slogan 'Down with the militarist policy of the US and imperialism,' which we support totally and without reservation, we add the complementary slogan, 'Down with the militarist policy of the Kremlin and totalitarianism!'"
>
> —"The Fight for Peace and Workers Power," reprinted in *International Viewpoint*, 24 March

Like many "third campist" groupings in the West, the Polish Alliance maintains that Wall Street and the Kremlin are essentially collaborative, that they form a kind of joint partnership exploiting and oppressing the workers of the world. The first issue of *Workers Cause*, one of the four papers making up the Press Alliance, declared that it "has enemies with whom no accord or alliance can ever be concluded—they are the bureaucracy (that is, the social layer that exploits the workers); as well as the bourgeoisie, which guarantees the survival of the long bankrupt bureaucracy."

This is a flagrant denial of the most fundamental reality governing world politics. Reagan guarantees the survival of Gorbachev and Jaruzelski?! In the most naked and aggressive way, from Nicaragua to Libya to Afghanistan, U.S imperialism is bent on rolling back and eventually destroying Soviet power. That is why the Pentagon is spending hundreds of billions on weaponry to decapitate the Kremlin leadership in a nuclear first strike. And that is why the CIA funneled millions to Solidarnośc, mainly via the fanatically anti-Communist leadership of the AFL-CIO union bureaucracy. That is also why the equally fanatically anti-Communist underground leadership of Solidarność is calling for Wall Street to take over Poland's collectivized economy. Walesa, Bujak & Co. far better understand the *real* relation of Western capitalism to the Soviet-bloc degenerated and deformed workers states than do the "third campists" of the Workers Opposition.

But the reality of the Cold War—which is at bottom a *class war*—always breaks through "third campist" posturing. Those groups which shout "a curse on both your houses" are inexorably drawn into the camp of Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of "democracy and national independence." This is demonstrated dramatically in Poland by the career of Jacek Kuron.

Kuron's Path to Counterrevolution

The first issue of *Workers Front*, one of the papers of the Press Alliance, reprinted the lengthy 1965 "Open Letter" to Communist party members by Kuron and Karol Modzelewski. Kuron went on to become the most prominent Polish dissident in the Gierek era of the 1970s as founder and leader of KOR (Workers Defense Committee). He played a decisive role in the origins of Solidarność and an important one in the 1980-81 crisis. Kuron continues to be a major figure in the underground opposition.

When Kuron and his comrades were sentenced to prison in the mid-1960s for distributing the "Open Letter," they marched out of court singing the "Internationale." The politics of the "Open Letter" is in fundamental ways far to the left of the present Workers Opposition. It denounced Polish Stalinism for favoring "the traditional political right" headed by the Catholic hierarchy. It also drew a hard line against Western social democracy and parliamentarism—"the parliamentary system is one in which the working class and the entire society finds itself deprived of all influence on government"—and called for a government based on workers councils.

Yet a dozen or so years later Kuron called for the transformation of Poland along the lines of Finland, that is, into a "neutral" bourgeois-democratic state. At the same time his cohort Adam Michnik argued that the Polish left should abandon its traditional anti-clericalism and form a united front with the Catholic hierarchy against the Communist regime. A few years later KOR became a sympathizing member of the Second International of Helmut Schmidt and François Mitterrand.

How does one account for the transformation of Kuron from a left opponent of Stalinism into Pope Wojtyla's social democrat? It would be scholastic to blame it all on some theoretical original sin. Nonetheless, the

continued on page 8

Solidarność Blueprint for Counterrevolution

We print below excerpts from the "Economic Demands" of the Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarność (24 September 1985), reprinted from Uncensored Poland News Bulletin *[London] 14 November 1985.*

- "Alongside state ownership in the national economy, there should be a room for a wide range of private ownership which should include industry.... Fair competition should decide which kind of ownership will predominate in the various fields of the national economy.
- Alongside the central banks, there should be deposit banks, acting as independent enterprises and earning profits by lending on interest.
- Alongside the market for goods and services, there should be a stock market, enabling anyone to buy shares and bonds, to become one of the sources of capital for the development of enterprises.
- The reform must be market orientated and should encourage economic activity based on healthy competition.... Prices must be allowed to be shaped by the market.
- In cases of unprofitable enterprises, the principle of bankruptcy and insolvency should be vigorously adhered to.
- Private foreign capital should have legally guaranteed conditions for safe investment in Poland, also in the form, among others, of joint private-state capital companies."

WV Photo

September 1981—Spartacist protests opening of Solidarność office in New York, in facilities provided by fanatically anti-Soviet AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

Solidarność...

(continued from page 7)

1965 "Open Letter" is fundamentally flawed in a way which does help explain Kuron's subsequent rightward course. The Kuron circle were not politically unsophisticated people. Among them was Ludwik Hass, one of the few survivors of the pre-war Polish Trotskyist movement. Kuron was thus familiar with but *rejected* the Trotskyist understanding of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a parasitic caste resting upon socialized (and therefore progressive) economic foundations. The "Open Letter" maintained that the bureaucracy "exploits the workers" and had transformed the means of production into "a single centralized national 'capital'."

In the mid-1960s Kuron adopted a "plague on both your houses" toward the Cold War, in large part because he believed that Western imperialism accepted the status quo in the Soviet bloc in return for the Kremlin's quid pro quo. The "Open Letter" maintained that "the two principal blocs...are waging an economic, diplomatic and political competition based on the division of the world into established spheres of influence." In this period impressionistic New Left radicals in the West held a similar view of the Cold War.

However, following the Vietnam War, in the mid-1970s U.S. imperialism scrapped "détente" and revved up the anti-Soviet Cold War under the banner of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade. Washington now put its considerable diplomatic and economic muscle behind encouraging and protecting pro-Western "dissidents" in the Soviet bloc. Poland was an especial target both because it had the strongest right-wing forces in East Europe and because Gierek's unbelievable economic mismanagement made the Warsaw regime desperate for Western financial help.

The development of Kuron's KOR in the late 1970s was directly linked to Washington's "human rights" campaign. When Carter himself visited Warsaw in 1977:

> "At a press conference Carter loudly praised the Polish record on human rights and religious tolerance, in the next breath announcing a further $200 million of US credits. 'Linkage' could hardly be more explicit than that. If the KOR activists had still been imprisoned, it is doubtful if the credits would have flowed so freely."
>
> —Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity*

U.S. imperialism's modest investment in KOR paid handsome dividends. The activities of Kuron, Michnik & Co. prepared the explosion of anti-Soviet clerical-nationalism in and around Solidarność in 1980-81.

For Polish Trotskyism!

Poland, however, is not one reactionary mass. Propagandists for Solidarność define the Polish nation as fervently Catholic and fanatically anti-Russian. Yet historically the Polish working class was socialist and secular, and Poland had one of the oldest and strongest Marxist traditions of any European country.

The first Marxist working-class organization in the Russian tsarist empire was formed in Warsaw in the 1880s, the Party Proletariat of Ludwik Warynski, which worked closely with the Russian revolutionary populists. In the next generation Poland produced one of the greatest figures of international socialism, Rosa Luxemburg. Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches' Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania was, along with Lenin's Bolsheviks, in the vanguard of the European workers movement as decaying capitalism drove toward the slaughterhouse of World War I. The early Polish Communist Party of the 1920s, under Luxemburg's disciple Adolf Warski, wrote a heroic chapter in the history of the European workers movement of that period. And Trotsky's struggle against the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International found a response in Warsaw. During the early 1930s an oppositional grouping in the Communist Party led by Isaac Deutscher was won to Trotskyism. And even after this group was expelled from the party, there remained a strong undercurrent of sympathy for Trotsky among Polish Communists fighting the fascistic Marshal Pilsudski (now a Solidarność hero) and the "regime of the colonels."

Der Spiegel

Jacek Kuron: Wall Street's favorite "socialist."

What characterized all of these great figures of Polish socialism, as Deutscher has pointed out, was their call for revolutionary unity with the Russian and German workers. The emergence of the nationalist Solidarność movement could come about only in a political vacuum created by the destruction of the traditions of international communism in Poland through savage persecution—Polish Pilsudskiite, German Nazi and Stalinist. Perhaps the greatest crime of Polish Stalinism was to so discredit socialism that much of the Polish working class has looked to Reagan's America and the Vatican for salvation. Yet it is only the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism on the Vistula which offers a future for the working people of Poland. Shortly after Jaruzelski's near bloodless coup we wrote in "What Next for Poland?" (*WV* No. 298, 5 February 1982):

> "The workers intoxicated by the clerical-nationalist fervor of Solidarność have received a sobering shock. Many are asking themselves what went wrong and are now open to new solutions....
>
> "Now is the time to start building educational and propagandistic cells of a Trotskyist vanguard to defend and extend the historic gains of socialized property, inherited from the October Revolution, by ousting the usurpers who undermine them and crushing those who would destroy them."

The documents of the "Press Alliance of the Workers Opposition" define this tendency as anti-Communist syndicalists, a "left" face of Solidarność counterrevolution. A genuine left opposition would have denounced Walesa & Co.'s embracing of Western capitalism, and proclaimed its unconditional defense of socialized property and the Soviet bloc against counterrevolution; it would have fought the clerical domination in Solidarność, calling for full separation of church and state; it would call for a return to the path of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, the "three L's" of the Communist International, in building a Trotskyist party in Poland as part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

Bujak: Agent of Imperialism

The capture May 31 of Zbigniew Bujak, the leading figure in the Solidarność underground, is a blow to Western imperialism's efforts to subvert Poland. Indeed, the owner of the "safe house" in which he was found recently received an invitation from the U.S. embassy in Warsaw to attend a farewell reception for Washington's "cultural attaché." The arrest of the Solidarność underground leader will doubtless be made into a cause célèbre for Cold War anti-Communism.

Upon arrest, Bujak was charged by the interior ministry with having "carried out activities aimed at overthrowing the constitutional system of People's Poland," and with being in touch with "Western special services and centers of ideological subversion." A government spokesman said the police had also seized "modern communications equipment and Western currencies." Over the years, the CIA and the Vatican have pumped millions of dollars into Poland to finance Solidarność' activities. And Bujak was their man.

Szulecki/New York Times

Zbigniew Bujak: financed by Washington.

Zbigniew Bujak first came to prominence in 1980-81 as head of the Warsaw region of the clerical-nationalist Solidarność. In early December 1981, when Poland stood on the brink of civil war, Bujak, even more aggressively than his colleagues Lech Walesa and Jacek Kuron, demanded at the secret Radom meeting of Solidarność leaders that "the government should be finally overthrown." He called for setting up a "workers militia" whose first action would be to seize radio and television stations. But these plans were foiled a week later by General Jaruzelski's countercoup.

Bujak, however, evaded arrest and continued his counterrevolutionary intrigues in clandestinity with the help of his "control" in Washington. It was recently *publicly admitted* that the Solidarność underground gets money from the National Endowment for Democracy, a major conduit for illicit funds to anti-Communist groups around the world. The chairman of the NED, John Richardson, was head of CIA-funded Radio Free Europe in the 1960s. Last year the social-democratic Mitterrand government in France, itself staunchly anti-Soviet, was outraged when it was revealed that the Endowment was funding a far-right French student group with fascist links.

The NED also serves as paymaster to the Solidarność underground, mainly via the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute. The head of this notorious CIA labor operation, Eugenia Kemble, naturally has refused to disclose her agents:

> "Miss Kemble expressed worry that publicity could endanger individuals facing dictatorial governments and involved in 'sensitive' work....
>
> "For example, detailed expense reports, including names and specifics of the clandestine Solidarity printing operation inside Poland, would probably give the Polish police enough information to close down the operation."
>
> —*New York Times*, 1 June

The main organizer of the clandestine Solidarność printing operation was Zbigniew Bujak. And Bujak's outfit recently underscored its counterrevolutionary aims by publicly calling for Wall Street to take over the Polish economy.

When the question of power was posed pointblank, we proclaimed, "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" Right after martial law was declared, we wrote:

> "In the course of heading off the bid for power by capitalist-restorationist elements, a number of Solidarność leaders have been arrested.... As the immediate counterrevolutionary threat passes, these martial law measures must be ended, including the release of the Solidarność leaders. A Trotskyist vanguard seeks to defeat them *politically*, by mobilizing the Polish working class in its true class interests.
>
> "For Trotskyists, the current Polish crisis powerfully reaffirms the need for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies, particularly brittle in East Europe."
>
> —"Power Bid Spiked," *WV* No. 295, 18 December 1981

In 1983, after most of the other Solidarność leaders had been freed, we argued that Kuron and his fellow pro-Western social democrats in KOR should also be released.

The Stalinist police mind doesn't distinguish too well between espousing counterrevolutionary, pro-imperialist positions and espionage. An example of the latter is Anatoly Shcharansky, who in addition to his activities as a pro-Zionist Soviet "dissident" turned over information vital to the defense of the Soviet Union—a list of secret defense plants—to the Western imperialists. As for the activities of pro-capitalist Solidarność, it is better—in times of civil peace—that they be above ground, the better to keep track of them. And that way, if they do engage in clandestine activities, the sinister reason why will be unambiguous.

Zbigniew Bujak was running a counterrevolutionary operation financed by the CIA/NED. And it is a good thing his operation has now been exposed. ■

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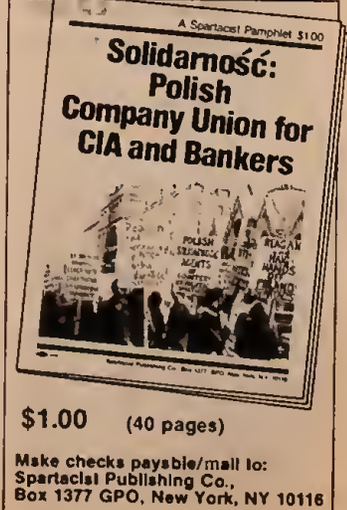

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July 4...

(continued from page 12)

if you traipse from one end of Manhattan to the other some corporation is supposed to throw in the equivalent of your subway fare to and from the walkathon. Most of the "Hands Across" money will be handed over for bureaucratic "expenses" and as yet unspecified "lobbying" schemes.

"Freedom" means "free enterprise" for this July 4 "Reagan Country" festival. The big squabble over the Liberty Island restoration project was over whether to make it into an ethnic "theme park," as Iacocca wanted, or to condo the Ellis Island holding pens, the Reagan administration's favored choice. But the man dubbed by *Life* magazine "Mr. America" rebounded with a vengeance. The selling of Lee Iacocca is a perfect testament to the utter hypocrisy of the whole thing: this supposed "little guy" in fact "made it" by extorting a cool billion in givebacks from auto workers (plus axing tens of thousands of jobs) and a billion-dollar federal government bailout—the latter repaid with interest. And after spearheading the chauvinist hate-Japan chorus for American protectionism, Iacocca (not being totally stupid) is now importing Japanese cars.

Meanwhile, scandals are busting out all over in this administration unashamedly dedicated to capitalist greed. Reagan's minions, in the words of *In These Times* writer John Judis, have "looked to government service as a glutton views a buffet." And if Nancy's confidant Mike Deaver can milk big bucks out of influence-peddling over "acid rain," of all things, it's only to be expected that all those low-paid clerks will try to cash in on their access to "national security" secrets. Meanwhile, the government is "privatizing" everything in sight, from health insurance to jails. They're even constructing "for profit" concentration camps—presumably to hold the expected hordes of Central American "feet people" fleeing the "Sandinista menace." After last year's mess at the IRS we fully expected them to reintroduce tax farming, "rolling back" the French Revolution, as it were.

Nowadays you can't turn on your TV without being inundated by red-white-and-blue commercials hardselling "Born and Brewed in the USA," "The Pride Is Back," and the like. The U.S. Army urges black youth to "Be All That You Can Be"—that is, cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism. But all the "America Standing Tall" propaganda hasn't overcome deep-seated fears of another losing military adventure. For all his talk of burying the Vietnam syndrome, what has Reagan actually *done*? Terror-bombing Qaddafi's tent and "conquering" the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada, with a population the size of one New York City housing project. And that took a whole week, in the face of stiff resistance by middle-aged Cuban construction workers. "The home of the brave"? More like home of the bullies. And while Ronald ("I'm a contra") Reagan may prevail in Congress on contra aid, his "freedom fighter" terrorists will surely lose on the battlefield in Nicaragua.

As for all the "land of the free" rhetoric, not only are they oppressing America with the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit, but Meese's porno commission has launched a blackmail campaign against drugstore chains to stop them from carrying such harmless fixtures of Americana as *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. Big Brother Meese wants mandatory urine tests and regular electrode lie detector sessions for American workers, too, not to mention eliminating abortion rights and the Congressional War Powers Resolution. The "founding fathers" would gag at the Reaganites' "Moral Majority" assault on the separation of church and state. And their onslaught against school integration is nothing less than an appetite to "roll back" the verdict of the Civil War.

Meanwhile, the New York City "Miss Liberty" celebrations look like a real horror show. Worrying about a "terrorism op," federal officials are moving to secure "ground zero" (Lower Manhattan) with an estimated 40,000 personnel from umpteen agencies and no single commander. As an estimated 7 to 13 million visitors pour in (and only 500-plus portable toilets!), with the free-flowing beer and wine sales (percent of profits to Wolper & Co. of course), the grossly inflated restaurant prices and bleacher seats to watch the fireworks, we expect the World Trade Center area to look like something out of the movie *Escape from New York*. More canny Manhattan natives, while sensibly trying to soak the big corporations for rental space, have already made their escape plans. ■

WV Photo

Reagan's concentration camps for Latin refugees from death squad terror; "golden door" is wide open for CIA-loving reactionaries.

"Give me your rich, your famous, your Nobel laureates, your Russian poets and Polish emissaries, your respectable white anti-Soviets yearning to breathe free...."

Atlanta...

(continued from page 2)

ignored the quick and angry response to the Klan threat. While there has been escalating KKK violence throughout Georgia, this organized Klan foray into Atlanta proper was an ominous move. The "New South," which ends at the perimeter highway surrounding Atlanta's inner city, looks increasingly like the Old South when it comes to Klan nightriding and suppression of black rights.

The Center for Democratic Renewal has been a special target for fascist terror. On April 23, Klan leader Holland who beat an NAKN observer in Marietta was found innocent despite eyewitness testimony. CDR director Lyn Wells is reportedly on a hit list of the paramilitary "Order" (*Southline*, 7 May). Another of the fascists' targets is the prominent Southern Organizing Committee organizer Ann Braden. Seeking "democratic renewal" in the "New South" is akin to asking the Confederacy to voluntarily grant black emancipation. That took a Civil War.

When the KKK threatened to march in the nation's capital in November 1982, Wells' NAKN defended the cross burners' "right" to terrorize black Washington in the name of "free speech," and called on Reagan's Justice Department to enforce civil rights legislation. Luckily the black youth and trade unionists of D.C. recognized that these racist killers posed a mortal threat to every worker and oppressed minority and to the democratic rights of everyone. They placed no faith in the KKK-endorsed Reagan government or the Democratic windbags who sought to divert anger against the Klan into a gabfest. On November 27, they came out 5,000 strong in a Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League with wide backing of area unions, and stopped the hooded fascists before they even got their robes on. For mass labor/black defense to smash racist terror! ■

Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

clinics across the country. The Justice Department has claimed the incidents, blamed for an estimated $3 million in damage since 1982, are not related." Not related?! Take the case of one Joseph Scheidler, described as executive director of the "Pro-Life Action League" in Chicago. Scheidler was arrested June 11 in Denver in connection with the storming and smashing up of the twice-bombed Ladies Center in Pensacola, Florida. The very next day Scheidler was out on bail, leading a mob which swarmed around the Denver Planned Parenthood clinic.

"There is a reign of terror against women who are trying to live a modern life," says NOW president Eleanor Smeal. Scheidler (the author of the terrorist tract, "Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion") travels around the country whipping up murderous attacks. He works in league with Ku Klux Klansman John Burt, responsible for the Christmas 1984 clinic bombings in Pensacola, who openly brags of his part in KKK anti-integration violence in Florida ten years ago.

One of Scheidler's main targets in Colorado is Dr. Warren Hern, director of the pioneering Boulder Abortion Clinic. As Hern wrote in a recent "Op Ed" column in the *New York Times* (14 June):

> "More than 40 abortion clinics and doctors' offices have been firebombed since Mr. Reagan took office in 1981.... Members of Mr. Reagan's Administration have said that there is no national conspiracy to terrorize abortion service providers. Those of us who are providing abortion services think otherwise. Having a brick hurled through the window of a doctor's waiting room where patients sit may seem like small potatoes, but it's terrorism. Listening to the police tell you that you must now drive home a different way each night and check the mail and your automobile for bombs is frightening."

On May 20 a Toledo, Ohio abortion clinic was bombed. On June 9, the Women's Health Care Center in Wichita, Kansas was bombed, following repeated anti-abortion marches and picketing targeting the facility. According to UPI (11 June), clinic operator Dr. George Tiller was forced to move to secret quarters for "fear anti-abortionists would attempt to intimidate customers." And on June 14, a fire causing $100,000 damage was set off in a clinic in a suburb of St. Louis.

NOW has focused on calling on the federal government for protection against the clinic bombers. But FBI director William Webster grotesquely claims that clinic bombings don't constitute "terrorism," and Reagan's "keep up the good work" speeches to anti-abortion rallies in Washington give the "right to life" bombers the high sign from their chief. NOW recently filed a class action suit, seeking "legal restraints" on clinic bombers based on Reconstruction Era anti-KKK laws. But just as "ban the Klan" legislation has historically been used, not against the fascists, but against those who try to stop them, no doubt the Reaganites will find a way to use such laws to shut down the clinics.

With the blessing of the White House, the crusade against abortion rights is a spearhead of profound social, sexual and political reaction in this country. The Spartacist League fights to mobilize the workers movement to champion the cause of blacks, women and all the oppressed against murderous capitalist reaction. The fight to defend abortion rights is an integral part of the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution. Don't let them turn back the clock! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand—Free quality medical care for all! ■

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Racist Koch Jeered Off Stage

Democrats' "Anti-Apartheid" Fraud

On June 14, the racist Democratic Party with its black and union-bureaucrat front men (and the usual left waterboys) staged a travesty of protest against apartheid. Many of the 50,000 or so who congregated in Central Park had come to express their solidarity with South African black masses facing murderous repression. But as far as the march and rally were concerned, the fact that racist pig Edward Koch led it off says it all. While Koch "divests" city council stock in South Africa, his cops are shooting down black kids in the streets of New York and racist mobs rampage through Coney Island and Staten Island.

Inviting Ed Koch to speak at an anti-apartheid rally is like asking Kurt Waldheim to address a Holocaust memorial! The crowd erupted with jeers, thumbs-down gestures and chants of "Koch Go Home!" Which he then did—not without pique, complaining about being forced to sit there for an hour and a half. Koch wasn't the only thing to gross out the protesters. Thousands booed when the "Star Spangled Banner" was sung from the stage, then pointedly stood up for the singing of a black liberation anthem. At the Harlem State Office Building pre-rally, black Democratic Congressman Charles Rangel was also heartily jeered.

WV Photos

NYC, June 14—Racist pig Ed Koch leads off march; demonstrators jeer "Koch Go Home!"

After the popular-front trek, protesters were penned in and surrounded by cops for what some called "the great yawn on the Great Lawn." After hours of hot air from Democratic politicians and labor bureaucrats, a representative of the African National Congress finally got to speak. Alfred Nzo, veteran ANC general secretary, spoke of solidarity with the "heroic people of Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador, Palestine, Namibia" and the Soviet bloc countries. But even this mildly anti-imperialist rhetoric was swiftly countered by Jesse Jackson, sounding like he was looking for Andy Young's old job as the black face of American imperialism at the UN.

Jackson went on a diatribe against the Soviet Union, which he said should not be given "expansion by default" because of the Washington-Pretoria alliance. The U.S. should be "the superpower with moral authority," he said. To top it off, Jackson obscenely proclaimed, "We must stop killing each other at every Crossroads." This parrots the "black on black violence" line of Reagan and Botha, who use it to justify bloody police and vigilante terror.

The Spartacist League presence stood out in sharp contrast to this liberal gahfest for imperialist sanctions. One family carrying a portrait of Malcolm X stopped to have their picture taken under our banner reading "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" In Harlem, a militant stopped at our table, with its banner, "Harlem to Soweto—Smash Racist Terror!" He bought a subscription, saying, "I don't know if I'm going down to the park, but I want to get some of this revolutionary literature." Altogether, more than 2,000 Spartacist publications were sold, including 1,638 copies of *Workers Vanguard*, and 74 subs. *WV* welcomes our new readers and looks forward to winning the best militants to the fight for workers power from South Africa to the U.S. ■

DSA, CIA...

(continued from page 5)

"gulag" next to the symbolic anti-apartheid shantytown. DSA and SASC supporters offered these junior Reaganites tools to build more "gulags" and joined them in calling for "divestment" from the USSR! No wonder the Harvard "shantytown" found such favor with the administration, who posted security guards to protect it.

In contrast, *Young Spartacus* has called on all defenders of the exploited and oppressed to defend the Soviet Union, the main military and industrial bulwark of the states where capitalist rule has been overthrown, and ultimate target of the imperialist war drive. From fighting union-busting and resurgent KKK terror at home to fighting U.S. aggression from Libya to Central America, the "Russian question" is key. Consider the fate of the Student Peace Union, which for a brief time in the early 1960s rivaled SDS as the largest radical youth organization in the country. The reason most readers have never heard of the SPU is that it descended into irrelevancy after failing to take a clear stand in defense of Cuba in the 1962 missile crisis. Shackled by its social-democratic leadership, the SPU was paralyzed in the face of this direct U.S.-Soviet confrontation.

Only by breaking with the Cold War "socialism" of its parent organization was SDS able to recruit massive numbers of civil rights and antiwar activists. But when SDS came out against knee-jerk anti-Communism in its 1962 Port Huron Statement, its social-democratic elders led by none other than Michael Harrington kicked them out of their offices. And SDS wasn't the only youth group to have its locks changed by Harrington for going "too far" to the left. When the SP supported mad bomber Lyndon B. Johnson as a "lesser evil" in 1964, YPSL rebelled, calling for "Vote 'No' for President." Harrington didn't want to jeopardize his welcome in the White House (as architect of the JFK/LBJ "war on poverty"), so he suspended the SP youth en masse. Throughout U.S. imperialism's genocidal Vietnam War, Harrington & Co. never called for American withdrawal, much less victory to the Vietnamese NLF/DRV.

As the political climate shifted to the right in the late 1970s, the DSA picked up support, posing, as Harrington put it, as "the left wing of the possible." But in Reagan's America, even these anti-Soviet social democrats have become increasingly irrelevant except as saboteurs of struggle. More generally, American social democracy hasn't amounted to anything for decades, *except as a handmaiden of the state*. In Europe, the social democrats sit atop mass labor organizations and are deeply ensconced in the parliamentary apparatus of capitalist rule. In the U.S., a Cold War labor bureaucracy, including social democrats like the Reuthers, took power in the unions in the postwar red purge; today their heirs, such as Machinists head and DSA bigwig Winpisinger, are actively breaking strikes and joining the bosses' giveback assault on the unions they lead. Politically they are ciphers except as barnacles on the capitalist parties—the Democrats in the case of Harrington's DSA, and the Republicans in the case of Shanker's SDUSA.

As Vietnam radicalized a generation of student youth, Ed Meese was making his name as an architect of brutal police repression on California campuses. Under his and then-governor Reagan's direction, thousands were tear-gassed, over 100 injured, 13 of them by gunshot wounds, during the 1969 People's Park protests at Berkeley. Twenty-five-year-old James Rector, who watched the cop rampage from a roof, was killed. Said Meese, "James Rector deserved to die." When Meese came to Harvard last month, he came to glory in his murderous record. It turned out he had a "fifth column" of liberals and social democrats who took a side... against the reds. Despite their wrecking antics, a militant protest was held against Meese which we are proud to have led. We Trotskyists will continue to work for the day when socialist revolution will sweep away the Edwin Meeses of the world and finally bury the "stinking corpse" of social democracy. ■

Ramparts

People's Park, 1969: Cops take aim, rooftop spectator telled. Meese said, "James Rector deserved to die."

South African Attack...

(continued from page 1)

Stingers for Savimbi will not defeat battle-hardened Cuban troops who have defended black Angola ever since Pretoria invaded the newly independent country a decade ago.

At the time, U.S. intervention on the side of South Africa was stymied by widespread fear of "another Vietnam." But now there's a bipartisan offensive against the "Vietnam syndrome." It was only with Congress' repeal last July of the 1976 Clark Amendment that Reagan could "legally" resume aid to UNITA. The Democrats also applauded Reagan's attack on the North African state of Libya. And while squirming over CIA-laid mines in Nicaragua led Congress in 1984 to vote against contra aid, the Democratic-controlled House had previously secretly approved financing for the CIA's mercenaries. Now they're doing it again under guise of "humanitarian" aid to these torturers, mercenaries, drug traffickers and dollar-launderers.

In blowing up Soviet bloc ships, the apartheid rulers are playing with fire. The attack at Namibe fits the recent pattern of insane Reaganite war provocations: U.S. helicopters ferrying Honduran soldiers to the Nicaraguan border, Sixth Fleet attacks in the Gulf of Sidra, Navy spy ships invading Soviet territorial waters near Black Sea fleet headquarters at Sevastopol. In southern Africa, occasional "anti-apartheid" tut-tutting to the contrary, Washington relies on Pretoria as a regional gendarme. And they all agree in demanding the withdrawal of Soviet-backed Cuban troops in Angola. The Namibe attack was a calculated attempt to gain favor with Reagan by needling the Soviets. But if the Russian bear is provoked beyond endurance, watch out!

In the face of Pretoria's international marauding and murderous repression of South African blacks, liberals and reformists call for U.S. sanctions against the apartheid regime. Yet Reagan's America, which invades black Grenada and mines and bombs ports from Libya to Nicaragua, is the bloodiest terrorist of them all! We Trotskyists *hail* the Cuban troops who have genuinely been in the front line defending Angola against apartheid attack. Immediate, unconditional independence for Namibia! Smash apartheid—Workers revolution in South Africa will be the powerhouse for liberation of all black Africa! ■

Spartacist Forums

Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Harriet Tubman: Civil War Revolutionary Heroine

Friday, June 27, 7:30 p.m.
166 Barrows
UC Berkeley
For more information (415) 835-1535

BERKELEY

Saturday, June 28, 7:30 p.m.
Unitarian Church
1187 Franklin St. at Geary
For more information (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

police who called the service a "subversive" meeting.

Despite Botha's reign of terror, the massive strike was carried off. In the 20-month-long confrontation between the racist regime and deepening anti-apartheid revolt, police-state measures have failed to cow the oppressed into submission. Importantly, repression could not prevent the two previous general strikes, in the Transvaal in November 1984 and nationally in the recent heroic May Day strike. But as the prospect for bloody one-sided civil war looms ever larger, the question of power—who shall rule the country—is posed starkly. In confrontations such as this, the need for revolutionary leadership is more urgent than ever.

South Africa today has the smell of a revolutionary situation. In Lenin's classic definition, it's not enough that the masses can no longer live in the old way—their rulers must also be unable to rule in the old way. The government's actions are losing coherence, going in different directions at the same time, trying for piecemeal "reform" of apartheid, ordering brutal repression of anti-apartheid revolt, fantasizing about a separate Afrikaner state. Meanwhile the open fascists are growing in strength. There appears to be a loss of nerve at the top, the inability of the state to act as the general staff of a united ruling class. Which doesn't mean they're not ready for blood—on the contrary, genocide can be the result. Hitler came to power in part because of a loss of nerve of the German bourgeoisie. But rather than uniting around a bonaparte, the South African rulers seem to be thrashing around in wild factionalism.

The enormous potential power of the six-million-strong South African black proletariat has once again been demonstrated. "A general strike could bring the country to its knees in a couple of weeks," worried the chief labor specialist for the huge Anglo American mining and industrial conglomerate (*New York Times Magazine*, 15 June). And the black unions have discovered that they can't avoid politics. It all points to a revolutionary crisis brewing, but the key element for victory is missing. Unless the anti-apartheid revolt is organized along *class* lines, with the black proletariat led by a multiracial Bolshevik party, forged on the program of permanent revolution and leading the rest of the oppressed and disenfranchised in a fight for state power, the possibility of smashing the power of the white supremacist capitalist regime will be squandered, with hideous consequences.

White Laager Digs In

While the nationalists of the main anti-apartheid grouping, the ANC, pursue a strategy of "pressure" on the regime (from without through imperialist economic sanctions, from within through the "policy of chaos," of making the townships "ungovernable"), Botha has increasingly responded to pressure from the right. Thus the South African bombing raids on the capitals of three black African border states, ostensibly aimed at ANC installations, in late May. Said Botha afterward: "South Africa has the capacity and the will to break the ANC.... We have only delivered the first installment" (*New York Times*, 22 May).

AP

Doing Botha's work: black vigilantes torch shanties in Crossroads settlement.

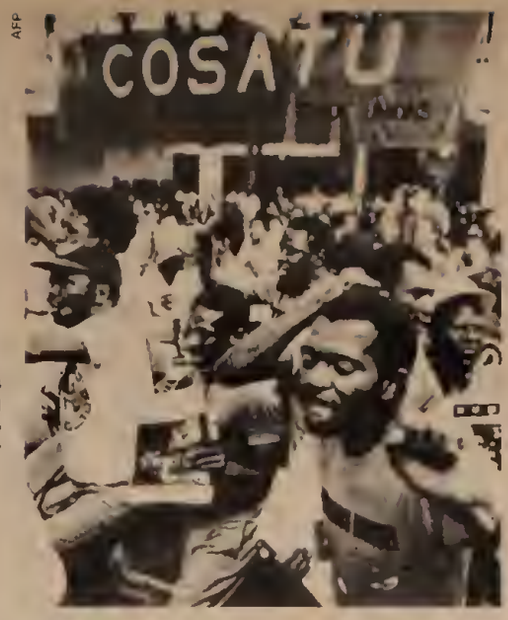
A genuinely fascist far right has grown, largely at the expense of Botha's National Party (especially among the police). Hitlerite Eugene Terre'Blanche led his *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB—Afrikaner Resistance Movement) thugs in storming a National Party meeting just days after the bombing of the black states. From the shoulders of his stormtroopers, as the AWB's three-legged swastika flags filled the hall, Terre'Blanche ranted: "I want to tell the ANC: if you mess with the Boer Volk (people), we will blow you all to hell" (*Times* [London], 23 May).

At the Crossroads squatter settlements near Cape Town, the regime is giving a taste of what it is prepared to unleash on the black population. For years Crossroads has stood as a symbol of resistance to the apartheid "influx control" which makes it illegal for the majority of blacks to move to the cities. The government has unsuccessfully been trying to force out most of the Crossroads population into a new black "township" ten miles further out of town—a deathtrap with only one access road and military bases on two sides. As they have throughout the country, the cops spawned reactionary black vigilantes in Crossroads, called "*witdoekies*" for the white armbands they wear, consisting primarily of black cops, common criminals and some shop owners, to be used against the militant township youth, the "comrades."

Between mid-May and mid-June, the police and army have backed up several thousand vigilantes in systematically destroying sections of Crossroads occupied by the "comrades," killing at least 65 with machetes and guns, torching thousands of shacks and leaving *70,000* homeless in Cape Town's winter rain and near-freezing temperatures. Pretoria's game here is clear, of portraying the events at Crossroads as "black on black violence." And Ronald Reagan joins in this pretext for terror, claiming, "It is blacks fighting against blacks" (*New York Times*, 14 June). As has been evident since the outset of the anti-apartheid revolt, Washington stands with its anti-Soviet ally in Pretoria, charged with policing the continent for the "free world."

This simple fact has not dissuaded the proponents of imperialist "sanctions"—who run the gamut from Bishop Desmond Tutu to the ANC and its "left" supporters. *Newsweek* (23 June) reported that "Tutu met with Botha for 90 minutes and appealed to him—in the name of Christianity and anticommunism—to lift the ban." Tutu emerged from the meeting with the complaint that the draconian measures would "not likely help restore law and order," i.e., they might backfire. And in an Op Ed piece in the *New York Times* (16 June) he spelled out the anti-Soviet "logic" of his call for sanctions, noting that the U.S. used sanctions against Poland, Nicaragua and Libya and still maintains a blockade of Cuba. But the ultimate absurdity and imperialist hypocrisy behind the call on racist mass murderers like the United States rulers to impose sanctions on their South African junior partners was exposed by the report that *Israel*, a major military supplier of the Pretoria regime, was considering a trade ban!

Similarly, the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group supports sanctions and pressure on Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC in order to forestall the coming to power of a "radical black government 'totally antipathetic' to Western interests" (*New York Times*, 13 June). Botha's reply to "the Commonwealth" was the bombing raid on three black African member states while the EPG was in South Africa. American leftists, meanwhile, are calling on the U.S. to "Boycott South Africa, Not Nicaragua." But KKK-endorsed Reagan, who alibied the March 1985 Uitenhage massacre and told the world that racial segregation had been abolished in South Africa, is in a strategic *alliance* with apartheid (even if an occasionally strained one) whereas it is committed to *overthrowing* Nicaragua's Sandinista regime.



AFP

Black unionists cheer founding of COSATU, November 1985.

Smash Apartheid! Workers to Power!

Backing the Soweto Day general strike in a May 21 radio broadcast from his headquarters in Zambia, ANC president Tambo called for a total shutdown as part of a "death-defying" campaign to "bring the ruling class to its knees." But the ANC calls for "armed struggle" and "people's war" as part of its thoroughly reformist strategy of pressuring apartheid into a "power-sharing" scheme. Are unarmed black masses to go up against the massively armed racist ruling class and die by the thousands just so that Oliver Tambo can be South Africa's counterpart to Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, so Nelson Mandela's picture will be printed on Rand notes while Anglo American, Wall Street and the City of London continue to control the wealth of South Africa? To liberate the oppressed masses from apartheid slavery *those who labor must rule*. This can be accomplished only through the construction of a Leninist proletarian vanguard forged in struggle against petty-bourgeois nationalism and its pressure schemes.

Pretoria, spurred on by the Afrikaner ultraright, is gearing up to drown the black revolt in blood. But there are notable cracks within the white population, as demonstrated by thousands of white youth who are refusing conscription and the hundreds who defy police *sjamboks* and bullets to demonstrate alongside blacks. One of the stories to filter out of South Africa is that in the early morning hours of June 16, some 30 carloads of flowers collected the day before in liberal white churches were deposited on the outskirts of Soweto—which was sealed off to whites. The flowers were seized by the apartheid authorities; apparently they too were "subversive." Later, some were dropped into the township by plane. Attached to one bouquet was a message that read:

> "Many white South Africans feel a profound sense of sadness and shame at what happened in Soweto in 1976, and what continues to happen in 1986, and would like to express this in some way. Normal avenues of communication have been closed and so we search for a gesture to show black South Africans that we care, and that we too would like to see the creation of a just and open society in this country."
>
> —*New York Times*, 17 June

Such gestures are all too rare in this racist police state. But a Bolshevik party can seize upon such openings while struggling tirelessly to overcome ethnic and tribalist divisions among the exploited and oppressed, especially among the strategic "migrant" workers who come from the bantustans and neighboring black states. The vision of a "just and open society" for all the oppressed—in which anti-racist whites must have a place as well—can only be realized in a black-centered workers government that turns the tremendous mineral and industrial resources of South Africa into a powerhouse for the liberation of the entire continent. The question of power is posed point-blank—and beginning the work of constructing a Leninist-Trotskyist party for the conquest of power, the urgent internationalist duty of all revolutionists, is long overdue. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

July 4: Invading New York

Reagan's Chauvinist Circus

Ever since Ronald Reagan's re-election, this government's acting with the arrogance of someone who just defeated the Paris Commune. The gang in the White House thinks they've won a "mandate" for global counterrevolution, including pre-emptive strikes against the American people. Congressional approval of aid to the CIA's Nicaraguan mercenaries will mean "the end of the post-Vietnam syndrome," proclaims Contra No. 1. The one-two air strike against Qaddafi's Libya means the U.S. can once again be cops of the the world, says White House spokesman Larry Reaganspeak. They think they can slam the Kremlin up against the wall, with one war provocation after another. But if the Soviet Union is the Evil Empire, who is the "enemy within"? Since the McCarthyite witchhunters' all-purpose Communist bugbear is hardly credible today, the Reaganites are going after anyone and anything deemed a threat to "our way of life," from labor and blacks to legal aid and "illegal aliens." And don't forget abortion and porn. Weirdorama—it's "1984" in 1986.

And now they're going to make a "birthday party" for the Statue of Liberty into a Disneyland *Triumph of the Will* on July 4. To stage this Reaganite pageant they've hired Hollywood's own Leni Riefenstahl, David Wolper, who brought you the "America über Alles" L.A. Olympics. Celebrating the corporate state, events will be kicked off by Chrysler hotshot Lee Iacocca welcoming Reagan to "Liberty Island," while high priest John Cardinal O'Connor officiates in a special mass. Even Congress has objected to the presence of the notorious Chilean torture ship *Esmeralda* among the tall ships to parade up the Hudson. But what about the host ship, the USS *Eagle*, built by Hitler's Third Reich in 1936 as the training ship *Horst Wessel*? As it sails past will the band play the "Horst Wessel Song," the infamous marching anthem of the Nazi stormtroopers?

UPI

Handschuh/NY Post

Waving the nuclear Big Stick: Battleship Iowa, which Reagan will ride into New York harbor July 4.

But not everyone's cheering. Blacks in particular aren't buying it, especially the part about the Statue of Liberty beckoning poor immigrants through the "golden door." Blacks created much of the wealth of this nation, and are certainly among our "founding fathers"—but they were dragged here in chains. Their "welcome" was the overseer's whip and the auction block. Even after slavery was abolished in a great, bloody Civil War, blacks were forcibly kept on the bottom of racist American capitalism, while millions of white immigrants kept arriving. Today thousands of Haitian and Salvadoran immigrants' first glimpse of America is not a shining torch but barbed-wire concentration camps, from Miami's Krome Avenue to El Centro, California. As columnist Russell Baker remarked ironically about the racist undertone of this July 4 affair:

> "And how about all those immigrants who had been arriving, some at slave ports, during the 250 years before the statue went up? To many of their white descendants Miss Liberty's words of welcome to the earth's poor and wretched could only have meant 'There goes the neighborhood.'
> "This is the cry that still goes up against the poor and wretched immigrants, like today's Haitians, despite the sentimental self-congratulation for our own tolerance that is now being generated about the forthcoming Statue of Liberty rites."
>
> —*New York Times*, 31 May

In a special issue of *Time* magazine titled "American Best," the editorial underneath a "feelgood" picture of Miss Liberty begins, "We celebrate ourselves." It's certainly not a celebration of open doors to immigrants as more than a *million and a half* Mexicans will be deported this year. The famous poem on the statue's base welcomes the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free." Yet this rich and powerful imperialist nation has produced massive homelessness and hunger on *these* shores. In the sprawling, devastated inner-city ghettos, whole families, even working people, are simply dumped on the street. Reagan said recently that if people went hungry it was just sheer ignorance. Meanwhile thousands are turned away every day from the few social welfare agencies his budget-slashing hasn't abolished yet.

The ruling class message to the oppressed is "self-help" and "self-reliance"—in other words, this government couldn't care less about the vast human misery racist capitalism creates. Black front men for the bourgeoisie like Jesse Jackson have pitched in to sell this disgusting "more hype, less gripe" line. Meanwhile they stage repulsive media events like the "Hands Across America" charity bonanza. For $10 to $35 a head you got to stand in a line including Ronald Reagan and sing "America the Beautiful." No wonder the event looked so white. At least in the March of Dimes

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Levin/Black Star

Capitalist tycoon Iacocca takes over "Liberty Island."

Abortion Clinic Bombers Rampage

Reaganite "Right to Life" Terrorists

As the U.S. gears up for its flag-waving extravaganza for the centennial of the Statue of Liberty, the bourgeois media has unleashed a propaganda blitz extolling the "land of the free." Meanwhile the Reagan gang, which upon its first days of taking office announced that "terrorism" would henceforth be its focus, has proceeded to terrorize with abandon, from the government bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia to its murder strike against Libyan leader Qaddafi. Now a continuing wave of bombings of abortion clinics is terrorizing women and threatening the closing of clinics across the country. Even as the Supreme Court last week narrowly upheld its 1973 decision legalizing abortion, the bombing of a clinic in Wichita, Kansas forced it to relocate to an "undisclosed location." In Reagan's America, abortion clinics are going underground.

On June 11 the Supreme Court reaffirmed the 1973 Roe vs. Wade decision, striking down a Pennsylvania law designed to intimidate women seeking abortions. Under that statute, doctors were ordered not only to use every means possible to browbeat women into having unwanted babies, but also to perform operations potentially endangering the life of the mother in order to save the fetus. Moreover, doctors were required to give the state extensive reports on each abortion, which could be a virtual hit list for harassment and terror. Justice Harry A. Blackmun, who wrote the 1973 decision and this majority opinion, said eloquently:

> "Few decisions are more personal and intimate, more properly private, or more basic to individual dignity and autonomy, than a woman's decision ... whether to end her pregnancy. A woman's right to make that choice freely is fundamental."

While the National Organization for Women (NOW) hailed the ruling, the Right-to-Lifers were jubilant over the 5-4 split in the Court. TV preacher Pat Robertson, the ultrarightist who has raised money for contra terrorists in Central America, noted that "with the wonderful process of the mortality tables only one more is needed" to overturn Roe vs. Wade. From the days of the John Birch Society crusade demanding the impeachment of Earl Warren over the decision outlawing segregated schools, attempts to pack the courts with racist states-righters have been a hallmark of the far right in this country. But they don't limit themselves to legal machinations.

An 11 June UPI dispatch noted, "Last year there were 224 reported incidents of violence at [abortion]

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 407

4 July 1986

South Africa: Forge a Bolshevik Party!

Black Labor Can Break Apartheid Chains

On June 12 the white-supremacist regime clamped a nationwide "state of emergency" on the seething black rebellion in South Africa. This totalitarian repression aimed above all to prevent the general strike called for June 16, the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. However, that day millions of black workers defied police-state terror and shut down the apartheid economy.

Due to Pretoria's draconian blackout on news and the cowardly self-censorship of the U.S. media, very little is known about what is now happening in South Africa. It is clear, however, that the organized black proletariat stands as the main force of resistance. Word has leaked out of sit-down strikes by retail workers at white-owned supermarkets and other stores, and of factory occupations by auto and metal workers in the Transvaal. The largest black union federation has now warned of impending "widespread and spontaneous worker action around the country" to protest the detention of top labor leaders.

On June 19, a week after the South African "emergency" was decreed, a talk titled "Avenge Soweto—Workers to Power!" was given in New York by Reuben Shiffman, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee and a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100. We print below sections of his talk, edited for publication.

In the last seven weeks there have been two of the most massive general strikes in the history of South Africa, which have shaken the apartheid police state. They are the culmination of a mounting revolt that has sustained itself now for almost two years, since the fall of 1984. These events, as any major social struggle on this scale, pose the question of power: who shall rule in South Africa?

South African Metal Worker

May Day 1986—Black workers shut down apartheid economy in biggest political strike in South African history.

The racist, white-supremacist regime has responded with mounting repression, mixed with the pretense of reform. The present revolt was set off by a proposal for a new constitution which would grant a sham parliament to the Indian and coloured (mixed-race) minorities while underlining and reinforcing the disenfranchisement of the black African majority of 23 million. It was an attempt to divide the oppressed peoples of South Africa against one another. However, the constitution had completely the opposite effect. It served to unite the Indians and the coloureds with the blacks and launched the present revolt, which has swept through all sections of society, including strata of the privileged whites.

In another apartheid "reform" in 1979 the regime sought to legalize black unions after a strike wave which had lasted for six years. They hoped by legalizing the unions that they would be able to control them and subordinate them to the state. Instead the black unions have become a mighty fortress of workers power against the white-supremacist police state.

This spring, while Botha abolished the pass laws, he strengthened his bonapartist police powers and certain laws to evict black people from the so-called "white homeland." This constitutes 87 percent of South Africa, including all the ports, major cities, the industrial and mining heartland, the arable land, etc. Blacks are relegated to the 13 percent of the land that is not productive, that contains no industry or mineral wealth.

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Front Line of Anti-Soviet War Drive

Contra Congress Declares War on Nicaragua

The June 25 vote by the U.S. House of Representatives for $100 million in "contra aid" amounts to a *declaration of war* on Sandinista Nicaragua. It's not the amount: during 1982-83, Congress secretly voted $100-200 million for Reagan's counterrevolutionary mercenaries; even during the 18-month period of official aid cutoff to the contras, the guns and dollars kept arriving. And it's not that anyone thinks these dregs left over from dictator Somoza's National Guard could ever topple or even seriously shake popular support for the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime. But now Congress, including the Democratic-controlled House, is officially on record for war to overthrow the Sandinistas, thus opening the door for a U.S. invasion. And while Reagan loves his contras, the American people don't want their sons and brothers to die for these cutthroat murderers, rapists and drug traffickers.

A soldier of the Sandinista army's Simón Bolivar Irregular Warfare Battalion, on patrol against the contras in northern Nicaragua, commented:

> "We don't want open war, but with the steps they are taking, well, that's the way it happened in Vietnam . . . With the approval of $100 million, all that would be left is for the gringos to come directly to fight."
>
> —*Los Angeles Times*, 26 June

When the administration bill was debated by Congress in March, it was recognized as a "Tonkin Gulf

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Obscene Nostalgia for the Slave South

"Gone With the Wind"—50 Years of Racist Trash

Page Three

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Ruchell Magee!

The Partisan Defense Committee has added Ruchell Magee to our list of class-war prisoners to receive monthly stipends. For more than 15 years Magee has been left to rot in a California prison hellhole, a forgotten victim of the government conspiracy to murder Black Panther George Jackson. Ruchell, self-educated in prison, has continuously fought for his freedom and for the rights of other inmates. Since 1978 Folsom Prison officials have iced him away in solitary!

As governor of California, Ronald Reagan and his henchman Edwin Meese, as part of the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) campaign, unleashed a reign of cop terror which left a legacy of caskets and jail cells filled with black activists. In the summer of 1970 George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers were fighting frame-up charges of murdering a prison guard. On August 7, Jackson's 17-year-old brother Jonathan, set up by police provocateurs, led a raid on the Marin County Courthouse demanding the Soledad Brothers' freedom. The judge and others were killed when an army of San Quentin guards, who "happened" to be in the area, opened fire on the getaway van. Magee, a San Quentin inmate who had been testifying in defense of fellow inmate James McClain, joined Jonathan Jackson and was charged with the murders. Angela Davis, a prominent Communist Party member, was accused of supplying the guns.

Ruchell Magee

In the course of the CP's widely publicized defense campaign for Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee was a forgotten man. After Davis was acquitted the Spartacist League continued to demand Ruchell's freedom. Ruchell Magee, like Geronimo Pratt, Ramona Africa and other victims of capitalist injustice, must not be forgotten. Free Ruchell Magee!

* * *

The government's vindictive incarceration of MOVE survivor Ramona Africa, itself a travesty, is compounded by her continued detention in solitary confinement (see *WV* No. 405, 6 June). After we sent a letter of protest, a committee of three prison officials verbally informed Ramona she would be permitted to attend her July parole board hearing. This conflicts with prior written and verbal notice by prison officials that quarantine in the hole precludes her attendance. The PDC has written to prison officials requesting clarification of Ramona's status and renewing our demand that she attend this hearing. The PDC encourages *Workers Vanguard* readers to add their voices to this protest and to raise this urgent issue in their unions, community organizations and campuses. Protests should be sent to: Ann Goolsby, Superintendent, State Correctional Institution, P.O. Box 180, Muncy, Pennsylvania 17756. Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners!

* * *

Last week charges were finally dismissed against black subway clerk James Grimes. On June 23 the PDC sent telegrams to Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman and Criminal Court Judge Seymour Gerschwer condemning the prosecution of Grimes as a "criminal offense against New York's working people." Charges have also been dropped against Michael Spraggins, the black restaurant worker who defended his friend's home and family from a KKK-infested lynch mob in Cleveland (see *WV* No. 406, 20 June).

* * *

The PDC has just published the first issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, a regular newsletter to publicize and build support for the work of the PDC. The first issue summarizes causes we've supported since February's sustainer appeals, and contains biographies of class-war prisoners and reprints PDC telegrams. We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Sustaining contributions, donations and requests for the PDC newsletter can be sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

July 4th: Racist Hypocrisy

TROTSKY

LENIN

Writing in the 1850s, the great black abolitionist and ex-slave Frederick Douglass exposed the hypocrisy of July 4th as a celebration of national greatness and human freedom. The American republic was founded on black chattel slavery, which was enshrined in its very Constitution. It took a bloody civil war to root out this abomination.

What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are, to Him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of the United States, at this very hour.

—Frederick Douglass, "The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro" (July 1852)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 407 **4 July 1986**

Asylum for Alejandro Gómez!

INS Tries to Deport Salvador Unionist

Plainclothes police kidnapped Salvadoran unionist Alejandro Gómez on May 23, a Friday afternoon; the agents walked up to him in front of his home, slapped handcuffs on him and, without identifying their purpose, forced him into their car and drove off. Gómez had been arrested in 1983 for his work with El Salvador's building trades union,

Alejandro Gómez

then tortured by the police for 23 days. But last month he was "disappeared" in Rochester, New York—not in the death squad "democracy" of Napoleón Duarte. Gómez is a refugee who had taken sanctuary with his wife, mother and four children at the Downtown United Presbyterian Church. His arrest is part of a campaign by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the hated *migra*, to dismantle the nationwide sanctuary movement (see "Defend the Sanctuary Movement!" *WV* No. 400, 28 March).

Fresh from securing felony convictions against six sanctuary workers in Tucson, Arizona, the INS went after Gómez, having him arrested just two weeks before his deportation hearing, whisked off to jail in Buffalo and held on $50,000 bail as a "national security" risk. They wanted Gómez because he had courageously testified about union conditions in El Salvador at the Tucson trial. In addition local INS director Benedict Farrell wanted to threaten the Rochester city council, which shortly after Gómez' arrest voted to declare itself a "sanctuary city." For Gómez the stakes are life and death. As the Partisan Defense Committee stated in a telegram of protest, "Deportation of this victim of police torture at hands of death squad regime is premeditated act of murder." A deportation hearing has been postponed to August 4.

The Reagan administration is going after the religious sanctuary movement in an effort to squelch internal opposition to the U.S.' dirty war in Central America, which has already produced over a million Salvadoran refugees. But just as the sanctuary trial in Tucson resulted in greater support for the church activists, the decent people of Rochester stood by Gómez. More than 200 individuals and organizations mobilized to raise $47,000 for bail within 24 hours, and 60 supporters traveled in a cavalcade to the Erie County Holding Center in Buffalo to secure his release just before midnight on the day after his arrest. At a June 4 INS hearing in Buffalo, 60 people turned out to support Gómez.

Now the *migra* is at it again. On June 16, INS agents rounded up 46 Salvadoran workers at two factories on Long Island, and without informing their families or lawyers flew them all off to a new concentration camp for "illegal aliens" in Louisiana. The previous week New York State had declared itself a sanctuary to refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala. And in Texas, the feds staged "Operation Buckshot," seizing more than 700 Hispanics, hauling people from city buses and yanking them from pickup trucks.

We urge our readers to send protest telegrams demanding asylum for Alejandro Gómez and his family to: Benedict Farrell, District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 68 Court St., Buffalo, NY 14202. Contributions can be sent to: Downtown United Presbyterian Church Sanctuary Fund, 121 North Fitzhugh St., Rochester, NY 14614. Freedom and asylum for all refugees from death squad terror! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! Defend the sanctuary movement! ■

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"Gone With the Wind"—50 Years of Racist Trash

Obscene Nostalgia for the Slave South

MGM

Library of Congress

Margaret Mitchell's Gone With the Wind: Hollywood's super-successful film finds romance in the luxury of a ruling class that lived by the sweat of slaves.

ATLANTA—The signature of the Reagan years is the bombing and murder of black babies in the Philadelphia MOVE commune. The cultural equivalent is the "golden commemoration" of *Gone With the Wind*—the so-called "epic novel of our time." This lying racist rewrite of history glamorizes the pre-Civil War slave South, and praises the Ku Klux Klan terror that accompanied the end of Reconstruction. On June 30, the U.S. Postal Service will issue a commemorative stamp honoring its author, Margaret Mitchell. Macmillan House has published some 60,000 copies of a facsimile of the first edition of *Gone With the Wind*. And in Atlanta, the self-proclaimed capital of the "New South," there is an obscene celebration of this racist nostalgia for the Old South that was swept away in blood and fire in the Civil War, the Second American Revolution.

This book and the hugely successful movie based on it sprinkle "moonlight and magnolias" on one of the most brutal slave systems the world has ever known. The life of a slave meant back-breaking work from dawn to dusk; a slave's child or spouse could be sold at any time; hunger was ever-present. The antebellum South was a totalitarian police state ever in fear of slave uprisings. This is the society Margaret Mitchell referred to as "glamorous," writing at length about the happiness of the "childlike" slave and his devotion to his master. At one point, the novel's heroine, Scarlett O'Hara, muses that "Negroes were provoking sometimes and stupid and lazy, but there was loyalty in them that money couldn't buy, a feeling of oneness with their white folks."

This piece of racist trash by Atlanta native Mitchell was published in 1936. It was the number one bestseller for 21 consecutive months and won the 1937 Pulitzer Prize for fiction. The film, which premiered in Atlanta in December 1939, is one of the biggest money-makers ever. Network TV broadcasting has heralded the 50th anniversary of the book, and major American newspapers have run glowing stories displaying the same smug attitude toward slavery.

Jonesboro, Georgia, some 25 miles southeast of Atlanta, is the site of many *Gone With the Wind* commemorative activities, including "Tara balls, plantation barbeques and yes, even cotton picking" (*USA Today*, 19 June). There will be "Confederate army camps" with "skirmishes" (guess who wins?). There are plans for "a Gone With the Wind historical center" with a *working plantation!* Will they have facsimile slaves, too?

Atlanta is hailing the Old South of *Gone With the Wind*, but in a more subdued fashion. The main public library is already named after Mitchell. A park in her name is being rushed to completion. The movie is showing daily. But in contrast to the gala celebration of the 1939 premier, when the Klan's offer to march was politely turned down, the response of official Atlanta, with its black mayor and city administration, to the 50th anniversary has been muted, if somewhat cynical and self-serving. In 1939 Atlanta was mainly white. Today blacks in the city proper outnumber whites two to one, and nostalgia for the Confederacy doesn't really cut it.

Atlanta mayor Andy Young and his wife were the *only blacks* to attend a Tara ball in nearby College Park, where Confederate army officer uniforms were worn in abundance. (Confederate officers were drawn from the plantation elite and these "fine cultured gentlemen" after the war formed the core of the KKK.) Dressed in a tux and looking out of sorts, Young stated that *Gone With the Wind* was really about "the triumph of people over war, and I think I can celebrate because the nation is united. Atlanta can celebrate because it is united racially." Try and tell that to the poor Atlanta blacks who live in the hellhole of the Perry Homes "township." Not for nothing did Martin Luther King nickname Andy Young "Tom" for his proclivity to bow before white supremacists. And it is the Andrew Youngs, Harold Washingtons and Jesse Jacksons who tie black people to the Democrats, the historic party of white supremacists and segregationists.

Hail William Tecumseh Sherman!

This national celebration of Mitchell's celebration of the Confederacy is being played against the backdrop of Reagan's America. The Reagan regime is backing South African apartheid slavery and the Klan-like contra terrorists in Nicaragua—all in the name of hatred of the Soviet Union. Since the daylight murders of five leftists by the Klan/Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979, racist terror has been resurgent across the country. On June 14, a dozen KKKers were driven out of the integrated Five Points neighborhood in Atlanta, but two weeks later the lynchers were spewing their calls for racist terror in Chicago. The gains of the civil rights movement have been eroded or reversed. In a sense the Civil War is still being fought out. And a prime target of the slavery-lovers' ire is Union General William Tecumseh Sherman.

Sherman's great march through Georgia, the final blow that broke the back of the Confederacy, a march that gathered an army of 25,000 former slaves in its wake, is portrayed in *Gone With the Wind* as a barbaric conquest of a rebellious and heroic people (the white Confederates). The destruction wrought by Sherman's army is portrayed as an orgy of wanton burning and looting, the explanation for it being that the Yankees were not "gentlemen"—unlike the largely illiterate slaveowners—and thus had no moral standards! Atlanta, an important Confederate communications and supply center, *was* largely razed to the ground. Sherman *destroyed* the social base of the slavocracy, leaving nothing to defend. From Atlanta to Savannah, he burned the cotton and freed the slaves.

The era of Reconstruction as portrayed in *Gone With the Wind* is of a piece with the other racist lies in the novel. Reconstruction, the book says, was "half a nation attempting, at the point of a bayonet, to force upon the other half the rule of negroes, many

continued on page 9

Hail General William Tecumseh Sherman's Liberation of Georgia!

Library of Congress

Library of Congress

Union General Sherman (left) broke back of Confederacy in his march from Atlanta to Savannah in late 1864.

San Salvador Phone Workers Appeal for International Solidarity

We have reported in the last two issues of WV on the courageous struggle by the 1,200 technicians of the Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers Association (ASTTEL). On June 16, Bay Area phone workers taped an appeal by strike leader Carlos Bernal, head of the technical section of ASTTEL, for international solidarity. We print below excerpts from Bernal's message:

I am a member of ASTTEL, the phone workers' union at the telephone company in El Salvador. Right now we are confronting a difficult situation in our country, because of the economic measures that the government is trying to implement this year.

We know that your union is currently on strike, and is demanding better salaries and working conditions. We give you our solidarity. Our organization gives you all our support, for you to get a satisfactory solution to your strike. And whatever we can do to help you, communicate it to us and we will do whatever we can.

Today we had a successful three-hour strike, which received the participation of about 3,800 workers. We would like to announce to you that today Ricardo Lazo, who is in charge of the union's publicity, was threatened. Men in plainclothes went to his house, manhandled his wife, and left him a message that he was going to be assassinated.

Last Wednesday, four women union members were threatened, among them the compañera in charge of union finances. I am being threatened with death constantly; they beat up my wife after threatening me with death, and they attacked my children (ages four and six). At this time there are 26 of us who have been threatened with death.

All of these things have made it so that we do not have stable residences. We're sleeping in motels, in friends' houses, to try to hang on a little longer. But this has not stopped us, and today we gave an answer. Despite this type of threats, the work action was extremely positive and encouraging for the coordination of future activities.

Venceremos

San Salvador telephone workers stand up to Duarte's "death squad democracy," May Day 1986.

Bernal explained that Monday's work stoppage came after a 51-day strike that began April 15, in response to the company's refusal to respond to union demands for payment of wage raises won in a previous strike.

On April 19, four days after we decided on the strike, the Ministry of Labor declared the strike "illegal." We first had a 48-hour strike. The day after the strike, when people were returning to work, the phone buildings were surrounded by troops. So all the technical area decided not to go in; we stayed out of the building but in front of it.

The next day they made us move a few meters away from the building; we stayed there about two weeks. Then they told us to get away from there, to go about two blocks from the building, so people couldn't see us. They tried to carry out psychological repression against the employees.

We took our demands to the press, and we got the support of other labor organizations in the country. While we were trying to get a solution to this conflict, six of our technical delegates were fired. Then we went to the Legislative Assembly, we went to the church, we went to the American embassy and talked to the man in charge of negotiations at the embassy, Francis Callan.

We went to the general staff of the armed forces. They said they had to consult with the president [José Napoleón Duarte]. But at that time the president was on a tour of Latin America proclaiming democracy in El Salvador, something which does not exist. The man at the American embassy told us to make contact with members of a union here which only represents the government party.

On May 30, we made an offer to the company administration. They said they didn't want to "negotiate under pressure." So we said, "OK, we'll suspend the strike and enter into real negotiations." But their answer to this offer was to fire 12 more technicians. On June 5, we decided to go back, because we didn't want more people to be sacrificed. We went in, we said we wanted a dialogue. They said the return of the fired compañeros was not negotiable, it was decreed by the government.

I will explain some of the repression against us during this strike. There is a compañera who works as an international operator, she's about five months pregnant. One of the commandants of the building accused her of threatening people to make them participate in the strike, something which is not true. She was forced to leave the building with another compañera. They decided to support the strike, and they didn't go inside, because the only way to go in was to sign a paper promising the company that they wouldn't participate in this kind of activities.

Speaking of other recent strikes, Bernal noted: We analyzed that we are a skilled workforce, and that's why we didn't have the same direct aggression against us. We have built a big union in the technical area of the phone company, something that is not going to be destroyed very easily. We're going to continue fighting until we get what we're demanding. We want to emphasize that we fought for 51 days, and we're still fighting inside the buildings, because people are only working at about 10 percent of usual capacity.

During the strike, 20 of us were fired by the company; eight have been suspended for 30 days. Practically anyone who demands better living conditions and benefits is being repressed. We have 20 people fired, so we need money for them. We are collecting money in all the company buildings. This is a millionaire company, we don't know why they won't solve our problem. We want to let you know that the management helps the army. The head of the company is an army officer. They support the costs of the war.

What we want from you is for you to give us your solidarity with our struggle. What we were trying to implement was a labor boycott of communications through El Salvador, because this is a good way of pressuring the government. We have already talked with union representatives in Italy and Guatemala. What we really need is economic aid, because dollars are very important here. We're trying to make up the salaries of the people who were fired. ■

Bay Area Phone Strikers Stand With Salvadoran Class Brothers

On June 17, the Oakland, California local of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), on strike against AT&T, passed the following motion backing phone workers in El Salvador who have heroically struck against U.S.-imposed "death squad democracy":

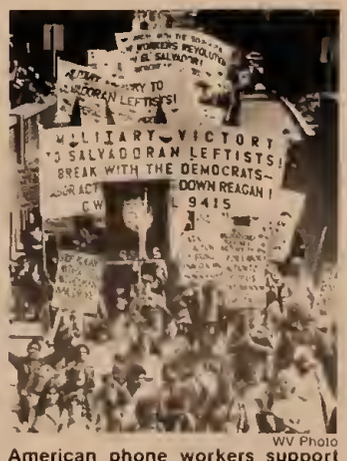
> "CWA Local 9415 supports the struggle of the Salvadoran phone workers' union, ASTTEL. Braving death threats, mass firings and military repression, these courageous workers recently carried out a 51-day strike, and on June 16th staged a 3-hour strike. We demand that ASTTEL's just demands be met, and that the 20 fired and 8 suspended ASTTEL members be reinstated immediately. Stop the reign of terror against ASTTEL! We hereby donate $100 to ASTTEL. Copies of this motion will be sent by telegram to the president and manager of the Salvadoran phone company."

The motion, presented by Militant Action Caucus member Steven John, was passed overwhelmingly by this largely black and Hispanic local. In addition, $315 has been raised in contributions from Bay Area phone workers for their embattled Salvadoran brothers and sisters.

In a taped message of solidarity to the Oakland union, Carlos Bernal, head of the ASTTEL technicians division, told of the savage conditions they are facing at the hands of the U.S.-installed Duarte regime and the American-financed military. Bernal stressed the urgency of international aid for the fired strikers. Earlier on the 17th, workers at a Pacific Bell central office stopped work to listen to Bernal's message.

The Oakland CWA has more than once demonstrated militant solidarity with Salvadoran workers. In 1981, the local passed a MAC motion to oppose Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive and march in an El Salvador protest under slogans including: "U.S.—Hands off El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba!" and "No negotiations—Military victory to Salvadoran leftists!" The resolution also called for labor action to stop U.S. intervention, hot-cargoing military goods to El Salvador and other Central American dictatorships, and a break with both the Democrats and Republicans.

In 1982, militant phone workers joined a Spartacist League protest against a San Francisco conference by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), brainchild of CWA founder Joe Beirne. The Militant



WV Photo

American phone workers support Salvadoran leftist insurgents, Oakland, 1982.

Action Caucus has carried out a 15-year struggle against this notorious CIA "labor" front, and in May of this year Local 9415 voted that "under no circumstances will this Local ever donate a cent of its funds to Operation South America," as the CWA calls its AIFLD program.

For "progressive" union bureaucrats, who zealously enforced the "two-gate" scabherding policy during the recent strike, such motions are intended as face-saving gestures. The class-struggle militants of MAC, however, are fighting to oust the whole pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy, which has shackled the unions at home and instead of international solidarity pushes chauvinist protectionism, union-busting and anti-communist coups abroad.

American labor must act now to defend their fellow Salvadoran unionists who are fighting for their livelihoods and their very lives. Brother Bernal has asked that telegrams be sent to Coronel e Ingeniero Julio César Gómez and Coronel y Dr. Mauricio Daniel Vides Casanova, president and manager of ANTEL, the Salvadoran phone company, Telex 20014; and to the Switching Department of ANTEL, Telex 2011, El Salvador. We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* to send contributions and telegrams of support to: Carlos Bernal, c/o FENASTRAS, Avenida 29 de Agosto, Plaza Barrios, San Salvador, El Salvador. ■

Guerrillas Take Army Base, Workers Battle Duarte

El Salvador: For a Workers and Peasants Government!

On June 19, some 500 guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) overran the headquarters of the Salvadoran army's Third Infantry Brigade in the city of San Miguel, the third largest in the country. The attack was carried out by four battalions of the Rafael Arce Zablah Brigade of the FMLN. The guerrillas reported at least 253 army casualties—dead and wounded—while the army admitted that 57 soldiers were killed. Five U.S. "military advisers" on the base were reportedly unharmed (presumably they hid under their beds during the attack).

The guerrilla assault in the middle of a city of 150,000 was a sharp blow to the army, giving the lie to their claims that they are mopping up the insurgents. The FMLN units held the base for more than four hours, capturing hundreds of arms and reportedly damaging three helicopters. In addition they knocked out the main power station, blacking out the city. The next day the leftist rebels followed up their successful attack by ordering a transport stoppage which effectively shut down eastern El Salvador. Prior to the San Miguel attack, UPI (17 June) reported that the Salvadoran leftist rebels had reestablished themselves on the strategic Guazapa volcano 12 miles north of the capital, representing a "major victory" for the FMLN.

This was the largest guerrilla attack since the October 1985 assault on the Salvadoran military training base in La Unión, with more than 200 government casualties. The FMLN also struck an effective blow at the government forces in May by shooting down a transport plane carrying a large number of the military's aircraft maintenance mechanics. Meanwhile, in the fighting in the hills, the army has been taking heavy losses. The government itself reports 477 dead and 2,488 injured during the last 12 months, while the independent SALPRESS news agency lists 6,243 army losses in 1985 (*Boletin Semanal Centroamericano*, 16 December 1985). That is a casualty rate of a staggering *15 percent* per year.

Barricada

Salvadoran leftist guerrillas humiliate U.S. puppet army.

And that was *before* the San Miguel attack. In a military balance sheet published by the FMLN's *Venceremos* (March-April 1986), the guerrillas note that a large part of the government injuries were due to mines. Since the American advisers insist on keeping the army in the field, marching up and down unfamiliar backwoods paths, "the FMLN has transformed the army's strategy into its best ally in defeating it."

Venceremos

May Day in San Salvador: A massive display of workers' combativity. Salvadoran proletariat must fight for power if it is not to be crushed by right-wing terror.

Duarte's "Dialogue"

President José Napoleón Duarte ended his June 2 "state of the nation" speech marking two years in office by calling for renewal of "dialogue" with the FMLN guerrillas and their liberal allies of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). This reflected the growing pressure of the stalemate on the battlefield and the rising wave of labor protests in the streets of the capital (see "El Salvador Workers Face Showdown," *WV* No. 405, 6 June). In repeated mobilizations, tens of thousands of workers have raised the call for "dialogue," in addition to demanding the end of the U.S.-ordered austerity program, a key component of the war economy.

Militant labor struggles are continuing in the face of savage repression. After one month of a sit-down strike, workers at the Confitería Americana candy factory won their demands, including removal of a phantom company union affiliated to the "American Institute for Free Labor Development." Another factory occupation, at the IUSA textile plant, was brutally smashed by the National Guard, causing a pregnant striker to suffer a miscarriage (*Proceso* [San Salvador], 11 June). Also, several postal union leaders were recently arrested. But when the police captured Roberto Antonio Prieto, general secretary of the water workers union, SETA, on June 17 the entire workforce walked out, demanding as well the rehiring of 230 workers fired for striking last year.

The FDR and FMLN accepted Duarte's proposed "dialogue," asking that the palaver be held in San Salvador and calling on "all sectors of the nation" to turn the talks into a "real advance toward peace with justice and dignity." With the unions already on battle footing and a deep yearning for peace in this war-ravaged land, there could indeed be mass mobilizations for "real dialogue." The last time around, the talks at La Palma in October 1984 were a propaganda victory for Duarte, allowing this overseer of death squad terror to claim he stands for peace. But Duarte has lost virtually his entire social base. Already the *pro*-government UNOC labor federation and the right-wing National Conciliation Party have agreed to the FMLN's call to broaden the "dialogue."

Today any mobilizations will be overwhelmingly anti-government. But what then? The White House, alarmed generals and ultrarightist oligarchs will put the squeeze on Duarte to call off the talks, threatening a coup to keep the charade from getting out of hand. The question of power is posed. And what's to negotiate, after all? The professional assassins of the Salvadoran security forces and U.S. puppet Duarte will not and cannot share power with the guerrillas any more than their counterparts in Saigon did during the Vietnam War. Those who seek to deliver El Salvador from the rule of the landowner-capitalist oligarchy and their military guard dogs must fight for *military victory to the leftist rebels.*

For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!

We are approaching a showdown when the treachery of the FDR/FMLN's call for a "negotiated solution" to the civil war will be sharply revealed. The government has said the FMLN's dramatic military actions are only a show of strength aimed at the upcoming "peace" talks. Lamentably, that is true. The rebels' Radio Venceremos vows, "We will never lay down our arms, either before a political solution or as the result of one." But last December, the FDR/FMLN called for a "political solution" that pointedly did *not* include ousting Duarte. And now rumors are circulating of a guerrilla offer of a long-term truce while negotiations continue and proposals for a legal FDR political party. So when the task of the hour is to bring out the masses to sweep away the U.S. puppet regime, the guerrilla *comandantes* will urge Duarte to join them in an "anti-coup" front!

Yet a revolutionary opportunity is opening up throughout Central America. El Salvador has historically had the most class-conscious proletariat north of Bolivia and Chile. Half a century ago, this tiny country was the site of the first Communist-led insurrection in Latin America, led by Farabundo Marti. More recently, only six years ago, San Salvador was repeatedly shaken by general strikes and demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of workers. Today the FMLN guerrillas have shown military capacity and enduring popular support, and the urban workers movement has recovered from the massacres of 1980-81 which forced the unions underground. A revolutionary working-class offensive against IMF-style austerity and in defense of Sandinista Nicaragua could set the entire isthmus aflame.

This moment will not last. If the workers do not fight for power, the repression will escalate and there will be new bloodbaths. The Salvadoran proletariat can become the leader of the oppressed nation, fighting for a workers and peasants government. But for the workers to seize San Salvador, supported by bold guerrilla actions such as the seizure of the San Miguel army base, requires a sharp *political* struggle against the petty-bourgeois guerrillaists (who settle internal disputes by "liquidating" their rivals) and simple trade unionists, who are "united" in pushing suicidal illusions in a "negotiated solution" with the death squads, their capitalist masters and Yankee godfathers. A Bolshevik vanguard, forged on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, is the key to a victorious *proletarian* solution to the bloody civil war.

A socialist revolution beginning in Central America and spreading through Mexico, presently in deep crisis, would quickly affect the United States itself—as everyone in Washington is well aware. American revolutionaries have a special responsibility to provide effective solidarity by fighting a *class* struggle against their "own" rapacious bourgeoisie, the main enemy of all mankind. If this opportunity is lost, if union struggles in El Salvador are limited to raising hell in the cities as the guerrillas are doing in the countryside, the tragic results will be felt throughout the Americas. ■

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

In the streets of Crossroads, a squatter settlement of 100,000-200,000 on the outskirts of Cape Town, the Botha regime has incited black vigilante squads to attack the homes of militant leaders. With the complicity of the police and with police-supplied arms and Molotov cocktails, systematically the residents were burned out, and today bulldozers plow through what remains of the homes that had been established by these people, to drive them out of Cape Town.

Nevertheless, one gets the picture of a regime that is striking out in different directions, pursuing contradictory policies, unsure of itself, a regime that has lost its nerve. And this is not belied by the present draconian police powers, which are almost absurd in their authoritarian measures. Now there is no judicial review of anything the police do, whether they shoot down youth on the streets, or detain, torture and kill. This is a license to torture, a license to kill, that has been enshrined now in the official register of the South African government.

It is even considered "subversive" to comment on these measures, or on anything that the government is doing in the present crackdown. On TV news today they showed a picture of the *Sowetan*, which is the major black newspaper in South Africa. It's actually quite conservative. The front page had big blank spaces where it would normally report what's actually going on. Then Pretoria's "Minister of Information," as in Orwell's *1984*, gets on TV and says, "Maybe we'll have to declare these white spaces subversive too"!

Peters/Newsweek

"State of emergency" gives South African police license to kill and torture. It is criminally "subversive" even to report on "emergency" measures.

Nevertheless, all of these measures—the killing of over 1,900, mainly black youth, the endless detentions and torture of thousands more, including now major trade-union, nationalist and community leaders—have not quelled the revolt at all. There has been a breakdown in the coherence of the apartheid regime, which does *not* mean that this regime has lost its bloodlust. There are plenty of would-be Hitlers in the racist apartheid police state. More than one third of the white electorate supports parties *to the right* of the ultrarightist Nationalist Party that is governing the country. There are plenty of people who would like to carry out a racist holocaust to silence the present level of black revolt.

But the present situation very much resembles what Lenin said in *"Left-Wing" Communism*:

> "The fundamental law of revolution, which has been confirmed by all revolutions and especially by all three Russian revolutions in the twentieth century, is as follows: for a revolution to take place it is not enough for the exploited and oppressed masses to realise the impossibility of living in the old way, and demand changes; for a revolution to take place it is essential that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way."

And that seems to be the case in South Africa today—a prerevolutionary situation. The masses—as demonstrated by this picture of a black youth standing before the red flag of the October Revolution—desire not only revolution but communism insofar as they understand it (which is not much) and solidarize, insofar as they know about it, with the Russian Revolution of 1917, which freed the Russian "prison house of peoples" from tsarist absolutism and capitalist exploitation.

Gubb/JB Pictures

Black militants defiantly raise red flag of communism at funeral of anti-apartheid fighter Peter Nchabeleng, killed in police detention.

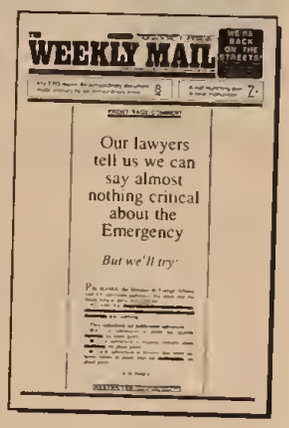
For Permanent Revolution in South Africa!

But for such a revolution to triumph it needs a Bolshevik party such as Lenin and Trotsky built, and this does *not* now exist in South Africa. What are the program and prospects for South African Bolshevism?

One of the crucial lessons of the Russian October Revolution is the genuine solution to the national and democratic tasks in countries that represent uneven and combined development, that combine, for example, the tribalism and forced retribalization of the bantustan with the advanced industry and modern technology of an imperialist power that you see in South Africa. To solve these questions requires the conquest of power by the proletariat leading and reconstructing the oppressed nation.

Let us take just one elementary democratic demand that you will see no nationalist or other group on the left raise in the context of South Africa. In the United States, in Europe, in Sri Lanka, wherever the question arises, the Spartacist tendency demands full citizenship rights for foreign workers. If you work there and contribute to the wealth of the country, certainly you deserve all the rights of full citizenship. In South Africa *every* black worker is treated as a foreign worker, stripped of every democratic, civil and human right.

But this is particularly the case for the migrant workers from the bantustans and from countries like Lesotho, Botswana and Mozambique. The demand of full citizenship for foreign workers necessarily cuts through nationalism because it addresses the question of the relationship of South Africa to the rest of the continent, and the fact that the South African black proletariat and particularly the strategically placed miners are the powerhouse for the emancipation of all sub-Saharan Africa.



And this is why Trotsky's program of the dictatorship of the proletariat to reconstruct the oppressed nation is so very powerful in the South African framework. But the problem is, as we wrote in an article last year ["South Africa: Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985]: "The black proletariat is still being used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism." Mainly the ANC (African National Congress). This was clearly seen in the formation last December of the half-million-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions, whose president, Elijah Barayi, is an old ANC militant.

The ANC came up with a strategy of making the townships "ungovernable," after they were already ungovernable, and of making apartheid unworkable after it had already been shown to be unworkable. It also conducts a campaign of guerrilla warfare, which requires tremendous heroism and shows that they have a very powerful degree of support within the country. Insofar as this guerrillaism is aimed at military targets, we hail it. But the guerrillaism has taken a sinister turn, with so-called "soft" targets, including civilian white populations, such as in the Durban bombings on Christmas and recently. And this is to be condemned. It does not serve the oppressed, it serves the oppressor, to harden the white population and disorganize the masses.

But this guerrillaism is only incidental to the strategy of the ANC, which is to pressure the more "liberal" sections of the English-speaking capitalists represented by Gavin Relly. We're talking about a man who controls one half the Johannesburg stock exchange and is the principal benefactor of apartheid super-exploitation, for which thousands of blacks give their lives and thousands are permanently maimed yearly. The strategy of the ANC in this regard was laid out quite clearly by its publicity director, Thabo Mbeki, earlier this year:

> "If we can mobilize them and form some kind of alliance with them [that is, South African businessmen and other white liberals], then we are talking not of overthrowing the government but of turning so many people against it that it would be forced to do what Ian Smith had to do."

Namely, in Rhodesia, culminating in the Lancaster Agreement of 1979 when Zimbabwe became simply another neocolonial member of the British Commonwealth with black faces in high places. White capitalists actually saw their investments made more secure by a black-run regime that suppressed workers with more savage labor legislation than is seen even in the apartheid police state itself, and a regime that has conducted a tribalist war against the minority peoples of Zimbabwe.

The point is that we need today in South Africa a party like the Bolsheviks built. We need such a party because it is only through a revolution like occurred in Russia in which those who labor rule, in which those who produce the wealth own the wealth, that the social surplus can be devoted to the socialist reconstruction of society. South Africa does not have to go the way of Zimbabwe and the other African neocolonial regimes. I just read in Saturday's *New York Times* about the Sudan, a country wracked by famine, by racial war between the Islamic north and black south in which over a million people died a decade ago. The result was that the Sudan is now an "Islamic republic." This article described the situation of amputated beggars who go about reviled by society because they tried to steal, or were accused of stealing, a loaf of bread. This does not have to be the future of South Africa, which has the industrial power, the mineral resources, the wealth created by many of the peoples of southern Africa, to build a just society that can emancipate all of southern Africa.

So what needs to be done? Trotsky stated: "...in the conditions [in South Africa] of an approaching political crisis, there must be created special illegal nuclei of the party apparatus..., The most important form of the illegal or semilegal work of revolutionaries is the work in mass organizations, particularly in the trade unions." This was said 50 years ago and these tasks are long overdue.

The black African trade unions began in the aftermath of the [Russian] October Revolution, inspired by that revolution and by the Industrial Workers of the World in the United States. It was initiated by people like S.P. Bunting,

South Africa: Razor's Edge

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who later became a Communist, who would talk often in halls like this in Johannesburg, to multiracial but largely black audiences. And he would ask them, "What do you want?" Their answer would be: *"Sifuna zonke"*—everything. It is time to begin the construction of the party so that those who have toiled so long can have what is rightfully theirs: everything.

Divestment and Imperialist Hypocrisy

In his talk, "Avenge Soweto—Workers to Power!", Reuben Shiffman exposed and denounced the hypocrisy of American imperialist politicians and spokesmen who call for divestment and economic sanctions against South Africa. During the discussion period this provoked a young black activist to question whether on the issue of divestment we did not end up on the same side as Reagan, Thatcher and the other right-wing friends of the apartheid state. Following are portions of the talk and summary remarks which address this question.

* * * * *

They had a big march for sanctions on June 14th. Here's a demonstration that takes off from Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza, a plaza named after one of the people who was principally responsible for the assassination of one of Africa's most eminent black nationalists, Patrice Lumumba. I propose that after a socialist revolution in this country, we rename that square Patrice Lumumba Plaza. And they marched around for five miles in the hot sun to hear Ed Koch talk about fighting apartheid!

Yesterday Congress passed a bill calling for economic sanctions against South Africa as part of a campaign of pressure on Botha to behave himself. What's going on here is Congress is trying to save South African capitalism from a regime that seems to be losing control. It's that simple. "Get it under control!" That's the message. Whether it comes from Reagan (remember "constructive engagement"?) or from the sanctimonious sanctions people in Congress, the message is the same, to save South Africa from the civil war it so desperately needs.

This is what we call the contra Congress. This Congress recently lifted the Clark Amendment, which is just kicking over a stone so you know what's actually happening in Angola. So now we know the CIA's been sending millions all along to UNITA—South Africa's contras in Angola—who are held at bay only by the Soviet-backed Cuban troops. It's all in pursuit of the anti-Soviet war drive. In Angola the not-so-Cold War is the struggle between apartheid enslavement and national independence.

This is the same Congress that, after the United States bombed and raped and pillaged and murdered two million people in Vietnam, voted to continue this country's economic boycott of Vietnam. If sanctions are such a powerful demand, then why didn't the antiwar movement in the '60s and '70s—which included many of the anti-apartheid liberals running around today—say: "This is genocidal what the United States is doing in Vietnam—let us have a boycott of America!" But you didn't hear anybody say that. Then they might not be able to buy a color TV or something, right? It's a ridiculous demand if you think about it.

When this country was formed, when the white man came to this country, they killed the native population through genocide, unlike in South Africa where the white population exploited the native population. The United States has been able to *export* its colonialism and to ravage and exploit South Africa, the Philippines and other countries around the world, so you don't have to see it up close. With one exception: it imported black slaves from Africa. The black question in this country—that is the link with South Africa and the rest of the African continent. What racist hypocrisy for people in this country to appeal to, of all people, Ronald Reagan!

Campbell/Sygma

Strategically placed gold miners, the key value producers for apartheid capitalism.

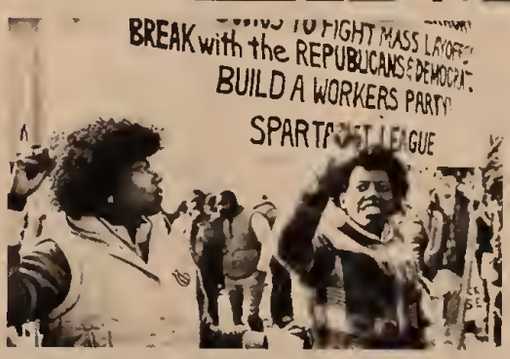
But let's take some of the alternatives to Ronald Reagan running around out there. How about Wilson Goode? He didn't need emergency regulations to bomb black Philadelphia and to hold the victims of that bombing in prison to this day. Koch's killer cops do not need emergency regulations to kill black youth on the streets of New York and torture them in the stun-gun precincts out in Queens. In the United States the killing still goes on, it's just not written into the law...yet. Although with Rehnquist as chief of the Supreme Court, I wouldn't place any bets. The kind of society that Ronald Reagan is trying to create is not all that unlike South Africa. To take black society, to push it into the townships, into the ghettos of hopelessness and despair, where it can easily be sealed off and given the Philadelphia treatment.

blacks. We were determined to see that the Klan was not going to march. We got behind that proposition major labor unions throughout the mid-Atlantic area. And we were able to build a demonstration, with substantial assistance from them and from the black community in Washington, of more than 5,000 people, who stopped the Klan from marching. That was a big victory.

We organized that demonstration against not only the forces behind Reagan but the forces of the Democrats, especially the black Democrats, the Walter Fauntroys of the Free South Africa Movement, who told blacks to stay away from this demonstration and organized alternative soup kitchens. But black people in Washington, many of them recently from the South, knew all too well what the Klan meant and they turned out to stop them. And that demonstration then took the purported Klan route and turned it into an anti-racist victory march. They marched up to Lafayette Park in front of the White House, where Reagan had hoped to stage this Klan march while he was chatting with—guess who?—South African foreign minister Pik Botha! It was a triumphal march in which, as comrade Al Nelson said, we did not see white sheets, only the red flag of revolution.

WV Photos

For workers struggle against racist terror from South Africa to the U.S.: Bay Area longshore union militants picket ship carrying South African cargo, November 1984 (right).



Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by SL, stopped Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982.

What is lacking here in the United States, and also lacking in South Africa, is a Bolshevik party, the general staff of the social revolution that this country so desperately needs. The demonstration—at least in embryo—of the capacity of such a party was November 27, 1982. The Ku Klux Klan announced, since their candidate was in the White House, they were going to celebrate in the streets of Washington. This is the nation's capital and a largely black city. The declared aim of the Klan march was to kick out the immigrants, a key question in this country as well as in South Africa. But everyone knew, it's the Klan, they're really targeting the

The Divestment Hoax

We often hear from militants: "Reagan's against sanctions, Thatcher's against sanctions, Botha's against sanctions, apartheid's paid tribal chief Buthelezi is against sanctions, and you're against sanctions. So that's strange company to keep." What's really going on here in terms of this sanctions debate?

First of all, divestment is taking place massively in South Africa, and Reagan does not object one bit. Last year alone 38 U.S. businesses pulled out of South Africa. Every bank now refuses to make loans to South Africa, and this is not because of the great appeal of the Free South Africa Movement to the moral conscience of the American imperialist ruling class. They know a shaky investment when they see one. If the regime is able to impose a silence upon this revolt as it did in the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, all of this investment will be rushing back into the country.

After Sharpeville you had this same hand-wringing. World opinion was horrified. They all went to the UN and expressed their moral indignation by passing a total sanction on military goods to South Africa. There has been a total ban imposed by members of the UN on shipping military goods to South Africa since 1963. In that period South Africa has become not only the strongest military power on the African continent but has become a major *exporter* of arms. How has this happened? Instead of shipping South Africa guns and planes, they were shipped the means to make guns and planes. The capitalists went on doing business with South Africa just as they always had. And South Africa went on defending imperialism throughout the African continent just as it always had.

You notice what was *excluded* from the recent Congressional ban—the only thing that really matters to America, which is strategic minerals. Because that's for the war drive! That's to make the world "free," like South Africa. The major thing the "free world" gets out of South Africa—80 percent of its exports—are minerals. And that's excluded from this whole ban.

The point is, you have this mammoth hypocrisy here, the attempt to give a democratic façade to American imperialism. Some people just feel a greater pressure to fool the masses and other people feel a greater pressure simply to use the whip and the bullet to suppress the masses. And this is the debate that is going on now in South Africa and the United States. We say the proletariat has no interest in enhancing the image of this imperialist ruling class. For us, progressive divestment is when the oppressed South African toilers, who have created this wealth, "divest" their own ruling class and the imperialists of Britain, Germany and especially this country of that wealth.

You have a situation in South Africa now which is prerevolutionary, and which is centered on black labor. Well, there are as many blacks in the United States as there are in South Africa, and they're overwhelmingly linked to or concentrated in the industrial working class. They are a powerhouse for social revolution in this country. So what happens in South Africa has tremendous impact on what happens in the United States.

The United States was defeated and humiliated in Vietnam. That was a tremendous victory for the Vietnamese people, but it was a shot heard throughout the world. That victory inspired and spurred on the movement for independence in Angola and Mozambique, which in turn sparked a revolution within the metropolitan country, Portugal. This laid the basis for the courageous Soweto uprising. The conditions for that uprising already existed, but the inspiration came through the heroic struggle of the Angolans and Cubans and their humiliation of what had appeared up to then to be an invincible power, South Africa.

The greatest support we can give to the black struggle for freedom in South Africa is to struggle for black freedom and socialist revolution here in the United States. We need more victories like November 27, 1982. But to do that we need to build the party that brought that victory, an internationalist party dedicated to building sections of the revolutionary vanguard in every country, to carry out their duty to the world proletariat. ■

Contra Congress...

(continued from page 1)

resolution"—the open-ended motion used by Johnson and Nixon as the "legal" basis for the U.S.' dirty war on Vietnam. Ever since World War II, American imperialism has had trouble getting popular support for its Third World military adventures. The Korean War was ordered by Truman as a "police action." As we predicted, the White House got its "Green Light to Invade Nicaragua" (*WV* No. 400, 28 March). But while Reagan may win in Congress, his mercenaries are losing on the battlefield in Nicaragua where they face an armed people determined to defend their revolution.

Meanwhile, two days after the House vote, the World Court in The Hague, Netherlands voted by 12-to-3 to condemn the United States for the CIA's mining of Nicaraguan harbors and U.S. financing of "covert" aggression by the contras. After all of Reagan's lying bluster condemning Libya and Nicaragua as "terrorists," this verdict that the number one imperialist power is the real "outlaw government" naturally got short shrift in the American media. And then, amid all the Reaganite cheering in Washington over Congressional approval of war on Nicaragua, it was revealed (*Newsweek*, 7 July) that the Central Intelligence Agency is preparing to rush *$400 million* in "covert" military aid to its Somozaist puppets.

"To war you respond with war," Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega told a crowd of 20,000 in Managua. He added: "He who loves Nicaragua... let him stay. Those who love the contras and Reagan... let them go to Miami, let them go to Reagan." The crowd responded with chants of *"Aquí, allá, el yanqui morirá"* (Here, there, everywhere, Yankees will die). Over the last year, the Sandinista army has creamed the contras repeatedly. At the end of March, they penetrated to the center of a mercenary base in the Honduran border area, killing hundreds of contras. But wiping out the contras' "fifth column" will take more than military action. Within Nicaragua, several capitalist parties, powerful businessmen's associations, the Catholic hierarchy under "contra cardinal" Obando y Bravo, and media outlets for counterrevolutionary propaganda have operated with impunity.

The day after the House vote for contra aid, the Sandinista government ordered the indefinite closure of *La Prensa*, mouthpiece of the contras' internal front. "If the government of the United States rushes openly to attack us, what is left for us," he asked, but to put a stop to the actions of "those who are no more than tools of the U.S. government's terrorist policy," White House spokesmen predictably condemned this long-overdue action as an attack on "freedom of the press." They did not mention that *La Prensa* has called for approval of the arms aid to the CIA mercenaries who wage a terrorist war on the Nicaraguan people, nor that this enemy organ has been financed with $100,000 from the U.S. government's "National Endowment for Democracy."

"To war you respond with war"... and to counterrevolution with revolution. The closure of *La Prensa* must be the signal for revolutionary action to expropriate the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. It makes little sense to silence the voice of the internal contras while leaving their tremendous economic power intact. But it is no less absurd to talk of a socialist revolution solely within the confines of Nicaragua, a largely peasant country of barely three million people. Not only must the contras be driven from their lairs in Honduras and Costa Rica; Nicaragua must link up with the Salvadoran workers and peasants in their civil war against the U.S.-imposed regime, and with the powerful Mexican proletariat. Not Sandinista nationalism, but the Trotskyist internationalist program of permanent revolution is key to victory in Central America.

Nicaragua: Target of the Anti-Soviet War Drive

The approval of contra military aid was "the crossing-the-Rubicon vote," "a turning point," "a policy that will become irretrievable and irreversible for many years to come," commented Congressmen on both sides of the aisle. This "giant bipartisan effort," as Reagan called it, is based on more than just Democratic capitulation. Liberals and conservatives are united by their commitment to a war drive aimed at restoring U.S. imperialist power after its humiliating defeat in Vietnam. They may have tactical differences, but their common enemy is the Soviet Union—Reagan's "evil empire"—the homeland of the October Revolution, and the military and industrial powerhouse of the third of the globe where capitalist rule has been abolished.

Last March, Republican leader Robert Michel declared, "Yes, it is a dog-gone confrontation between East and West, and don't you ever forget it." Democrat Claude Pepper agreed: "We will not tolerate communism to be the dominant character of the state in any part of the Western Hemisphere.... We are saying we still believe in the principles of the Monroe Doctrine"—that is, the U.S.' arrogant imperial claim to run Latin America as its "backyard." As Brooklyn Democrat Stephen Solarz put the liberals' case during the contra aid debate, the issue was "how best to deal with the Communist threat in Central America, and whether we have a better chance of resolving it on the battlefield or at the negotiating table."

Franklin/Magnum

U.S. military bases in Honduras, staging area for Reagan's war on Nicaragua.

When the Great Communicator mouthes phrases off his teleprompter about Nicaragua turning into "a second Libya" or a "Soviet military beachhead on the mainland of North America," you know that the fevered imagination of Pat Buchanan, the Goebbels of the White House, has been working overtime. But when Reagan talks of fears of "a second Cuba," of a "red tide" lapping the shores of Central America, he is speaking for the entire American bourgeoisie. And this fear has been growing as Washington and Wall Street watch Mexico going down the tubes. Richard Nixon urged Congress to vote for contra aid because "Mexico is a country that is waiting for a revolution," and the same rationale was put forward by several Democrats who switched their vote between March and June. The spectre of communism on the U.S. southern border drives the American ruling class into a frenzy.

But for American revolutionaries, for workers and blacks who are the main domestic targets of the anti-Soviet war drive, militant anti-imperialist solidarity with the tumultuous struggles beyond the Rio Grande can play a powerful role in sparking class struggle in Reagan's America. Not pressuring the Mexican bourgeoisie or imperialist liberals but building Trotskyist parties, from Central America to the U.S., is key to stopping the bipartisan war machine. Bay Area phone workers' support for their Salvadoran brothers and sisters in the face of death squad terror, described on page four of this issue, should point the way for all American labor.

Anti-Imperialism Abroad, Class Struggle at Home

As Yankee imperialism, with bipartisan support, moves ever closer to a direct military assault on Nicaragua, the Central American "solidarity" milieu becomes ever more invisible. Who ever hears about CISPES these days, for example? Only a few years ago tens of thousands marched in opposition to Reagan's policies in Central America. But not now. Why? Because the rad-libs and reformists are nothing but the "left" tail on the Democratic donkey, and the Democrats are increasingly marching to the drumbeat of Reagan's war against the "Soviet menace" in Central America. So the popular front has shifted over to South Africa, where they are demanding that the U.S. pressure the white-supremacist regime to dismantle apartheid. This is much more acceptable in the eyes of American rulers these days as even the Reagan administration talks of high-level meetings with the African National Congress. The Sandinistas, in contrast, have been targeted for annihilation by the White House and Congress.

To defend themselves, the Sandinistas are now moving against Washington's agents in Nicaragua. Many American liberals, social democrats and self-styled radicals will denounce the closing of *La Prensa* as a violation of democratic freedoms. On the contrary, ever since they took power in 1979, the petty-bourgeois Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has been far *too tolerant* toward the counterrevolution. If the FSLN had kept Somoza's cutthroats behind bars instead of letting hundreds go, there would be no contras today and thousands of Nicaraguan peasants and soldiers would not have died. One only has to look at the United States' own history to put the Sandinistas' wartime repressive measures in perspective. Compared to the way Lincoln governed the Union during the American Civil War, the FSLN has governed Nicaragua like the ACLU.

In *Terrorism and Communism* (1920), written while he was leading the Red Army during the Russian Civil War, Leon Trotsky justified the Bolsheviks' suppression of counterrevolutionary opposition by noting that Lincoln placed Northern cities like Baltimore under martial law, interned without trial thousands of "copperheads" (both open Southern sympathizers and those who called for a "negotiated solution" to the war over slavery), and closed down dozens of pro-Confederate and conciliationist newspapers. Trotsky pointed out that revolutionary repressive measures are necessary not only to win a civil war, but also to buy time for the mobilization of the working class within the imperialist countries:

> "If the White Terror can only retard the historical rise of the proletariat, the Red Terror hastens the destruction of the bourgeoisie. This hastening—a pure question of acceleration—is at certain periods of decisive importance. Without the Red Terror, the Russian bourgeoisie, together with the world bourgeoisie, would throttle us long before the coming of the revolution in Europe."

Washington's contra war against Nicaragua is in a very real sense a *continuation* of Western imperialism's intervention (including a U.S. expeditionary force) into the Russian Civil War of 1918-21. Clearly the U.S. has the military capacity to invade and occupy Nicaragua, although every piece of Soviet military aid can raise the cost to the Yankee imperialists. The *decisive* factor will be the class struggle within *this* country. Central America is today the focal point of the explosive contradiction between the war drive of America's rulers and the antiwar sentiments still strong among the American people. Ronald Reagan, with Democratic Party backing, seeks to overthrow the Sandinistas as the first step in "rolling back" Soviet power globally. Yet for four straight years, the polls have shown a solid majority in the U.S. opposed to contra aid, not to speak of American combat troops. Fear of another Vietnam—a long, bloody, dirty colonial war—is very much alive in Reagan's America.

As the rad-libs and reformists abandon Nicaragua in the hour of need, it's up to the communists to organize a powerful class struggle against the main enemy at home. Only the Trotskyist program of international socialist revolution can give direction to the workers movement, black and Hispanic poor and radical student-youth in opposing the U.S. war machine. Last year, while CISPES & Co. were busy lobbying Democratic Congressmen, the Spartacus Youth League raised $25,000 for embattled Nicaragua. Material aid to Sandinista Nicaragua in the face of imperialist economic and military aggression; "hot-cargoing" military goods bound for U.S. puppet regimes and mercenaries; labor political strikes against escalation of American intervention in Central America; militant mass mobilization against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive—these are urgent tasks for the American working class. ■

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South African Treason Trial

Black Unionists Acquitted

Leaders of South African Allied Workers Union after being acquitted in treason trial in late June.

To shouts of *"Amandla!"* (Power!) four black South African trade-union leaders were acquitted June 23 of trumped-up charges of treason, which carries the death penalty, in Pietermaritzburg. After a 13-month trial the apartheid police state abandoned its attempt to convict Thozamile Gqweta, Sisa Njikelana, Sam Kikine and Isaac Ngcobo of the 30,000-member South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU). They were the last of 16 originally accused. The other 12 defendants, black and Indian leaders of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF), were acquitted in December after the prosecution's star witness, an Afrikaner political "science" professor, was demolished on the stand by defense lawyers.

Amid its "emergency" reign of terror, the apartheid regime still occasionally holds up a fig leaf of legal due process. That Pretoria did not rig the proceedings to secure hanging of the four union leaders is a sign of its wariness about throwing down the gauntlet before South Africa's burgeoning and highly combative black union movement—especially since millions of workers participated in political general strikes on both May Day and the June 16 commemoration of the Soweto uprising.

As they have done in the past, the apartheid bosses used the trial to tie up anti-apartheid fighters for an extended period. But that won't discourage heroic militants like Gqweta and Njikelana. SAAWU is based in the Eastern Cape port of East London. Its huge black township, Mdantsane, falls within the Ciskei bantustan headed by the notorious apartheid puppet and tyrant, "President for Life" Lennox Sebe. SAAWU has throughout its existence had to organize against not only the South African security police but Sebe's barbaric vigilante/cop repression.

Over a three-year period in the early eighties, Gqweta was detained eight times without trial. During one spell of detention, he was dangled by his handcuffs from the bars on a window with his face to the wall and beaten almost *daily* for three months. Gqweta narrowly escaped being burned to death when his home was burned down by arsonists. His mother and uncle died when their house was set on fire. At the funeral Gqweta's girlfriend was killed by a "stray" police bullet. After his next, six-month detention Gqweta suffered blinding migraines at the sound of an ordinary human voice.

In the face of all this, SAAWU has endured. It originated in a split from the Black Consciousness Movement, rejecting its opposition to multiracialism. SAAWU did not limit itself to narrow trade unionism, but also organized the unemployed and supported community campaigns like bus boycotts and rent strikes. In places like Mdantsane, where the black proletariat lives under tribalist bantustan despotism, the contradictions of apartheid are most acute and the imperative to working-class political action most urgent.

Yet while the SAAWU leadership sees the need to tackle some of the key tasks posed by apartheid repression, their perspective is limited to nationalist populism. Thus SAAWU was the first important union affiliate of the UDF, which subordinates the black unions to petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership, seeking through mass pressure to get Pretoria to dismantle apartheid. The burning necessity in South Africa today is to recruit black union militants to a Trotskyist party which will be what Lenin called the "tribune of the people" and fight for workers revolution to emancipate all the oppressed.

Gone With the Wind...

(continued from page 3)

New York Historical Society

Washington Post

200,000 black Union soldiers turned tide of Civil War. Anti-Klan marchers say: Finish the Civil War! It will take socialist revolution to liberate black people.

of them scarcely one generation out of the African jungles." Reconstruction governments were in the main revolutionary-democratic governments trying to forge a new anti-racist society and stamp out the old. In fact, Reconstruction was the most democratic period in the history of the South right down to the present day. For the first time blacks (and many poor whites) voted and held office. According to Margaret Mitchell: "These negroes sat in the legislature where they spent most of their time eating Goobers and easing their unaccustomed feet into and out of new shoes." The truth is that these revolutionary state legislatures built roads, instituted tax reforms, established the first public school system in the South and abolished literacy and property qualifications for the vote.

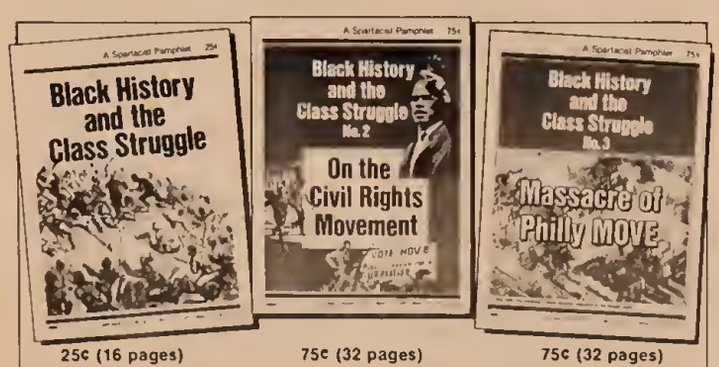
Similarly, Mitchell claims that the primary reason for the growth of the KKK was "the peril of white women... that drove Southern men to cold and trembling fury and caused the Ku Klux Klan to spring up overnight." In actuality, the Klan was a terrorist group of ex-Confederates that committed acts of murderous violence intended to keep blacks and white Republicans from voting. This racist armed terror was finally triumphant. Reconstruction ended when an increasingly conservative Northern bourgeoisie cut a deal with the Southern planters and withdrew the brave black and white troops that had guarded the voting booths and had stood between the black population and the old slavocracy.

So many brave men fought and died for a non-racist society and were betrayed in the sequel. Instead of their goal, Reconstruction was followed by the era of the robber barons, who exploited a huge wave of immigration while the blacks of America were frozen in place at the bottom. A new bourgeois order was consolidated in the South and imposed Jim Crow segregation law until it was broken by the civil rights movement three-quarters of a century later.

Gone With the Wind, the novel, appeared in the mid-1930s in a period of unremitting lynch terror in the South, symbolized by the prolonged struggle to save the Scottsboro Boys from the hangman's noose—while "liberals" like Franklin D. Roosevelt and the editor of the Atlanta *Constitution* opposed the anti-lynching law in Congress. The movie came out on the eve of World War II. The heritage of slavery and police-state oppression of blacks in the Jim Crow South belied American imperialism's fraudulent claim to be fighting for "democracy" against Nazi racism. *Gone With the Wind* shined up the tarnished image of racist America and in this way furthered Washington's mobilization for war. Attacks on the struggle for black rights have always accompanied the U.S. rulers' preparations for war.

Margaret Mitchell worshipped slave society. She grew up in a period that saw the rebirth of the Klan with the hanging of the innocent Jewish businessman Leo Frank, framed for the murder of a white girl, a period when the Klan off and on ran the Georgia state government for years. Mitchell was a reporter for the Atlanta *Constitution* in an era when Georgia was trying to crush the life out of courageous black Communist Angelo Herndon. It says a lot about Mitchell that she was ten years old by the time her family broke the news to her that the South had lost the war!

Gone With the Wind is not just another trashy Harlequin romance, a piece of escapist fluff. It is about as politically innocent as D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*, which openly glorified the Klan. It will take a third American revolution to truly finish the Civil War, set the record straight and relegate *Gone With the Wind* to the scrap heap of history. The cultural record of human emancipation will record this debunking with great relish. ■



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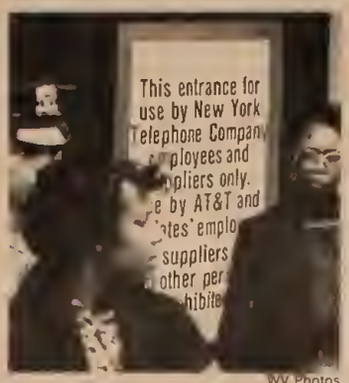
CWA Sellout

OAKLAND—Ma Bell and its kept union bureaucracy of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) just handed phone workers a royal screwing. In enforcing the scabherding "two-gate" policy, setting "local operating company" workers against their brothers and sisters at AT&T, it was frequently the CWA bureaucrats rather than the company who were the hard cops. Strikes are won and lost on the picket line. And by making a mockery of union solidarity, the CWA misleaders let AT&T clean up against the phone strikers.

Despite the union tops' empty pledges that "CWA won't consider takebacks... CWA is serious about breaking the concessionary cycle" (*CWA News*, June 1986), the settlement is a litany of takebacks ranging from elimination of COLA (cost of living adjustments) for the duration of the contract to a vicious "two-tier" system that will slash business phone installers' wages and establish a new job category of "cable pullers" earning a starting rate of *six dollars* an hour. That's even less than installers at many of AT&T's non-union competitors and counter clerks at many McDonalds burger joints! Installers in particular were outraged when the national settlement was announced; but after nine days of "local bargaining" the CWA executive board settled on the company's terms.

The *Wall Street Journal* (18 June) crowed that "AT&T basically got exactly what it wanted." *Business Week* (30 June) headlined "Score One for AT&T," noting that "AT&T's settlement—essentially the same deal it offered before the strike—virtually assures cheaper contracts at the Baby Bells than officials there had expected." Emboldened by the union bureaucracy's scabherding and givebacks, the bosses are sharpening their ax to go after the 300,000 CWA members at the "Baby Bells"—the regional operating companies spun off by AT&T in its 1983 "divestment"—where contracts expire on August 9.



WV Photos

CWA president Morton Bahr (left) engineered strategy of defeat: "two-gate" union-busting opened door for massive scabbing.

Phone workers should scrap the settlement and strike together. But they're shackled by the CWA bureaucrats who have *always* been labor police for the companies and the bosses' state. A creature of the first Cold War, the CWA bureaucracy worked with the CIA to establish the notorious American Institute for Free Labor Development, the "labor" front used by imperialism's killer spies to bust unions in Latin America.

This year the bureaucrats split the contract expiration dates for AT&T and the "Baby Bells," undoing the "national bargaining" established in 1974. Some strikers told *WV* that this sweetheart deal was the bureaucrats' response to a demand from the Pentagon that AT&T (which reportedly recently won a huge contract for a new telecommunications network linking up U.S. military bases throughout the world) separate its contract date from that of the regional companies. The anti-Soviet war drive abroad means union-busting and racist terror at home!

The CWA tops in enforcing the company's vicious "two-gate" policy, literally herded tens of thousands of "Baby Bell" workers into buildings picketed by *their own union*. When on the first day of the strike 80 percent of New York Tel workers respected picket lines of AT&T strikers, CWA national president Morton Bahr rushed out a scab *diktat* that "Bell Operating Companies should NOT be picketed during the AT&T strike." Preaching that picket lines mean *do* cross, the CWA tops bred thousands of *AT&T* scabs as well; at one large AT&T installation in Pleasanton, California, for example, strikers reported that *85 percent* of the regular workforce was scabbing.

Meanwhile AT&T hired more than 5,000 scab operators and boasted of its recruitment of scabs in all job titles across the country, on top of the huge pool of managers (one manager for every 1.8 workers), with whom the CWA tops have *never* interfered during a strike. It will take class-struggle tactics like militant occupation of phone buildings, backed up by mobilizing the power of other unions, to beat the phone bosses.

The class-struggle Militant Action Caucus fought against the bureaucracy's "two-gate" scabherding. In contrast, fake-oppositionists like the San Francisco "Members United for Workers Rights," who hold six seats on the SF local's executive board, sauntered into work at picketed buildings, showing themselves to be nothing more than *scabs*. While such opportunists seek only to refurbish the CWA bureaucracy, the old paternalism through which the company/bureaucrat "partnership" maintained its stranglehold on the workers is being undermined by the companies' ruthless attacks.

A June 12 MAC leaflet warned of the consequences of the CWA tops' scabherding and drew the lessons in advance of this sellout:

> "*If 'two-gate' strike-breaking and union-busting continue*, who's to say there will even be a strike in August? Pac Bell may just get the same kind of concessions package that AT&T is demanding. It could be signed, sealed and delivered by the same union sellouts who are scab-herding today. On the other hand, seeing how weak the union is now, Pac Bell may go for even *bigger* concessions than AT&T. Bleating 'we picket companies, not buildings,' 'report to work as usual,' 'play by the bosses' rules,' the Judas-goats of the CWA bureaucracy are leading the way towards the destruction of the union. Throw out the labor traitors! Build a class-struggle leadership!" ■

James Grimes...

(continued from page 12)

Reaganite policies, Innis wanted some publicity for his projected Congressional campaign. He went into a frenzy when a *WV* reporter asked about his fundraising for the CIA-financed, pro-South Africa Jonas Savimbi in Angola.

We salute the courage of James Grimes and the tenacity of his supporters. Mobilizing the forces of labor and blacks—the strategy of the class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU (whose statement is printed below)—was key to victory here and is key to rebuilding the TWU. For the militants that spearheaded victory in the Grimes case, there is a way forward: the forging of an authoritative Leninist party with a strong black leadership component. Such a party will fight for proletarian revolution that will disarm the bourgeoisie and their race-terrorist thugs once and for all.

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet:

"Charges Against James Grimes Dismissed!"

A rare and important victory for all working people and other decent citizens was won yesterday when Judge Gerschwer dismissed weapon possession charges against railroad clerk James Grimes. This was a victory won through the *political mobilization* of transit workers, staunch defenders of the rights of labor, who came out month after grinding month to demonstrate their support for Brother Grimes. We can all celebrate this victory; we must learn and re-learn the lessons of this class-struggle defense; and we must remain on our guard against further DA legal attacks through appeal, or threatened Transit Authority disciplinary charges. There should be a big cash bonus for his troubles and full reinstatement, or a full pension immediately available if he chooses!

For the Right of Armed Self-Defense! Judge Gerschwer said his "greatest fear" was that others would arm themselves as a result of his ruling. It has always been the "greatest fear" of the racist rulers of this country that blacks would arm for the purpose of self-defense. The "gun-control" laws in this city were written after Malcolm X urged blacks to arm themselves against racist attacks and in fact armed himself against deadly threats on his own life. The lynch mob that killed Brother Willie Turks four years ago in Gravesend was really whipped into a bloodthirsty frenzy when one hysterical racist screamed out that Turks had a gun. We say that gun control kills blacks in this deeply racist society; if Turks had a gun that night he would be alive today; if Grimes did not, he would be dead.

Mobilize the Power of Labor! In the face of the attempted legal lynching of Brother Grimes, we fought for a massive display of our union's power in the streets at the scene of the real crime: the Brooklyn Criminal Court House of Elizabeth Holtzman. A union leadership based on class-struggle, not class-collaboration, would have mobilized thousands of transit workers, battalions from every section of our union, to make the corporate power structure an offer they could not refuse: either drop all DA/TA charges against our brother, or we strike the trains and buses. Against the racist gangs in Coney Island/Gravesend, we must dispatch integrated union defense squads, a massive force of anti-racist union power, to sweep those punks off the streets.

Sonny Hall: Backstabber, Ass-Coverer, Friend of the Democrats. This labor "leader," Sonny Hall, fought *against* mobilizing the power of this union all the way through this case. He had all kinds of other schemes. Like calling for more cops! The same racist cops who beat Michael Stewart to death; the same cops who daily harass and arrest transit workers for anything from using their pass to defending themselves; the same cops who chained Brother Grimes to a bench for nine hours. No thanks, Sonny Hall!

Another scheme of his: get the Arbitrator to get the Transit Authority to get escorts to get the money to Jay St. To publicize this scheme Hall got the TA to get the buses to get his shrinking base of supporters from the mostly white, mostly male bus barns down to the Arbitration site to "pressure." Escorts?!! No thanks! James Grimes had an "escort" who ducked out right before the attack that night and even today many clerks never see or have to wait hours for this "escort." To this we say: Rip Out the Turnstiles! Free Subways and Buses! So many clerks have been wounded and even killed, so many have lost their jobs because of that damned turnstile money; the booths should remain as information and passenger-aid stations.

Despite these schemes of Hall, the pressure kept building for a union show of force. So Sonny Hall turned to another dirty scheme: backstabbing James Grimes and red-baiting those who were fighting for a class-struggle defense of the brother. In union meetings and in a fink leaflet, Hall blamed Grimes for going to an "outside" lawyer and claimed that Grimes did not want a union demonstration. Most brothers and sisters saw through this dirty little scheme of Hall's but some got suckered in by it. We know the union leadership always blames the membership for its own inactivity and sell-out deals.

Only after it was clear to Sonny Hall that no felony charges would be brought in this case, and only after it was clear that his other dirty schemes to sabotage the defense of Brother Grimes would not work did Hall call an official union rally at the courthouse. Not to trouble his friends in the Democratic Party (embarrassed enough with corruption and scandal, stun-gun precincts, and lynch mobs in the streets) Hall only "mobilized" two dozen payrollers to plead for "justice with mercy." Nowhere to be seen were the powerful battalions of this most powerful union. "Have-Mercy" Sonny was covering his ass. Up to the very end of this case an official at union headquarters was telling people the wrong date for this last important hearing. Sonny Hall and his type, the labor-fakers, will do everything they can to sabotage the mobilization of labor to fight for its class interests.

Month after month, DA Holtzman and her courts, the TA and the Democrats tried to grind us down and break our resolve. In this they had plenty of help from their man, Sonny Hall. They tried to break Brother Grimes, destroy his health, make him beg. For this we are deeply bitter. But this brave and beautiful man stood his ground and so did the brothers and sisters who stood with him and his family and for this we can be proud. The importance of this victory looms even larger in Reagan's war-drive America where victories for labor and blacks are hard to come by. With Koch and his Democrats carrying out Reagan's program in New York with the labor-fakers in their pocket, it took the political mobilization of transit workers to win this very real victory in the struggle for the right of armed self-defense.

COMMITTEE FOR
A FIGHTING TWU 26 June 1986

KKK Threat in Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

"gentrified" petty-bourgeois area. The leftists had gathered to paint over racist graffiti scrawled on the walls of the neighborhood. The cops arrested the anti-Klan protesters, and five now face charges.

Fascist Spearhead in "Segregation City"

The Marquette Park rally was the spearhead of an ominous and escalating fascist conspiracy targeting Chicago. The KKK and other paramilitary ultra-rightist groups have chosen this city as the focus of a national campaign. They smell an opportunity for race war in the explosive combination of a black mayor seeking to govern "Segregation City." The white ethnic pols around city councilman Vrdolyak have challenged every appointment by black mayor Harold Washington, seeking to block him from control of the police force, patronage perks, and generally from exercising the normal prerogatives of office. These poisonous "Council Wars" encourage armed racist terrorism. And in Reagan's America the fascists feel the wind in their sails. The *Washington Post* (26 June) exposed the apparent existence of a KKK Klavern meeting openly inside CIA headquarters in Langley.

As Harold Washington consolidates his majority on the city council, the fascists have taken the offensive, posing themselves as a lightning rod for the racist opposition. Klansman Ed Novak, speaking in Michigan last April, reportedly said, "We're still going to have our rally at Marquette Park. And if the mayor comes and decides he is going to have a rib barbeque alongside our Klan rally—that's fine with us. We're sure

ABC-TV

Supporters of PL/InCAR march into Marquette Park, site of race-terrorist Klan rally.

that the people of Marquette Park will give him a very warm reception." Feeding on the racist "backlash" against Washington, the Klan and Nazis seek to terrorize the entire population of the city. *Chicago labor and blacks must mobilize to crush the fascists before they are able to lead more would-be lynch mobs like that at Marquette Park.*

Chicago has long been notorious as the most segregated city in the United States, and on the South Side blacks are still in danger if they cross Western Avenue. But times are changing even in Marquette Park—as reflected in the recent election of black alderman Marlene Carter. Significantly, some *7,000* residents of the Marquette Park area signed a petition disavowing the Klan rally: "We abhor and detest what the KKK espouses and stands for," said Rev. Peter Paurazas, pastor at St. Adrian's Catholic Church, at a press conference on Saturday. The Klan's anti-Catholic tradition doesn't help it among East European ethnics. But above all the power to stop the fascists lies with Chicago's integrated labor movement. A sizable contingent of combative black workers from Chicago transit, for instance, could hold an anti-racist "baseball game" that would send the Klan-hooded creatures back into the sewers from which they sprang.

For Mass Labor/Black Action to Smash Klan Terror!

On June 27, the liberal Chicago *Reader* came out with a front-page article by civil libertarian Chip Berlet entitled, "White, Right, and Looking for a Fight—Has Chicago Been Targeted by a New Alliance of White Supremacists?" The article documents the protracted, coordinated fascist conspiracy to target Chicago, the year-long drive to incite and carry out racist terror which culminated in Marquette Park. As Berlet exposed:

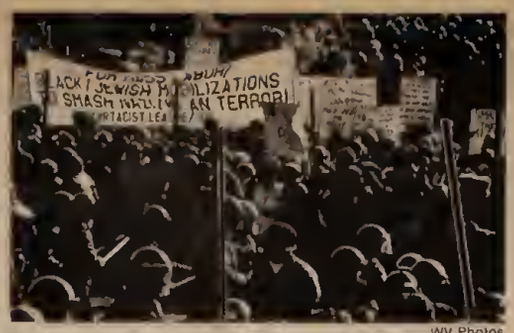
> "The rallies are being built by a coalition with direct ties to the militant and racist Aryan Nations network, based in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Coalition members meet regularly around Chicago and several times a year at regional white-supremacist gatherings in Cohoctah, Michigan, where tactics are discussed....
>
> "These new racist ideologues think Chicago is a good place to organize the white revolution. They have said as much in their regional meetings, where they have discussed their plans in detail. The public campaign to win the hearts and minds of white Chicagoans starts Saturday in Marquette Park. The racists have been laying the groundwork for over a year. Almost no one has paid any attention."

Racist murder has indeed been on the rise, by the cops as well as the fascist gangs. In 1985, a series of racist attacks on black families moving into formerly all-white neighborhoods like Bridgeport, Marquette Park and the Northwest Side were followed up by public Klan mobilizations in September: a pro-apartheid rally at the South African consulate, a demonstration outside a memorial to victims of the Nazi Holocaust, and a daylight tire-iron assault on the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, which had gathered to paint out racist graffiti in the liberal De Paul University area.

This past February, the Klan staged a racist provocation against a John Brown public forum, and picketed the "black history month" exhibit at the Museum of Science and Industry, located in integrated Hyde Park. In May, the cops arrested Udell Baker in New Town and beat him to death. Baker, a black man, had been visiting his white girlfriend, and had gone out to pick up some groceries. And later that month, the cops shot another black man, Calvin Parks, in the back and killed him.

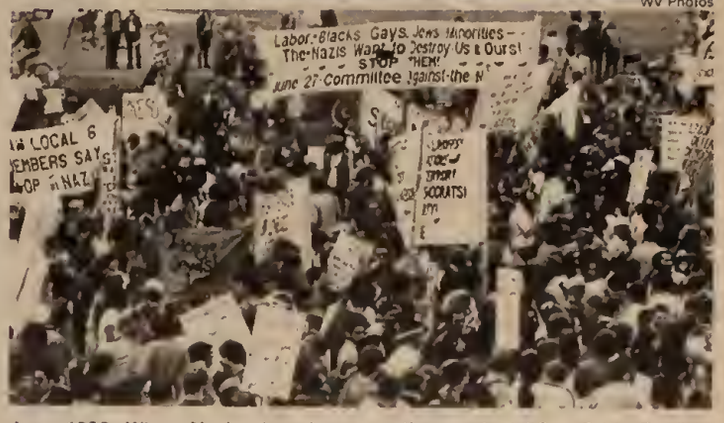
The administration of black Democrat Harold Washington, however, itself a target of the fascist mobilizations, has no intention of lifting a finger to stop the marauding racist scum. Both Washington and his ally Marlene Carter are on the KKK hit list. Carter told people to stay home on Saturday, while Mayor Washington recommended giving the Klan the "silent treatment." Most did. A black bus driver who participated in the PL/InCAR march commented that the participants felt that, although they had underestimated the massive cop presence in Marquette Park and the big racist turnout, their anti-Klan action was a success in countering the Democrats' line of ignoring the Klan. Earlier in the week, PL held a sit-in at City Hall protesting Mayor Washington's granting the Klan a permit for their racist rally. Chicago police, of course, did not "ignore," but aided and abetted the Klan.

It was 20 years ago, on 5 August 1966, that Martin Luther King Jr. was stoned to the ground by racists who had mobilized in Marquette Park. Weeks later in the lily-white suburb of Cicero, King's attempt to bring the civil rights movement North went down to defeat. The liberal preachers and Democrats had no way forward when the mass movement against Jim Crow segregation moved North and ran up against the bedrock of racial oppression in capitalist America. The missing element then and now was a communist vanguard to mobilize the power of organized labor in the fight for black freedom.



WV Photos

October 1980: Angry anti-fascist protesters, many of them survivors of Nazi concentration camps, drive Hitler-lovers out of Evanston, Illinois.



June 1982: When Nazis staged provocation against "Gay Pride Day" in Chicago, Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization drowned them out.

With Harold Washington's election in 1983, the reformists proclaimed the era of "people power" in Segregation City. But as has been graphically and dangerously demonstrated, the black *capitalist* Democratic city administrations cannot defend "the people" from fascism, racist cop attacks, union-busting austerity drives, etc. On the contrary, they are the black front men of Reagan racism. In Detroit, Coleman Young busts the strikes of municipal workers; in Washington, D.C., ex-SNCC leader Marion Barry threatens to evict 40,000 poor blacks from the projects, creating a giant army of homeless; Philadelphia's Wilson Goode carries out Reagan/Meese's "anti-terrorism" by a terrorist bombing of the black MOVE commune. "Black faces in high places" is no answer to the racists. The way to defeat the racist terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms is through integrated working-class action.

Last August, Chicago transit workers mobilized in defense of a black union brother framed up for manslaughter after his bus had unavoidably hit a car that swerved in front of him, tragically killing seven white youth. Despite the do-nothing policy of the union tops, hundreds of black and white workers marched on police headquarters to demand the charges be dropped—and victimized transit worker David Johnson is free today for that reason. In 1975, integrated union defense guards from UAW Local 6 (International Harvester) set up 24-hour integrated patrols to protect the home of black unionist C.B. Dennis in the Chicago suburb of Broadview, after his home was repeatedly firebombed and stoned by the racists.

AP

Bill Epton (sunglasses), former vice-chairman of Progressive Labor and leader of Harlem Defense Council, links arms with civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn (right) moments before being arrested for attempting to lead banned march against cop riot, Harlem, July 1964.

In the fascists' crosshairs are not only blacks, unionists and leftists but indeed everyone who is "out of line" in Reagan's America by reason of race, religion, nationality or you name it. Immigrant workers, interracial couples, women seeking abortions, gays and even *Penthouse* readers are at deadly risk if the fascists are not stopped.

Historically and recently, in Chicago the fascists' intended victims have shown their willingness to fight back against the union-hating race-terrorist Klan/Nazi filth. In Evanston in October 1980 some 2,500 anti-Nazi demonstrators, many of them concentration camp survivors, drove the goose-stepping Hitler-lovers out of town. On Gay Pride Day in 1982, a substantial labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League spiked an anti-homosexual provocation by the Marquette Park-based Nazis in Lincoln Park. The "June 27 Committee Against the Nazis" brought out 3,000 people to occupy the site of the intended fascist provocation. When the Nazis showed up, they were drowned out and driven off by blacks, workers, gays and leftists, chanting "Smash the Nazis, this is the hour—Labor and blacks have got the power!"

Beginning under Democrat Jimmy Carter, with the government-abetted fascist massacre of leftist union organizers and civil rights workers in Greensboro, North Carolina in November 1979, racist terror against blacks, labor and leftists has been the domestic side of the anti-Soviet war drive. The 1982 Chicago anti-fascist action—along with mobilizations in Detroit, Ann Arbor, San Francisco and Boston, and culminating in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982—was one of a series of mass labor/black mobilizations that kept the KKK/Nazi vermin off the streets of the major cities. Now, by targeting Chicago, the fascists are out to reverse this—don't let them succeed! Blacks, Latins, Catholics, Jews, gays, unionists, leftists—we're all targets of the fascists.

It is desperately necessary to crush the growing fascist threat in Chicago with powerful working-class action, championing the rights of every oppressed and exploited sector of the population! It is ever more urgent to forge a genuine communist party, rooted in the workers movement and leading the ghetto masses in the fight for socialist revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Drop Charges Against Anti-Racist Militants!

KKK: Deadly Threat in Chicago

The fascist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan are riding in Chicago—and they had better be stopped! On Saturday, June 28, the KKK staged an obscene "white supremacy" rally in Marquette Park on Chicago's Southwest Side. Fifty of these killers in white sheets and combat uniforms screamed racist epithets, egging on a mob of up to 3,000 white bigots. When an integrated group of several dozen outraged protesters led by Progressive Labor Party and its International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR) approached the rally site, hundreds of screaming racist punks hurled rocks and bottles. With help from the mounted cops, the racists forced the anti-Klan demonstrators back east into the black neighborhood across Western Avenue. Then the racist mob surged north to attack another 50 black protesters who were led by Rev. C.H. Turner of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. Twice Turner's group was driven back as the racists lined the streets, throwing anything they could get their hands on, chanting "KKK—All the way!" and "Get out of our park!"

Laudably, PL/InCAR tried to stop the Klan scum before they ever got to Marquette Park. An anti-racist contingent "greeted" the KKK as they boarded their flatbed trucks at 55th and Western, the staging area for the motorcade to Marquette Park, and may have landed some blows before the cops moved in. The Chicago *Sun-Times* reported, "Suddenly, a racially mixed group playing softball ran from the field toward the trucks, wielding bats. Police officers got between the factions and arrested 11 people." Rocks and bricks flew as the truck sped away. Reportedly, a plainclothes cop pulled a gun on the leftists while the cops were wrestling them to the ground; six cops claimed injury.

Photo by Marek Goodson

WNYW-TV

June 28—Racist terrorists target Chicago (right). Cops move in to aid KKK killers against anti-racist militants (below).

We salute the anti-racist militants who fought the fascists in the streets, courageously confronting the Klan terrorists and their backers. Unfortunately, when *Workers Vanguard* called PL/InCAR asking for more information so we could tell our readers, they slammed down the phone. Anti-sectarian defense has never been PL's strong suit. But eleven of these militants now face criminal charges; two of their comrades are up on felony charges of "assaulting a cop." We demand all charges be dropped against the anti-fascist fighters. They deserve a medal instead!

The very next day, the Klan was out again in full regalia to menace the thousands of homosexual-rights marchers at Lincoln Park on "Gay Pride Day." Here, the fascists were met by about 70 protesters organized by the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee; but the cops kept them at a distance. A week earlier, on June 21, eight KKKers dressed in camouflage fatigues and swastika armbands mobilized against a John Brown protest in New Town, an integrated

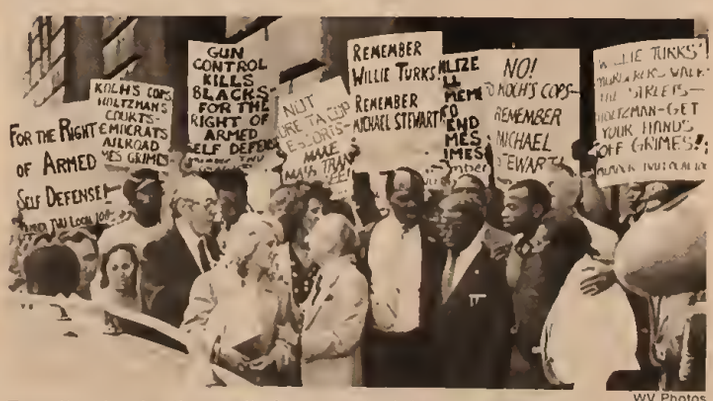
continued on page 11

Charges Dropped Against Victimized Black Subway Worker

Victory for James Grimes

On June 25 the New York courts dismissed weapon possession charges against black subway clerk James Grimes, who courageously defended himself against assault by three thugs while he was transporting Transit Authority money last January. This victory was won through the hard struggle of transit workers in the face of sabotage by the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 bureaucracy. The vindication of James Grimes strikes an important blow against New York's gun control laws, under which racist thugs, both in and out of uniform, think they can rampage through the city streets with impunity. This victory is particularly important in the Reagan years when racist, union-busting terror is official government policy.

The Brooklyn D.A.'s office knew from the beginning that James Grimes was no "criminal." A 55-year-old veteran NYC transit worker, Grimes is a model family man who, along with his wife Elizabeth, raised 15 foster and adopted children along with three of their own. The city tried to victimize Grimes for defending himself, but soon found itself on the hot seat. D.A. Liz Holtzman, a liberal Democrat, and Judge Gershwer knew they were being watched from day one. Transit workers, particularly Grimes's fellow subway clerks, repeatedly mobilized for the court hearings, along with the militants in the Committee for a Fighting TWU.



WV Photos

Transit union brothers rally in support of James Grimes (left) at Brooklyn courthouse. His victory is a victory for the right of self-defense and a blow against racist gun control.

The case of James Grimes, centering on the intersection of race, guns and class, was a litmus test. Sonny Hall's Local 100 bureaucracy sought to derail the defense, while the liberal fake oppositionists in the union tried to ignore it altogether. The *New York Times*, a prime backer of gun control laws, buried news of the court decision. The liberals didn't want to touch this case with a ten-foot pole. It was transit workers, Spartacist League supporters and other militants and friends who stood solidly by this embattled railway clerk. They were the ones who were there to congratulate James Grimes at the Brooklyn courthouse June 25.

The black Democrats don't want to be identified with "blacks with guns." They have hired out as accessories to the racist capitalist state, whose job is to keep workers and blacks *under the bosses' guns*. Wilson Goode played the role to the hilt when he presided over the hideous massacre of MOVE in Philadelphia. It is striking testimony to the bankruptcy of the "established" black leadership that the only politician to show up at the courthouse on June 25 was the sinister Roy Innis. Once a left-winger in CORE, now a supporter of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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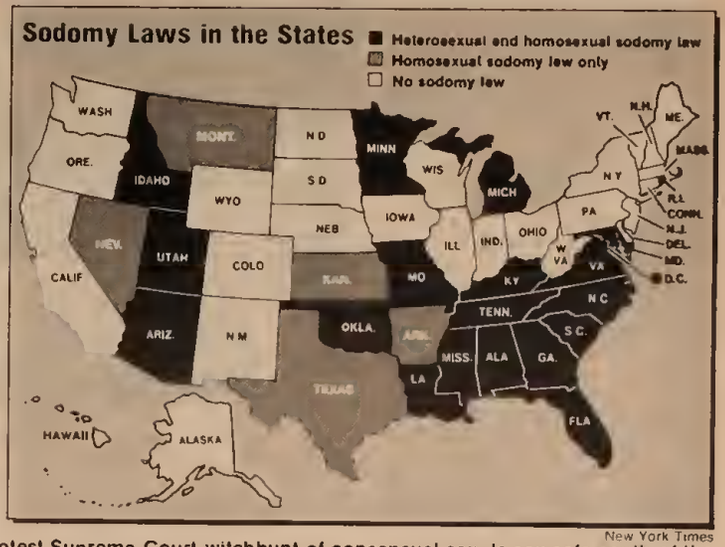
Supreme Court Bigots Target Busing, Abortion, Privacy

WV Photo



New York Times

Government out of the bedroom! Angry demonstrators in New York July 1 protest Supreme Court witchhunt of consensual sex. Is sex safe south of the Mason-Dixon line (see map)? And watch out for the Meese police if you want to read Playboy.

Reagan's Sex Witchhunt

The people running the American government are crazy, all right—but there's a method to their madness. From bombing Qaddafi's baby in Libya to bombing black babies in Philadelphia, "Ronbo" Reagan & Co. are acting like they've just pulled off a successful counterrevolution. The rub is: where's the revolution? Searching for easy targets for government interference and repression on the home front, the Meese police have taken aim at *everyone* in their attempt to impose the values of the religious right by judicial fiat.

The June 30 Supreme Court decision upholding a Georgia anti-sodomy law is a coup for the lunatic ultraright, no longer on the fringes but now in the mainstream of American bourgeois politics. While the Court majority was motivated by an obsessive anti-homosexual vendetta, the law they upheld applies to everyhody. Quite rightly much of the American population was outraged by the decision. Whether you're heterosexual, homosexual or bisexual, married or single, young or old, you're at risk. Whatever happened to the right of privacy?

Suddenly, the map (shown above) of where sodomy laws remain in effect became a travel map, as people around the U.S. pored over it looking for where they could safely take a summer vacation without some anti-sex Gestapo busting into their hotel rooms (anywhere south of the Mason-Dixon line is out). But the Reaganites may have overreached themselves on this one. The mores of white Christian Georgia fundamentalists are not easily going to be shoved down the throats of the entire country. There are plenty of us who still cling to the old-fashioned notion that the government should stay the hell out of our bedrooms!

This state intervention into the most intimate aspects of daily life is part of an all-sided attack on civil liberties. The sweeping RICO (Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) "conspiracy" laws have been used to railroad radical activists, shackle the labor movement and even frame up the Mafia. Preventive detention without bail has been instituted as part of the "terrorist" scare designed to wipe out any political opposition to the White House and turn leftists into outlaws, "non-people" without rights. And Reagan's spy scare has been used to prosecute bourgeois journalists, while threatening compulsory lie detector tests for whole sections of the government itself.

Meanwhile, Attorney General Edwin Meese's "organized crime" panel called for compulsory drug testing throughout government and industry. And his pornography commission has already begun "cleaning up" America, by successfully blackmailing companies like the 7-Eleven chain to remove *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and other such magazines from their stores. Now the PornCom sex witchhunters have issued their sleazy 1,960-page report, whose 93 recommendations call for targeting cable and satellite TV, using RICO laws to prosecute and seize the assets of the witchhunters' targets and, most ominously, creating vigilante groups to go after everything, from erotic magazines to videotapes, that's still (for how long?) constitutionally protected.

The sinister Meese has been particularly active gearing up the state machinery to reimpose Jim Crow segregation in all its viciousness, smash hard-won union rights, ruthlessly suppress political dissent and generally strengthen police-state powers. The blueprint for all this is contained in the nine-volume Heritage Foundation report, in which Meese participated and which called for eliminating post-Watergate restrictions on the secret police and emphasized targeting individuals and groups engaged in lawful activities. With slight modification, the Heritage program has been adopted.

And Meese has spared no effort to enlist the federal courts as enforcers of his social/legal counterrevolution. William Rehnquist, who most closely adheres to Meese's views, was recently named successor to Warren Burger as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Likewise, Antonin Scalia was appointed to the high court on rightist ideological grounds. Delighted with these appointments, ultraright organizer Richard Viguerie summed it up: "We want to make sure we have a situation where the judiciary is going to reflect the Reagan philosophy for many many years to come" (*New York Times*, 18 June). Well, Hitler dreamed of a "1,000-Year Reich," too.

Diana Walker

Reagan and his Court: (from left) Scalia, Rehnquist and Burger.

Sodomy Decision: Bigotry in the Saddle

In New York and San Francisco, angry supporters of gay rights protested the anti-sodomy ruling. As a spokesman for the Institute for the Protection of Gay and Lesbian Youth put it in New York: "The atmosphere in the country is parallel to pre-war Germany. Don't anybody think it can't happen here, 'cause it's already started." Like Hitler, Reagan desires to revive flagging nationalist fervor, to "recover" the nation's "will" after U.S. imperialism's ignominious defeat in Vietnam. This drive for ideological conformity is cloaked in rhetoric about a return to "traditional values" enforced by the mailed fist of an increasingly bonapartist state.

Thus in the Supreme Court's debate on the Georgia anti-sodomy law, which defines sodomy simply as "any sex act involving the sex organs of one person and the mouth or anus of another," Chief Justice Warren Burger—concurring with the majority—wrote: "the proscriptions against sodomy have very 'ancient roots.' Decisions of individuals relating to homosexual conduct have been subject to state intervention throughout the history of Western Civilization. Condemnation of those practices is firmly rooted in Judeo-Christian moral and ethical standards." So much for the separation of church and state!

In his eloquent dissent from the Supreme Court's ruling, Judge Harry A. Blackmun wrote:

> "The assertion that 'traditional Judeo-Christian values proscribe' the conduct involved cannot provide an adequate justification. The legitimacy of secular legislation depends instead on whether the State can advance some

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Le Duan: Organizer of Vietnam's Victory Over U.S. Imperialism

Le Duan, the general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP), died July 10 at the age of 79. Le Duan was representative of a heroic generation of Communist cadre, the heirs of Ho Chi Minh, who fought for six decades against the French, Japanese and finally the genocidal barbarism of American imperialism. Earlier this month Vietnam also lost General Hoang Van Thai, a military leader of his country's struggle for liberation against the imperialist powers.

Le Duan, the son of a carpenter, was born in 1907 in Quang Tri province. After finishing high school he worked as a clerk for the railway service in Hanoi and helped organize this strategic section of Vietnam's tiny proletariat. In 1930 Le Duan joined in founding the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) in the midst of the anti-French rebellion sweeping the country. The ICP sought to turn this nationalist ferment into a revolutionary insurrection, even organizing soviets in Ha Tinh and Ho's home province of Nghe An. But the rebellion was savagely repressed by the French, thousands of leftists were executed and thousands more imprisoned. The ICP was decimated and Le Duan was sent to the notorious "tiger cages" of the Con Dao penal island.

Released in 1936, Le Duan undertook political work in Hue. In late 1940 the Indochinese Communist Party again found itself at the head of an insurrection, as Vichy France turned Vietnam over to the Japanese. Again the insurrection was savagely repressed. Le Duan spent nearly five more years in colonial dungeons, released only when the ICP and its political front, the Viet Minh, seized power in 1945. At first the Viet Minh welcomed the return of the "Free" French forces and crushed the Trotskyist-led Saigon workers insurrection, only to be compelled to undertake an eight-year war against their old colonial masters.

Vietnam News Agency

Hanoi, 3 February 1970: Le Duan speaks on occasion of 40th anniversary of founding of Vietnamese Communist party.

In 1954 the Vietnamese decisively broke the back of the French at Dien Bien Phu. Even though they controlled 85 percent of the country, the Viet Minh, pressed by the Soviet Union and China, signed the Geneva Accords which divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel. Most of the Viet Minh leadership repatriated to the North, as the South was disarmed and left virtually leaderless—but Le Duan retained responsibility for party work in the South. The U.S. replaced the French in South Vietnam, preventing the promised elections and establishing the Diem dictatorship which executed and imprisoned leftists and workers.

In the North havoc was created by a bureaucratically mismanaged "land reform" in 1956. To rectify the situation, Ho Chi Minh became party general secretary and Le Duan was recalled from the South to assume day-to-day responsibility for the Central Committee alongside President Ho Chi Minh. In 1960 Le Duan became first secretary, and after the liberation of the South he became general secretary in 1976, the post he held until his death. Given his close ties to the cadres in the South, Le Duan fought as early as 1955 for reconstituting Communist military organization, and in January 1959 the Central Committee gave its approval, thereby laying the basis for the second Indochinese war against imperialism. Once that war was undertaken, Le Duan had to wage a struggle within the party leadership to develop a modern army capable of large-scale offensives, the strategy which laid the basis for the successful Tet Offensive of 1968 and the final victory in 1975. This victory belongs to all the toilers of Vietnam and the world, and Le Duan was one of its principal political architects.

Le Duan tried to rebuild his war-devastated, impoverished country on the same principles that contributed to its victory. In contrast to the idealist bombast of Maoists, Le Duan stressed the need for a "technical and scientific revolution" to lay the material foundations for economic and cultural progress in Vietnam. A large share of the meager resources of this country were also devoted to assisting the Kampuchean people, saving them from the barbarous Pol Pot tyranny and giving them the possibility of a future. Today Vietnam must keep more than 500,000 men and women under arms to defend their besieged, newly-won independence, not least from U.S.-backed Chinese attacks.

The goals to which Le Duan devoted his life can only be realized in the framework of genuine proletarian internationalism, in which the wealth, science and technology of the industrial world—which under imperialism have been used to bomb, burn, poison and strangle this heroic nation—are instead placed at the service of its all-sided development. This requires proletarian political revolution from Moscow and Peking to Hanoi to shatter the Stalinist bureaucracies. But the deformation of these social revolutions reflects the pressure of the imperialist powers. The persevering fight for freedom of the Vietnamese combatants, forged on the anvil of prison, the underground and exile, and the revolutionary example of our Vietnamese Trotskyist comrades inspire us to our Bolshevik duty: the overthrow of the imperialist system by the workers of the world. ■

11 July 1986

Socialist Republic of Vietnam
Mission to the United Nations

We have read of the death of your general secretary Le Duan. We too want to share your regret at the passing of a great figure in Vietnamese history and of a man who all his life sought to struggle for freedom.

Political Bureau
Spartacist League
of the U.S.

Lessons of the Paris Commune

TROTSKY

LENIN

In South Africa today, after two years of black revolt, the arrogant racist rulers can no longer rule in the old way and the brutally oppressed toilers refuse to live in the old way. The outlines of a revolutionary situation can be seen, but without a revolutionary leadership. Leon Trotsky's balance sheet of the heroic 1870-71 Paris workers uprising, which was crushed in a bloody massacre, points to the key element that was absent in the Paris Commune, but decisive in the victory of the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia: a communist vanguard party.

The workers' party—the real one—is not a machine for parliamentary maneuvers; it is the accumulated and organized experience of the proletariat. It is only with the aid of the party, which rests upon the whole history of its past, which foresees theoretically the path of development, all its stages, and which extracts from it the necessary formula of action, that the proletariat frees itself from the need of always recommencing its history: its hesitations, its lack of decision, its mistakes.

The proletariat of Paris did not have such a party. The bourgeois socialists with whom the Commune swarmed, raised their eyes to heaven, waited for a miracle or else a prophetic word, hesitated, and during that time the masses groped about and lost their heads because of the indecision of some and the fantasy of others. The result was that the revolution broke out in their very midst, too late, and Paris was encircled. Six months elapsed before the proletariat had reestablished in its memory the lessons of past revolutions, of battles of yore, of the reiterated betrayals of democracy—and it seized power.

These six months proved to be an irreparable loss. If the centralized party of revolutionary action had been found at the head of the proletariat of France in September 1870, the whole history of France and with it the whole history of humanity would have taken another direction.

—Leon Trotsky, "Lessons of the Paris Commune" (February 1921)

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No. 408 **18 July 1986**

Tiziano Terzani

Saigon liberated, April 1975.

Crazed Gusano Slasher on Staten Island Ferry

Retired Cop Stops Slaughter

It was the end of the hot Fourth of July "Liberty Weekend," and the Staten Island Ferry was full of tourists and local travelers on Monday morning, July 8. Suddenly a crazed Cuban *gusano* pulled out a two-foot-long ceremonial sword and started stabbing, hacking and slashing people, chanting wildly as he rampaged through the decks. Pandemonium broke out as the several hundred screaming passengers tried to run for cover. Two elderly people unable to get out of the way were killed, and nine others wounded before retired NYC cop Edward del Pino reached the scene. "Drop it!" he said, and fired a warning shot. The man dived for cover. Del Pino ordered him to lie on a bench, hands over his head, and warned: "You move and you're dead." He kept his .38-caliber revolver trained on the disarmed slasher until the boat docked and police came aboard.

It was damn lucky that del Pino was there and packing a gun, or there would have been a lot more dead. He knew how to use his piece, and acted cool: didn't kill the guy, just scared him into giving up. "All I wanted to do was stop the sword," del Pino said later. "I knew I couldn't fire low because of the people in the seats." In 24 years as a policeman, he says, he never fired his service revolver in the line of duty. In New York, where violence is endemic, this incident could have happened on any subway or any street. But most of the time the biggest threat of all are the trigger-happy cops: "never there when you need them," but always ready to plug a black turnstile jumper or other "perps." Ed del Pino wasn't one of these macho punks who think a badge gives them the right to terrorize. He's a hero who protected the people on board the *S.I. Newhouse*.

It was a story that speaks volumes about the quality of life in New York City. Juan González, 43, the Staten Island Ferry slasher, was what you might call a premature "Marielito," who fled from the Cuban Revolution on a private boat in 1977 heading for the good life (or so he thought) in Miami. But after he got here, González found a little problem: no jobs. So he drifted up to the sprawling Latin *barrios* in northern New Jersey, living in rooming houses, dealing three-card monte on the streets, picking up eleven convictions on gambling raps. His last known abode was the Fort Washington Army Shelter in Upper Manhattan. The homeless have complained bitterly about the dangerous conditions in the city's shelters, and with the likes of Juan J. González there, you better believe it.

Three days before he ran amok on the ferry, González was admitted to Presbyterian Hospital after being picked up outside the Washington Heights shelter,

AP

Edward del Pino holding sword taken away from Staten Island Ferry slasher.

repeating over and over, "I'm going to kill. Jesus wants me to kill." Doctors diagnosed him as psychotic and dangerous, but let him go the next day because he was homeless and had no money. It turns out there was a bed open in the mental ward, reserved for a paying patient. Presbyterian lamely replied that they tried to dump him on a city hospital, but there were no takers. Their real defense is that the city's full of violent nuts like this. The latest is the guy handcuffed to a wheelchair in Bellevue who smashed the window of a subway car, injuring a woman, saying, "Mayor Koch told me to kill all Haitians." Official New York just isn't interested in defending a defenseless population.

Above all, the rulers are concerned to preserve the state's monopoly of armed force. And so they're finally going to try Bernhard Goetz, who became famous as the New York "subway shooter" for plugging four black youth on the West Side IRT when they surrounded him in a menacing shakedown attempt in December 1984. On July 8, the New York State Court of Appeals reversed lower court rulings and reinstated charges of attempted murder and assault against Goetz. This case, as we have said, is highly contradictory: while Rupert Murdoch's sensationalist *New York Post* seized upon Goetz to fan the flames of racist vigilantism, the haughty *New York Times* wants to put him behind bars in order to push gun control.

We don't pretend to know what happened in that subway car. Since the incident, three of the teenagers have admitted they had picked out the thin, bespectacled Goetz as a mark, and intended to rob him. "He looked like easy bait," Darryl Cabey told columnist Jimmy Breslin (*Daily News*, 10 July). James Ramseur is now serving up to 25 years for raping and robbing a pregnant

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Racist Firebombing in Chicago

Smash KKK Terror!

CHICAGO—Early Sunday morning, July 6, racist nightriding scum firebombed the home of a black family in the segregated white Southwest Side area of Gage Park. Eight people, including four small children, narrowly escaped death when two firebombs were hurled simultaneously at the front and back of the house. The one in back struck a wall and burned out on its own. But the other incendiary device broke a front window and fell on the porch, starting a fire. Wakened around 4 a.m. by the attack, Aleem and Shirley Waheed rushed to put out the fire, aided by a white motorist who happened to be driving by. As Shirley Waheed told *WV*, if that firebomb hadn't hit the window's center sash, her whole family would have died.

This cowardly terrorist attack was directly inspired by the Ku Klux Klan's race-hating rally in adjacent Marquette Park a week earlier, and took place only two blocks from the staging point for the Klan's motorcade to the rally. Vowing to keep Marquette Park and Gage Park lily-white, some 50 Klansmen mobilized a would-be lynch mob of up to 3,000 white bigots. Except for a courageous attempt by Progressive Labor Party (PL) supporters to stop the Klan motorcade at its staging area, and small protest marches organized by PL and the Martin Luther King Jr. Workshop, this race-terror provocation went unchallenged (see "KKK: Deadly Threat in Chicago," *WV* No. 407, 4 July). The absence of a mass labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK emboldened the racists.

The oppressed are already paying the price in blood and terror. In addition to the firebombing of the Waheed family, two other violent racist attacks took place in the Chicago area on "Liberty Weekend." In the southern predominantly white suburb of Dolton, a black Boy's Club band marching in a July 4 parade was assaulted by rock-throwing bigots. On the following Sunday afternoon in the city of Zion, north of Chicago, a black youth was shot dead in a racist assault linked to the Klan.

According to the Chicago Police Department, the attack on the Waheed family was the 130th "racial incident" in Chicago this year. The Waheeds themselves have been victimized by racists over and over since February, when they moved to Artesian Avenue, one block west of the Western Avenue color bar.

WV Photo

Defense guard from Chicago-area UAW Local 6 protected home of black union brother C.B. Dennis from racists' firebombs in 1975.

Their car windows have been smashed and shot up, lug nuts have been loosened on the wheels, the front yard vandalized, etc.

But the Klan's June 28 Marquette Park rally made the Waheeds' lives much more dangerous. In the wake of that rally came a premeditated murderous attack—an attempt, not just to burn them out, but to burn them alive. The following Friday night, July 11, Aleem's brother, David Waheed, and Shirley's brother, Stephen Johnson, were confronted at a liquor store in Marquette Park by a band of racist thugs who identified themselves as Klansmen and threatened to kill them. The racist scum then pursued the two up Artesian until they reached the Waheed home, hurling bottles and shouting racist slurs.

"I'm not going to let these people run me out," said Shirley Waheed, who stressed that people should have the right to live wherever they want in peace. Damn right! The Waheeds have repeatedly gone to the police with reports of racist harassment and intimidation. As they told *WV*, the cops' general response has been: what do you expect, living on the "wrong" side of Western Avenue? These are the same cops who routinely shoot down unarmed black youth, break up picket lines and arrest opponents of racist murder, like the eleven PL supporters busted on June 28.

Meanwhile, black Democratic mayor Harold Washington tells people to give the Klan the "silent treatment," even though he himself is on these killers' hit list. The fascists are flying high in the era of Reagan reaction. In America's major cities, Democratic administrations—often under black mayors—administer Reagan's policies with their deadly consequences: segregation, unemployment, wage slashing, welfare cuts, homelessness, racist violence.

No more! The Klan's intended victims have tremendous potential power in this industrial city. Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, Catholics, union members, gays and leftists—we all have a stake in stopping the Klan, and defending beleaguered families like the Waheeds. Aleem Waheed himself is a member of Teamsters Local 781.

Back in the '30s, the Minneapolis Teamsters under revolutionary Trotskyist leadership dealt with the fascist Silver Shirts by organizing workers defense guards—and the fascists repeatedly found themselves inspecting the gutters, "up close and personal." Here in the Chicago area in 1975, United Auto Workers Local 6 at International Harvester organized around-the-clock integrated defense squads to defend the family of Local 6 member C.B. Dennis, who had moved into white suburban Broadview only to be greeted by racist firebombings. Because of the union defense squads, the family stayed put, and today that area is integrated.

Last August some 700 black and white Chicago transit workers defied their union leaders and staged a mass protest at police headquarters demanding freedom for bus driver David Johnson, the victim of a racist frame-up growing out of a tragic traffic accident. And they won! Today, the members of Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 241 and 308, who keep this city going and who have demonstrated a willingness to fight, can play a central role in organizing labor/black defense against the kind of racist violence threatening the Waheed family.

But making this happen will take class-struggle leadership. The Klan and other fascist slime have openly targeted Chicago as a prime battleground for race war. To minimize the threat posed by these groups is to abdicate the critical task of mobilizing labor and blacks, leading all the enemies of fascist terror, to stop the KKK. It is urgently necessary here in Chicago to forge the leadership—a revolutionary workers party—with the will and the appetite to conquer this task. ■

Government Conspiracy Killed George Jackson

Stephen Bingham Acquitted

SAN RAFAEL, California—On June 27 a Marin County jury found attorney Stephen Bingham not guilty of murder and conspiracy charges stemming from the supposed "escape attempt" at San Quentin prison in 1971 where Black Panther leader George Jackson was gunned down by prison guards. There was a murder conspiracy here, all right, one which stretched from the highest levels of federal and state government: the FBI's COINTELPRO program aimed at "neutralizing" militant black leaders. And the conspirators are still at large—some of them now inhabiting the White House and the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C.

On 21 August 1971, George Jackson was wantonly killed in a set-up staged by police and prison officials. Within hours of the "jailbreak" that left Jackson along with three guards and two inmate trusties dead, prison and police officials

Daily World

Black Panther leader George Jackson was gunned down by prison guards in San Quentin in 1971.

were accusing Bingham, a 29-year-old Berkeley radical attorney, of smuggling a gun to Jackson. As Jackson's last outside visitor, Bingham knew he was being framed. Realizing he might never live to stand trial, he fled for his life. After living "underground" for 13 years, briefly in East Europe and then in Paris, in 1984 Bingham resurfaced in San Francisco to fight the charges against him. As court proceedings were about to begin, he stated:

> "I'm on trial for my life.... I really don't think I would survive [in prison], accused by the guards as I am of being responsible for the deaths of their colleagues."
>
> —*San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 April

Stephen Bingham, now 44, was born to a prominent Connecticut Democratic Party family, heirs to the Tiffany fortune. His father was a state senator, and his grandfather was governor, a U.S. Senator and a discoverer of the Machu Picchu Inca ruins in Peru. Bingham, a graduate of Yale and the UC Berkeley law school, like many of his generation was active in social protest: he registered voters with the civil rights movement in Mississippi, protested the Vietnam War, aided the organizing of farm workers. Helping to prepare a civil suit against the barbarous conditions endured by inmates in San Quentin's maximum security "Adjustment Center," Bingham visited Jackson several times in 1971.

George Jackson was one of the "Soledad Brothers"—three black prisoners framed for the killing of a white prison guard. In jail all his adult life, serving a "one-to-life" sentence for a $71 gas station holdup, Jackson proclaimed himself a communist, advocating a mixture of "lumpen vanguardism" and "urban guerrilla warfare." He became a field marshal in the Black Panthers, the best of a generation of subjectively revolutionary black militants. The Soledad Brothers case and the publication of a collection of Jackson's prison letters made him nationally known. His eloquent indictment of the racist brutality of the capitalist prison hellholes, his dignity and determination made him a living symbol of resistance to black oppression—and for this prison officials wanted him dead.

The Plot to Kill George Jackson

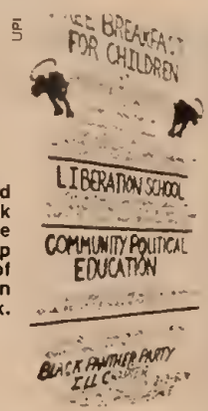
Two days before the Soledad Brothers trial was to begin, Jackson was shot down in the prison yard by guards. Years later, dramatic evidence of the government plot was presented in the trial of the "San Quentin Six," Jackson's fellow inmates who were framed up on murder and conspiracy charges for the deaths of the guards and trusties killed in the bogus "prison break." Louis Tackwood, an admitted ex-agent provocateur for the Los Angeles Police Department's Criminal Conspiracy Section, was asked by defense lawyer Charles Garry what was his last assignment in northern California. Tackwood stunned the courtroom by answering, "To assassinate George Jackson."

Tackwood outlined a plot to kill Jackson on August 23, the opening day of the Soledad Brothers trial, involving a phony escape attempt and an inoperative .38 pistol smuggled into the prison. According to Tackwood, agents of the state's Criminal Identification and Investigation section carried out the plot two days early, using a 9 mm Astra instead. Also during the San Quentin

Stephen Bingham

Six trial, Hugo Pinell testified that he saw guard Paul Krasnes pull the gun on Jackson in the Adjustment Center. Another witness testified to seeing Krasnes carrying the gun into the prison that morning (Charles Garry, *Streetfighter in the Courtroom* [1977]).

The state's version of events, filled with blatant contradictions and gaping holes, claims that Jackson got the pistol and two ammunition clips from inside a tape recorder that attorney Bingham had carried into the prison in a briefcase. Both the recorder and briefcase had been searched by guards, however. Further, Jackson supposedly balanced the gun and ammo under an Afro wig, got past a metal detector and strip search, walked 75 yards down a corridor



Bullet-riddled Chicago Black Panther office after 1969 cop assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

and up and down stairs past the guards, and ran through an open courtyard in broad daylight surrounded by 25-foot walls and tower guards armed with high-powered rifles!

The autopsy report, repeatedly changed as "new evidence" emerged, claimed that Jackson was struck by a bullet which entered his back, broke several ribs, "coursed upward, breaking ribs, until it exited at the top of the skull." This patent falsehood—the bullet would have had to turn more than 90 degrees inside his body—was a sinister cover-up. According to inmate eyewitnesses, Jackson was shot in the back, then blasted again in the head when guards saw he wasn't dead yet. The day of Jackson's murder, San Quentin associate warden James Park made it all clear, remarking: "The only good thing that happened all day was that we got George Jackson. Killed him, shot him through the head."

A year earlier, police provocateurs similarly set up Jackson's 17-year-old brother, who on 7 August 1970 staged a suicidal raid on the Marin County Courthouse demanding the Soledad Brothers' freedom. As Jonathan Jackson tried to escape in a van together with three black inmates and five hostages, a veritable army of police and prison guards lying in wait opened fire, killing Jonathan and three others. In the Marin courthouse case, prominent Communist Party leader Angela Davis was charged with supplying the guns, and later acquitted only after a massive campaign for her release. However, Ruchell Magee, a black inmate charged with murder in the raid, was left to rot in prison.

Stephen Bingham and the San Quentin Six

The charges against Bingham stemmed from a 1971 grand jury so blatantly manipulated by the district attorney that three jurors walked off in protest. The rump jury then ruled Jackson's death to be "justifiable homicide" and indicted Bingham and six black and Hispanic inmates. The San Quentin Six trial began in 1975 and lasted 17 months in an atmosphere of racist hysteria whipped up by the state. The Marin County courtroom was turned into a fortress, the defendants chained to chairs bolted to the floor.

Still, it took the jury of eleven whites and one black 24 days to reach a verdict—outrageously the judge refused to accept a hung jury. Three of the six were acquitted, but the state succeeded in its racist frame-up of David Johnson and Hugo Pinell on charges of assaulting a guard, and of Johnny Larry Spain on two counts of murder. Under California's vague conspiracy laws, Bingham was charged with murder although the prosecution never claimed he was there to commit it.

During Bingham's trial, the courtroom was packed with his friends and supporters, largely ex-1960s radicals. The Bingham defense also attracted backing from prominent Democratic liberals like Ramsey Clark and Ron Dellums. Unfortunately, there has not been the same outpouring of support for those black militants still behind bars. The Spartacist League and the Partisan

Defense Committee continue to fight for the freedom of ex-Panther Geronimo Pratt, Johnny Larry Spain, Ruchell Magee and other imprisoned victims of the FBI's COINTELPRO conspiracy to exterminate and silence such fighters for black freedom.

The prosecution of Stephen Bingham 15 years after the events at San Quentin and despite the absurd lack of evidence indicate that the real violent conspirators are still at work. Bingham's indictment followed on the heels of the Uhler Commission, organized by Edwin Meese, which denounced radical lawyers for allegedly fomenting prison disorders and unrest. As an aide to then California governor Ronald Reagan, Meese oversaw the murderous war against the Black Panthers and the bloody suppression of student protest at Berkeley. Now as Reagan's top cop in Washington he is using the same methods.

Following his acquittal, Bingham was interviewed on the CBS television program *Nightwatch*. He defended his decision to flee in 1971 by recalling the atrocities to which the other defendants in this case were subjected: marched into court chained together, kept in chains to deprive them of their dignity and to

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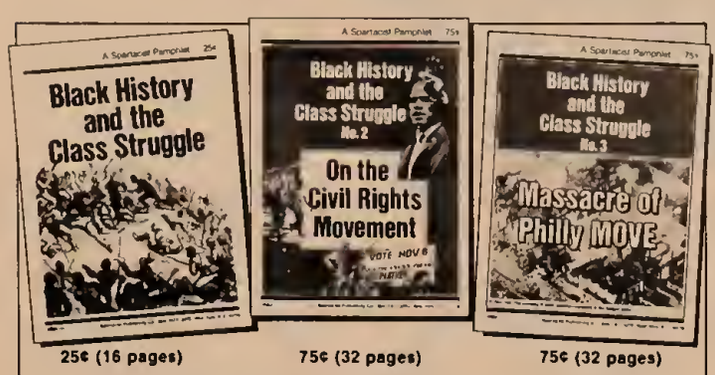

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Pinochet to the Wall—Workers to Power!

Two-Day National Strike in Chile

Popular Front Means Workers' Blood

Downtown Santiago was deserted, public transportation shut down: in the working-class shantytowns ringing the capital, barricades of cement blocks and burning tires were again raised during the two-day national strike on July 2-3. "The work stoppage appeared to be one of the most effective antigovernment actions in the 13 years since Pinochet seized power," reported *Time* (14 June). Yet the next day many opposition leaders showed up at a July 4th reception at the American embassy to hobnob with the U.S. ambassador and cabinet ministers. Christian Democratic (DC) leader Andrés Zaldivar said explicitly the purpose of the work stoppage was to "call the attention of the Government and the armed forces to the need for a negotiated solution." The Communist Party (PCCh) called for continuing junta rule without the junta's boss. A week later, Pinochet responded by declaring his intention to rule until 1997.

The Chilean masses' heroic will to fight is being used as a bargaining chip to cut a deal with the generals and Washington. This was no general strike, a class action mobilizing the power of the proletariat, but a shutdown called by the Asamblea de Civilidad (Civic Assembly), which hoped to "press the Chilean military to create a democratic opening." Many of the professional associations and unions in the Asamblea are led by DCers such as Rodolfo Seguel, head of the National Workers Command. These are some of the same CIA-backed "unions" (truckers and dockers, for instance) whose stoppages led to the overthrow of the leftist Allende regime in 1973. But now they are disillusioned with more than a decade of dictatorship. We say: No to *pinochetismo* without Pinochet! It will take workers revolution to provide a new dawn for the Chilean people after the long night of Nazi-style terror under the "Captain General" and his goose-stepping Prussian army.

In Santiago, union leaders estimated that 85 percent of the city's 9,000 buses and the majority of Chile's 60,000 trucks stopped running during the two-day action. Industrial absenteeism averaged 60 percent. Leftist guerrillas set off scores of bombs, blowing up power lines and casting half the country into darkness—the explosions were claimed by the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, linked to the PCCh. In the vast working-class slums, or *poblaciones*, buses burned and multi-pronged nails known as "*miguelitos*" were scattered over the streets and highways. While the Christian Democrats still have strength in the unions, the shantytowns are the hard mass base of leftist organizations. Through block organizations, defense committees, collective soup kitchens and sheer will, the unemployed managed to survive and fight—though many thousands haven't had steady work since the overthrow of Allende.

Der Spiegel

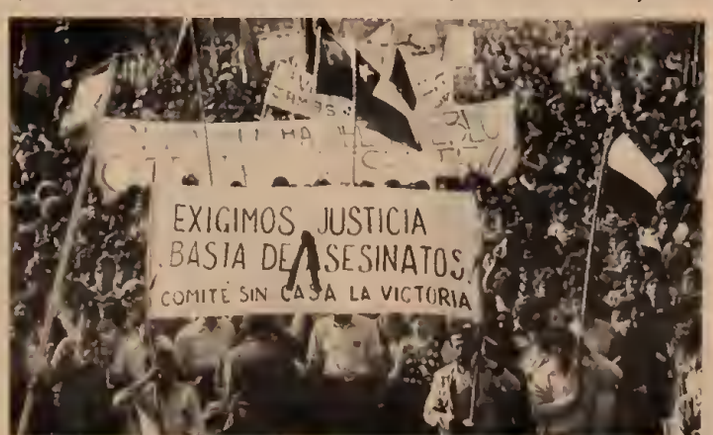
AP

Demonstrators in Santiago, on first day of national strike, defy dictator Pinochet (left).

Taken aback by the strength of the action, Pinochet ordered the military occupation of Santiago. Armored troop carriers and trucks rumbled through the *poblaciones*; constant bursts of gunfire echoed in the nights. Eight people are known to be killed, scores wounded, over a thousand arrested. Two days after the strike, troops raided the slums at dawn, rounding up the men and boys, taking them at gunpoint to the soccer fields for "questioning." An 18-year-old student was killed after protesting in a local plaza beneath a placard reading, "Soldiers: Don't Shoot at the People." Another sign read, "Don't Shoot! Zone of Mothers, Sisters and Sweethearts!" Funerals for the martyred dead were attacked, as Santiago remained a war zone.

But it was the burning of two teenagers which brought home the bloody reality of Pinochet's Chile to the American public like nothing since the case of Charles Harmon, whose "disappearance" after learning too much about CIA involvement in the 1973 coup was dramatized in the movie *Missing*. Rodrigo Rojas de Negri was photographing a group of university students when they were attacked by a military patrol on the first day of the strike. Soldiers beat Rojas and Carmen Quintana, 18, to the ground, doused them with gasoline and set them afire. Then they wrapped the pair in blankets and dumped them in a ditch on the northern outskirts of Santiago, where they were found and rushed to an ill-equipped clinic. Police refused to transfer Rojas to a hospital with burn facilities; he died three days later. Quintana remains hospitalized in critical condition.

Rojas had been living in Washington with his mother, Verónica de Negri, a political exile and spokesman for Amnesty International. While her son was visiting Chile during the strike, Mrs. de Negri was taking part in a protest in Norfolk against the Chilean torture ship *Esmeralda*, on its way to participate in "Liberty Weekend" in New York City. Mrs. de Negri came to this country ten years ago, after being held from 1974 to 1976 in the Tres Alamos torture center in Santiago. The Chilean government allowed her to return as her son lay dying. She marched in his funeral procession, which was tear-gassed by riot police who waded into the crowd and snatched the casket. The furious mourners retaliated by marching to a cemetery where they stoned Pinochet's family vault, cracking marble slates and smashing stained-glass windows.



Steinberg/Cambio 16

Chilean masses in streets of Santiago protest police assassination of anti-junta militants, August 1985.

The Chilean Volcano

When Pinochet was installed as defense minister in Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government in August 1973, he was billed as a leading "constitutionalist" officer. Two weeks later, on 11 September 1973, he carried out the coup and bloody terror that killed 30,000, sent a hundred thousand people to the hellish concentration camps, and countless thousands into exile. Now, 13 years later, this Caesar Augustus has been in power longer than Hitler and he's not impressed by Congressional committees, "quiet diplomacy" or finger-wagging over human rights. His talk of a "dictatorship of democracy" only matches the cynicism of Henry Kissinger, who after the UP election victory, burst out, "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

For about eight years after the September coup, a "peace of the graveyard" reigned in Chile. But by 1981-82, the "free market miracle" of the "Chicago boys" had wrought a devastating depression. Not only were the poor going hungry, as they had ever since September 1973, but the middle class was no longer able to buy American designer jeans and Japanese radios at the glittering new shopping centers. Sections of the bourgeoisie whose businesses had been forced to the wall went into opposition and opened up a space for a series of protests increasingly dominated by the workers movement. In June of 1983 the copper miners struck, and by late October/November 1984 a general strike brought Santiago to a halt. Pinochet's response was to call a state of siege and divide the opposition by sharply raising the issue of cooperation with the Communist Party.

For the Chilean bourgeoisie, which prepared for the mass slaughter of '73 by banging pots and pans against Allende and then hailed Pinochet as a savior from godless communism, this had an effect. Last August the archbishop of Santiago, Juan Cardinal Fresno, presided over the formation of a National Accord, "broadening" the opposition by including (along with the Christian Democrats and right-wing social democrats) the near-fascists of the National Party. The Accord does not call for an end to the Pinochet dictatorship nor for elections nor anything threatening the military, and provides that any party or movement that refuses to "reject force" or challenges private ownership of the means of production should be banned. The U.S. State Department immediately endorsed the Accord. But in the face of this attempt for a "negotiated transition," Pinochet just sneered.

So last November the Christian Democrats called a rally at O'Higgins Park in Santiago, bringing out over 500,000 in the largest anti-government protest in the country's history, under a giant sign proclaiming, "Chile Demands Democracy." General Matthei, head of the air force, greeted the National Accord. A common slogan was that 1986 would be the "decisive year." Then, after the overthrow of Philippines dictator Marcos in February, graffiti appeared on the walls saying, "Manila is in Chile." But with one of the most class-conscious proletariats in Latin America yearning to avenge its martyred dead, the bourgeois opposition is wary of provoking a showdown with Philippines-style mass mobilizations. And as the struggle intensifies, the left is advancing: the London *Guardian* (1 July) reported strong gains by the left in elections in the strategic copper miners union.

"The People United" = Popular Front Betrayal

The Communist Party, however, is utterly craven in its appetite for class betrayal. In an interview with the Argentine CP's *¿Qué Pasa?* (11 December 1985), a spokesman said that even though under the National Accord the

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Reagan's Sex Witchhunt...

(continued from page 1)

> justification for its law beyond its conformity to religious doctrine. Thus, far from buttressing his case, petitioner's invocation of Leviticus, Romans, St. Thomas Aquinas, and sodomy's heretical status during the Middle Ages undermines his suggestion that Section 16-6-2 [the Georgia law] represents a legitimate use of secular coercive power."
>
> —*New York Native*, 14 July

Blackmun added that "depriving individuals of the right to choose for themselves how to conduct their intimate relationships poses a far greater threat to the values most deeply rooted in our Nation's history than tolerance of nonconformity could ever do."

In contrast to the rampant social reaction now riding high in Reagan's America, the Russian Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky swept away the garbage of tsarist reaction in the October Revolution. A pamphlet by Dr. Grigorii Batkis, director of the Moscow Institute of Social Hygiene, explained the Soviets' revolutionary laws:

> "It declares the absolute non-interference of the state and society into sexual matters, so long as nobody is injured and no one's interests are encroached upon. . .
>
> "Concerning homosexuality, sodomy, and various other forms of sexual gratification, which are set down in European legislation as offenses against public morality—Soviet legislation treats these exactly the same as so-called 'natural' intercourse. All forms of sexual intercourse are private matters."
>
> —quoted in John Lauritsen and David Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement* (1974)

This is the position as well of the Spartacist League today.

But Reagan and Meese are bent on restoring the most retrograde "traditional values" of bigotry, race-hate and religious intolerance. On the heels of the sodomy decision, the Court—also at the urging of the administration—upheld the suspension of a high school senior for giving a speech containing sexual innuendo (not so much as one four-letter word appeared in the one-minute talk)! Meese's "Justice" Department argued that "student speech could be restrained 'if officials have a reasonable basis for the regulation grounded in the maintenance of an atmosphere of civility or the transmission of basic societal values'" (*New York Times*, 8 July). And the First Amendment?

What's next—witch trials for "deviants" who stray from the teachings of the Holy Scriptures? Pillories for those caught reading magazines deemed "obscene" by Meese's sicko PornCom? Perhaps a return to the "trial by ordeal" from early Western Christendom, where the accused was thrown, bound, into a pond or stream. If he drowned, he was innocent; if he floated, he was guilty and would be burned at the stake. As one New York worker put it: "first they took away my right to have a gun. now they're telling me I can't go down on my wife."

When gay rights protesters raised the chant, "Civil rights or civil war!" and opponents of the Supreme Court ruling referred to it as the *Dred Scott* decision for gays, they touched on a key connection. Black people are the main victims of Reagan reaction and the struggle for the rights of all vulnerable sections of the population—homosexuals, women, immigrants, youth, the elderly—is integrally bound up with the fight for black liberation.

Among the reactionary decisions recently handed down by the Supreme Court was the ruling against busing in Norfolk, the first time the courts struck down "a busing program that successfully integrated schools" (*Washington Post*, 17 June). Rehnquist, as a law clerk in 1952, wrote a memo stating that "separate but equal" segregation was "right and should be reaffirmed." Years later, he said that he now agreed with the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, but "there was a perfectly reasonable argument the other way" (*Time*, 30 June). While *Brown* signaled the beginning of a period of relative liberalism in the federal courts, those days are long over.

Oakes/National Geographic

Granma

Reagan's Court, Reagan's Klan: racist reaction in black robes and white sheets.

WV Photo

Dean Paul/NYT

SL-initiated demonstration shouts down Nazi scum in Chicago on Gay Pride Day, 27 June 1982.

Racist Reaction in Black Robes and White Sheets

William Rehnquist makes a fitting chief justice for the present Supreme Court. He'll head a Court which recently ruled that opponents of the death penalty may be excluded from juries in capital cases. In a *New York Times Magazine* (3 March 1985) article, he expressed his admiration for Isaac C. Parker—the notorious "hanging judge" who meted out 164 death sentences as an Arkansas federal judge in 1875-96. Parker's methods "were swift, and there was no appeal"—for Rehnquist, a real gonzo guy.

To this day, the portrait of Richard Milhouse ("I am not a crook") Nixon is prominently hung above Rehnquist's desk. As a top official in the Nixon Justice Department he helped run the administration's war on student protesters (who he called "the new barbarians"): Rehnquist devised the patently unconstitutional grounds to round up and detain antiwar demonstrators during the 1971 May Day actions. That same year he was named to the Supreme Court. During what the *New York Times* called the "proudest moment" of the Burger Court—when they finally demanded that Nixon fork over the White House tapes during Watergate—Justice Rehnquist was forced to disqualify himself, so close was he to those under indictment like John Mitchell and John Ehrlichman.

Scalia, too, has a Nixon past, as legal counsel to the Office of Telecommunications Policy in Nixon's White House. Portrayed by the bourgeois press as an "intellectual" and sturdy Italian family man, Scalia was put on the bench as a staunch opponent of abortion rights and school integration. On busing, Scalia says: "It was not necessary for the courts to step in and say what must be done, especially in the teeth of an apparent societal determination that the costs are too high in terms of other values of the society" (*Washington Post*, 22 June). What Scalia means by "apparent societal determination" is rampaging racist mobs of the sort that killed Boston busing through terror on the streets. He is also a prominent advocate of a "strong executive" branch.

Rehnquist and Scalia are articulate reactionaries, and all the more dangerous for that. Other Reagan judicial appointees are just reactionary. Daniel Manion, for example, is clearly a dolt and much has been made in Senate hearings of his inability to write a grammatical sentence. While there's a certain grim humor to his case, if this right-wing nut gets his judgeship it won't be at all funny. Son of a John Birch Society founder, Manion himself proclaimed that outfit to be on "the front line of the fight for Constitutional Freedom." So far right are the Birchers that they seriously labeled Dwight D. Eisenhower "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy." But today, as columnist Anthony Lewis put it: "The lunatic fringe has been absorbed into the state" (*New York Times*, 30 September 1985).

One Reagan nominee who didn't get confirmed by the Senate is Jefferson Beauregard Sessions III. An open Southern white racist, Sessions thinks the NAACP is "un-American" and once remarked that the Klan was "O.K." until he learned KKKers smoked pot. In Alabama, Sessions was the main U.S. attorney behind the campaign of government intimidation against voter registration activists. During the 1984 presidential election campaign, reported the *Village Voice* (19 November 1985):

> "The government dispatched teams of FBI agents in the late summer which began openly to harass black voters. They appeared at residences and nursing homes demanding to know how individuals had voted. Elderly blacks were driven in buses for miles, under armed guard, where they were ordered to testify before a grand jury."

Forty-six-year-old Spiver Gordon, a Eutaw, Alabama city council member who is on the board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was convicted on trumped-up "fraud" charges for helping to register black voters.

Newsweek's cover on the Supreme Court appointments called it "Reagan's Law." While Reagan/Meese have made judicial appointments a key plank of their program (by the end of its term, this administration will have named over half of all federal judges), Rehnquist and Scalia don't fundamentally alter the character of the Court. Scalia replaces Burger (who was supposed to have led the legal counterrevolution as chief justice but flubbed it) as an arch-conservative. But it isn't just Reagan's law—it's *capitalist* law. Recent court decisions have been extremely reactionary and repressive because the U.S. rulers' war drive requires domestic "order," class peace and the suppression of potential "troublemakers"—e.g., the black population and youth who are slated to be the cannon fodder in the next imperialist adventure.

What the administration can accomplish through the courts, they certainly will. But they have other ways. Scalia's reference to "societal determination" gives a clue. Abortion may still

ACLU

UPI

Nixon Court appointee Rehnquist, far right, architect of illegal mass arrests of antiwar demonstrators at Capitol in 1971.

Meese Declares War on AIDS Victims

The rule of fear is now the law, according to Edwin Meese's Justice Department. On June 20, the Justice Department ruled that anybody receiving federal funds can fire or discriminate against people simply because of "fear of contagion" of AIDS, even if such fear is irrational or not scientifically justified. The government's own Department of Health and Human Services, which had asked the Justice Department for advice as a result of numerous complaints of discrimination from health care workers regarding AIDS, was dismayed. Last November the U.S. Public Health Service issued "workplace guidelines" stating that there was no danger of casual transmission of the deadly AIDS virus in the workplace or elsewhere. The American Medical Association, which only days earlier at its annual conference concluded that children with AIDS should in general be allowed to attend school, has launched an attack against this deadly ruling.

The Justice Department is consciously seeking to fan the flames of sex-panic hysteria and pogromist terror against homosexuals. In California the right-wing Lyndon LaRouche group appropriately acronymed PANIC (Prevent AIDS Now Initiative Committee) has got a referendum on the ballot for November which calls on the state to consider AIDS a "communicable, infectious disease," thus giving it the right to quarantine and place under house arrest people with AIDS. This vicious measure would also ban hundreds of thousands exposed to the AIDS virus from attending school or working as food handlers, and demands mandatory testing of all gays. At San Francisco's 100,000-strong Gay Pride Day march, there was a mass outpouring of opposition to this bigotry, with thousands carrying signs like "No Internment—Stop LaRouche."

Across the country victims and suspected victims of AIDS, as well as gays in general, have been viciously discriminated against, refused medical treatment, fired, physically attacked and harassed. In Chicago a gay father, even though healthy and with no sign of AIDS, was ordered by a judge to take an HTLV-III antibody test in order to visit his children (the case is still in the courts).

Though the Reagan regime would have you believe otherwise, in fact AIDS is not a "gay disease," is not caused by sex, sin or pornography. It is caused by a deadly virus which attacks the body's immune system, leaving victims open to fatal secondary infections. The only verified means of transmission is through exchange of contaminated blood or semen. Already over 12,000 people have died of this terrible disease in the U.S. alone. While scientists have made progress in identifying the virus and understanding how it works, there is no cure and there remain many, many unanswered questions. Many authorities, both government and scientific, have leaped to making moralistic generalities that sexual abstinence is the "answer" to AIDS, instead of immediately and energetically pursuing the medical research.

WV Photo

SL protests sex witchhunt in front of NYC's St. Patrick's Cathedral, June 29.

The AIDS epidemic is certainly a public health crisis, demanding billions of dollars of research efforts and international cooperation. Reagan and Meese, with their obscene drive to regiment society, are using sex-panic hysteria which criminally obstructs efforts to find a cure. Though even government figures project a sharp increase in AIDS cases, every year Reagan has proposed slashing funding for research. For 1986 he proposed cutting more than $20 million from the already pitifully inadequate $233.8 million appropriated by Congress! Reagan actually suggested recently that people could avoid AIDS by stockpiling their own blood for use in transfusions, an idiotic suggestion greeted with horror by the Red Cross and doctors at the international AIDS conference just concluded in Paris.

Meese's Justice Department ruling has now given the government a green light to sheer panic lynch law. The peculiar 49-page decision admits that if you *have* AIDS you might be protected by laws prohibiting discrimination against the handicapped, but there's no protection if you *don't* have AIDS but your boss has "fear of contagion." So if your boss thinks you're gay and might get AIDS and spread it, out you go. Medical and scientific evidence is irrelevant, the ruling says. The handicapped law "certainly is not a general prohibition against irrational decision-making by employers or others," it states. With indecent flippancy and cruelty, the Justice Department goes on:

> "Consider an employer who has the bizarre belief that persons with curly hair make better employees than persons with straight hair. Section 504 [the ruling prohibiting discrimination against the handicapped] does not prohibit the employer from making hiring decisions based on this wholly unreasonable basis.. a person cannot be regarded as handicapped simply because others shun his company. Otherwise, a host of personal traits, from ill temper to poor personal hygiene, would constitute handicaps."
>
> —*New York Times*, 23 June

Here we are dealing with a spreading, invariably fatal disease with no cure—and Meese's boys are making sick jokes about bad breath and curly hair! And what about other "irrational beliefs," like maybe the boss thinks workers with white skin are better than those with dark skin? The whole presumption is of an unlimited right to fire workers at will.

The Justice Department decision not only codifies vicious discrimination, but will make stopping the spread of AIDS more difficult. Given the witchhunt atmosphere against AIDS patients and the ruling that the "fear of contagion" is grounds for firing someone, most people will surely hesitate to go in for a medical check for AIDS just because they belong to a category considered "at risk" (homosexuals, prostitutes, drug addicts). Besides, the Public Health Service's recommended HTLV-III antibody test is a very rough-cut test, with a large error rate, that simply indicates you have been exposed to the virus at some point. Yet a positive result is enough to get you fired. The U.S. military rejects everyone who tests positive in its blood tests, and the Navy court-martialed and jailed one sailor who refused to take the test. And given the Supreme Court's upholding of reactionary sodomy laws, you can presumably go directly to jail now if you are found "guilty" of exposure to the AIDS virus via a homosexual contact.

The monstrous arrogance of this degenerate ruling class knows no bounds. As AIDS spreads among the U.S. population, the anti-gay Reaganites are willing to let a deadly epidemic rage unchecked. Truly, the sleep of reason produces monsters, as Goya titled an etching in the period of reaction following the French Revolution. The monsters ruling this nation today are the product of violent imperialism in its period of decay. Instead of the principles of the Age of Enlightenment, capitalism's revolutionary years, in which the eradication of medieval superstition by scientific knowledge began, this ruling class has the reactionary witchhunting mindset of the *ancien régime*, looking for god's plagues to punish its enemies. We had better sweep them away through socialist revolution before they kill all of us. ■

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be legal, but abortion clinic bombers have been given a clear go-ahead by the state to close down the clinics by extra-legal terror. White-hooded KKK assassins along with their Nazi cohorts were given the green light when local, state and federal police aided and abetted their 1979 murder of anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, and an all-white jury later acquitted the fascists.

The government itself acted without a fig leaf of "legality" in the hideous state terror unleashed in Philadelphia against the black MOVE commune in May 1985. Bearing the signature of the Reagan years, the MOVE massacre—incinerating eleven black people, including five children—was carried out by the Philadelphia police and mayor's office with help from the FBI, which supplied the C-4 explosive used in the bomb. Meese praised the MOVE bombing to a California cops convention as a "good example" to emulate.

"Rollback" of the Civil War?

In its drive to "roll back" civil liberties, civil rights and social progress generally, the Reagan administration has intervened heavily against both legalized abortion and the *Miranda* ruling that suspects must be informed upon arrest of their legal rights against self-incrimination and to have a lawyer. Solicitor General Charles Fried filed the first brief in decades in which the government urged the Court to overturn a major decision—*Roe v. Wade*, the landmark abortion rights case. Meese has been unrelenting in his attacks on *Miranda* and indeed all Fourth Amendment protections against illegal search and seizure. Hence his now infamous statement that, "You don't have many suspects who are innocent of a crime. That's contradictory. If a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 14 October 1985)!

Here the nation's highest "justice" official wants to turn the clock back on centuries of evolution of the Anglo-American judicial tradition, which resulted in "the requirement of proof beyond a reasonable doubt...and, indeed, that the presumption of the trial would be changed from guilt to innocence" (Charles Rembar, *The Law of the Land* [1980]). So far, *Roe v. Wade* is still on the books, and so is *Miranda*, although inconsistently upheld.

A year ago, Meese touched off a debate by denouncing the theory of "incorporation," a legal doctrine which holds that the Bill of Rights applies to the states as well as to the federal government. We know what "states' rights" is all about. Any discussion of the "original intent" of the authors of the United States Constitution and its Amendments necessarily leads to the question of black slavery and its abolition. As originally drafted, the Constitution sanctioned slavery and set the context for coexistence between two societies—the emerging capitalism of the North and the slavocracy of the South. Columnist Russell Baker's scathing satire on the "Meese doctrine" captures its logical conclusion.

> "Under the Meese doctrine the Supreme Court would be justified, it seems to me, in having another look at the question of slavery's legality.
>
> "Having to pay insolent and incompetent college students $12 an hour when slavery is an available constitutional alternative strikes me as one of the things that's wrong with this country. Regrettably, Mr. Meese shows little zest

continued on page 8

Pat Oliphant

"This here court finds you guilty as charged, which you no doubt, indeed, probably are, or you wouldn't be hanging around like that."

Pat Oliphant

'You seem to be a heterosexual couple. You may proceed.'

Library of Congress

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

Confederate Museum, Richmond

Washington Post

FINISH THE CIVIL WAR! (Top left) Black union troops were decisive in defeating the slavocracy: 54th Massachusetts Colored Regiment charging Fort Wagner, South Carolina, 1863. (Top right) 15th Amendment gave black men the vote: black U.S. marshals monitor balloting in New Orleans, 1876. (Bottom left) Ex-slaves made up majority of radical Republicans in South Carolina Reconstruction legislature. (Bottom right) Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982: 5,000-strong SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stops the KKK.

Reagan's Sex Witchhunt...

(continued from page 7)

> for restoring slavery in line with the intent of the Framers. He talks instead of trifles. One suspects he is merely swatting at flies—trying to outlaw abortion, abolish the Miranda rule and other such piffling stuff."
>
> —*New York Times*, 19 October 1985

The destruction of chattel slavery, which held black people in bondage for centuries, was achieved with iron and blood. The victory of the North was secured, finally, by the introduction of black Union troops, and a profound social revolution took place in the South. Enormous social gains were achieved by the Civil War, the second American revolution. These gains were codified in a series of Amendments to the Constitution: the 13th Amendment (1865) abolished slavery. The 14th Amendment (1868) declared that no state may deny a person life or liberty without due process of law; this in particular is cited by lawyers as the constitutional basis for applying the Bill of Rights to the states. The 15th Amendment (1870) extended to black men the right to vote.

This revolutionary process was cut short and left uncompleted by the Northern bourgeoisie's betrayal of radical Reconstruction. The Compromise of 1877 removed the Union occupying army, including many black troops. Lynch mobs, the KKK, the poll tax and reimposition of rigid segregation by terror kept Southern blacks, now formally emancipated, economically and politically disenfranchised. The civil rights movement of the late 1950s and '60s achieved legislative relief from Jim Crow segregation in the South, most notably the Voting Rights and Civil Rights Acts. Meese, who shares the late J. Edgar Hoover's obsessive fear and loathing of black struggle, seeks to strip away even these minimal gains. This is the central purpose of his doctrine of "original intent."

Communism: America's Last, Best Hope

Like tsarist Russia in its last days, the American bourgeoisie exhibits increasingly irrational and brutal symptoms of a ruling class in its death agony. One of these is the attempted rollback of supposedly constitutionally protected rights. Harold Laski explains in his treatise on the class nature of the state:

> "...how accidental was the union of capitalism with democracy. It was the outcome, not of an essential harmony of inner principle, but of that epoch in economic evolution when capitalism was in its phase of expansion. It had conferred political power upon the masses; but it was upon the saving condition that political power should not be utilized to cut at the root of capitalist postulates. It would offer social reforms so long as these did not jeopardize the essential relations of the capitalist system. When they did, as occurred in the post-war [World War I] years, the contradiction between capitalism and democracy became the essential institutional feature of Western civilization."
>
> —Harold J. Laski, *The State in Theory and Practice* (1935)

Liberals and reformists of all stripes preach that the exploited and oppressed may find the road to their emancipation through pressuring the state. A gross expression of such slavish reliance on the class enemy may be found in the Communist Party's perennial demand to "ban the Klan"—i.e., the appeal to the racist capitalist state to rid itself of its dogs of war, its fascist arsenal in reserve. For those reared on the myth of the courts as a force for social progress, the present actions of the federal judiciary should give pause. As for Congress, Reagan's Democratic "opposition" has fallen into lock step with the anti-Soviet war drive, from Nicaragua to Angola. And desperate liberals looking to the state courts these days simply go off the scale of illusions in "reform."

As Lenin explained in his polemic *State and Revolution*, written on the eve of the Bolsheviks' 1917 October Revolution to uphold the Marxist position on the state against the reformists of his times: the state is "an organ of class *domination*, an organ of *oppression* of one class by another." He goes on:

> "But from this capitalist democracy—inevitably narrow, subtly rejecting the poor, and therefore hypocritical and false to the core—progress does not march onward, simply, smoothly and directly, to 'greater and greater democracy,' as the liberal professors and petty-bourgeois opportunists would have us believe. No, progress marches onward, *i.e.*, towards Communism, through the dictatorship of the proletariat; it cannot do otherwise, for there is no one else and no other way to *break the resistance* of the capitalist exploiters."

What is required today to defend even the most elementary democratic rights in this country is nothing less than socialist revolution.

For Marxists, rights are not an ideal abstraction but the product of *struggle* by the working class and oppressed against their capitalist masters. But reformists we have known think differently. George Novack of the long-since ex-Trotskyist (and now explicitly anti-Trotskyist) Socialist Workers Party, in his book *Democracy and Revolution* (1971), wrote that, "The right of revolution is the supreme right of any people and the ultimate safeguard of its democracy." The SWP actually tried to win legal sanction for this utopian social-democratic concept in its "socialist Watersuit" against the FBI—to no avail. Four decades earlier, Laski could have told them: "the attempt... to find a legal basis for the right to revolution" is "an impossible attempt."

Precisely because we in the Spartacist League are Leninists who understand the class nature of the state, we have been able to win some modest but unique and impressive victories in the courts. Our successful legal challenge to the 1983 FBI guidelines which recast all leftist opposition to the government as "terrorism" was a singular victory against the new McCarthyism. We forced the government to concede that Marxists are not terrorists—an important protection for the entire left and workers movement. But all rights of the working class must be defended with the methods of the class struggle, on the streets and on the picket lines.

We take as our model Lenin's Bolshevik Party which led the proletariat to power in Russia. This task is all the more urgent today as the bipartisan imperialist drive for war against the Soviet Union drags the planet ever closer to nuclear Armageddon. Reagan and Meese want a servile, flag-waving population longing to invade Nicaragua, then Cuba, and then on to the Big One: Russia. But they don't have it, and to get it they have targeted democratic rights won through the first two American revolutions. Today it is the Marxists who vigilantly uphold these gains, as we fight for the liberation of all the oppressed in a third, proletarian revolution. Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state! ■

CORRECTION

The article "Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland" in *WV* No. 406, 20 June, erroneously identified the French organization Lutte Ouvrière (LO) as participating in last December's anti-Communist demonstration against the visit of Poland's General Jaruzelski. LO was not present, though much of the so-called far left was. LO did, however, alibi CIA financing for the Force Ouvrière union, much of which was transferred to Solidarność (see *WV* No. 393, 13 December 1985). Since 1980, LO has called for "complete solidarity" with Solidarność, while characterizing Walesa's clerical-nationalist program as "completely counterposed to the future political and economic interests of the Polish working class."

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Dump Mayor Goode!

Victory to Philly Strikers!

WV Photo

Striking city workers say: no difference between Reagan and Goode.

PHILADELPHIA, July 14—Since July 1, when the mostly black city sanitation workers struck along with water department and white-collar technical workers, trash and garbage collection has been brought to a complete halt. Philadelphia unions have a history of combativeness, having struck the city repeatedly in transport, schools and santitation. Now, with garbage piling up at a rate of 3,200 tons a day and with temperatures soaring into the 90s, Philly is on the verge of a municipal crisis. City workers have the bosses and bankers by the balls—and now is the time to squeeze.

Presiding over the refuse, rats and maggots is Wilson Goode, mayor and black front man for Reaganite reaction. Goode, in cahoots with Reagan and Meese, carried out the horrendous racist bombing and massacre of six adults and five children of the MOVE commune and the gutting of the homes of 61 black families just over a year ago. Distrust and discontent with Goode have escalated in black Philadelphia over the past year. Goode's job is on the line: he needs to break this strike to prove to his white capitalist masters that he can keep black workers in line.

The core of the 13,000 striking city workers organized by AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) are the mostly black sanitation workers who do the dirty, dangerous jobs no one else will do. Now baby-killer Goode is blaming these black unionists for jeopardizing the health and safety of Philly residents! Workers scored an early victory on July 4th, when technical crews which came to set up for a gala concert in front of the Art Museum respected strikers' picket lines. But on July 11 the smaller white-collar union, District Council 47, announced its own settlement, which was rightly condemned by the larger local.

Now Goode's capitalist advisers are urging him to call on private contractors to scab on the strike. A July 9 editorial in the liberal *Philadelphia Inquirer* warned the union that it "would be making a serious mistake" if it interfered with trash removal by private haulers, and threatened strikers with state cops and the National Guard. But for all the threats and tough talk, the city knows the strikers have them over a barrel right now. Goode's union-busting and strikebreaking can be thrown back in his face. What's key here is the resoluteness of the striking union to stand up to the capitalist state and particularly the Democratic Party politicians.

On the picket lines, workers carried signs: "Goode or Reagan—What's the Difference!" But both DC 33 and 47 staunchly supported Goode last time out; in fact, Earl Stout, the black head of the key sanitation workers local, announced in the middle of contract talks that he continues to support Goode—MOVE massacre and all—for a second term. In Philadelphia today it is the attitude to this bloody atrocity that is the decisive test of political consciousness. A class-struggle workers party must be built that fights for proletarian vengeance for the MOVE martyrs: Free Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners now!

When the bosses, bankers and Democratic Party politicians blame the strikers for "endangering health and safety," the union should boldly meet the challenge by saying who the real terrorists, murderers and enemies of working people are. Had there been a mass mobilization in response to the massacre of MOVE, Wilson Goode wouldn't even be in City Hall today. It is by championing the interests of the deeply oppressed that black and working-class Philadelphia can be mobilized to smash the union-busters and strikebreakers today. In May 1985, two weeks after the bombing of MOVE, we wrote:

> "The Osage Avenue massacre was supposed to be a message to anybody who gets 'out of line' in Reagan's America—blacks will get the Philly treatment ... and everyone, not least the Marxists, will get the 'terrorist' treatment. But you can fight the terrorists in City Hall and the White House and win. Black people do have social power: they are concentrated in some of the key sections of the American proletariat, constituting its most militant layer. But to unlock this power means breaking the capitalist two-party stranglehold, fighting for a workers party to mobilize labor and oppressed blacks in revolutionary struggle against this racist, capitalist system." ■

Bingham...

(continued from page 4)

underline how "dangerous" and "violent" they were presumed to be. In surrendering now, Bingham said, he figured the political climate had improved. In his view, the Watergate exposure was key to undermining illusions in the government's veracity, so that a California jury could be induced to fairly consider the defense's evidence that prison officials lied.

Well, it worked. But contrary to Bingham's liberal illusions in the permanent effects of the Watergate scandal, the real damage to government credibility was the losing war in Vietnam, in pursuit of which both Democratic and Republican administrations showed themselves to be shameless liars, over and over again. And what most facilitated Bingham's gratifying court victory was surely the tragic fact of the utter destruction of the black radical cadres of the 1960s and '70s—by outright cop/FBI murder as well as by legal frame-ups.

The moderate civil rights leaders of yesterday became the black elected officials of today. And as they now preside over the "rollback" of the few gains that were wrested by the struggles of millions, the ruling-class hysteria about the Panthers has subsided. But Reagan's America has new targets to be "terrorist"-baited and shot down like "mad dogs," from the children of Libyan strongman Qaddafi to the children of a back-to-nature black commune in Philadelphia.

Stephen Bingham says he's looking forward to getting on with his life, and hopes to get involved in legal work on behalf of tenants or trade unions. If he has the same rad-lib "serve the people" politics he had a dozen years ago, that still makes him a lot more honorable than those "older but wiser" graduates of the New Left, who after a radical fling in their youth are now networking with Jerry Rubin at Studio 54 or exercising to Jane Fonda's "Workout" video. Maybe from time to time they'll play Bob Dylan's "Ballad of George Jackson" on their stereo, although Phil Ochs' "Love Me, I'm a Liberal" is more to the point.

From the government's hideous bombing of Philly MOVE to the trial of Stephen Bingham, intended to relive and justify anew the murder of George Jackson, the state's message is that it intends to have black radicals killed, and those who defend them framed up. Bingham's acquittal is a blow against the Reagan/Meese campaign to intimidate and terrorize political opposition on the home front of the anti-Soviet war drive. But it will take proletarian revolution to avenge the murder of George Jackson! ■

Springer/Bettman Archive

Jean Seberg, driven to her death by FBI because she was a Black Panther sympathizer.

Gusano Slasher...

(continued from page 3)

woman. Barry Allen is serving up to four years for chain snatching and violating parole. Troy Canty was ordered to undergo treatment at a drug and alcohol rehab center after conviction for robbing video-game machines. Still, Goetz' bullet in the spine made Cabey a paraplegic, confined to a wheelchair for life.

From the beginning, the case has been manipulated. Koch and Manhattan District Attorney Morgenthau first hoped the Goetz affair would just go away. They were ready to drop everything...except the crime of crimes for the bourgeoisie, gun possession. But Goetz got some publicity-hound lawyers who wanted a show trial to whip up racist sentiment for "Backlash Man." Meanwhile, something had to be done to defuse the outrage over the rampaging cops, who were shooting down black youth in the subways, stun-gunning kids in Queens, blowing away a black grandmother in her Bronx apartment, even running down an elderly doctor on Park Avenue. So they went after Goetz precisely because he's not a cop.

WV Photo

James Grimes

If the Goetz incident was contradictory, the issue of self-defense was utterly unambiguous in the case of black subway clerk James Grimes. The 55-year-old unionist courageously defended himself, while carrying Transit Authority funds, from a murderous assault by three muggers on January 6. Grimes had been the victim of four previous muggings, including one in which his token booth was doused with gasoline. He is a model family man who has raised 15 foster and adopted children, along with three of his own. He had suffered two heart attacks and had to have emergency surgery to have a pacemaker implanted after the assault. But that didn't stop Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman from putting him through six months of legal torture.

There was widespread sympathy throughout New York City for Grimes, but that support had to be mobilized. The leadership of Transport Workers Union Local 100 first stabbed Grimes in the back, then gave at most token backing to the victimized brother. But supporters of the Committee for a Fighting TWU and fellow subway clerks let the D.A. and TA bosses know they couldn't go after Grimes with impunity, and demonstrated outside each court appearance. This support was crucial in winning victory on June 25. But even after finally dismissing the gun possession charges against Grimes, Judge Gerschwer said he wanted to make sure no one got the idea that they can "carry a gun and get away with it." On July 8, black token clerk Clarence Anderson was stabbed to death in his booth at Beverley Road, Brooklyn.

What's common to all these cases is the capitalist rulers' determination to hold on to their monopoly on arms. The NY City Council law against carrying long arms in public was zipped through to prevent Malcolm X from carrying a carbine—he was assassinated shortly after. From Malcolm X to black subway worker Willie Turks, beaten to death by a lynch mob in Gravesend, *gun control kills blacks!* The right to armed self-defense is fundamental. This is a violent racist city in a violent racist country. And the 500 people on board the Staten Island Ferry last Monday were damn lucky Edward del Pino had a gun and knew how to use it. ■

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Cop Vendetta Against L.A. Black Activist

Hands Off Michael Zinzun!

LOS ANGELES—On June 22, Michael Zinzun, a former Black Panther and long-time co-chairman of the L.A. Coalition Against Police Abuse, was the victim of a vicious racist beating at the hands of the Pasadena cops that has left him blind in one eye. At a news conference the next day, called to demand an outside investigation of the police conduct, Zinzun appeared "with his left eye purple and swollen several times its normal size.... His head had been shaved to accommodate 40 stitches" (*Pasadena Star-News*, 24 June).

Zinzun was at home in the early hours of Sunday morning when he heard a disturbance next door. When he and his children went outside, they saw a 30-year-old black man, Steve Rivers, on the ground, handcuffed and being beaten by the police who alleged he was a robbery suspect. Zinzun, together with 30 to 40 neighbors from the adjacent Community Arms Housing Project who had responded to Rivers' screams, demanded that the police stop beating Rivers. They asked for the badge numbers and names of the cops. The cops responded by macing the crowd and calling for reinforcements.

Zinzun's 12-year-old daughter then urged him to leave the scene. As he did, he was hit from behind by one of the cops and maced in the face. Zinzun told *WV*, "I ran away, but the officer grabbed me and sprayed more mace in my eyes. As they were handcuffing me, I felt blows. There was one massive blow to my eye that appeared to be from a metal flashlight." It was undoubtedly this blow which severed the optic nerve of Zinzun's left eye. The beating continued as he lay on the ground, and resulted in two skull fractures and a huge gash in his head. Zinzun remarked, "I think they were going to kill me right away."

Frank Taylor, another resident who tried to stop the rampaging cops, was placed in a choke hold and repeatedly beaten by five of the now more than 15 cops. Both Taylor and Zinzun were arrested for "interfering with a police officer." Zinzun was then taken to the jail ward at County-USC Medical Center, and later released on $5,000 bail. No charges have been filed against Zinzun, Taylor or Rivers, pending an "investigation" of the incident.

Michael Zinzun was singled out for his long-time criticism and exposure of the rampant racist atrocities of L.A.-area police. And not for the first time—the cops have made Zinzun the target of a vicious racist vendetta for years. In 1975, the cops raided his Pasadena Community Information Center, sending seven people to the hospital and then jail. They tried to frame Zinzun up for "inciting to riot," but the charges were dropped. Again in 1982, they tried to frame him on felony charges for the "crime" of protesting cop brutality when the Pasadena police staged another provocation near his home.

Zinzun has repeatedly called for "community control" of the police through a citizen police review board. Joined by 150 angry residents, Zinzun presented the Pasadena Board of Directors his demands for "police accountability" at a June 30 meeting. The demands include indictment and suspension of the cops involved in the

Steve Grayson

Michael Zinzun, left eye blinded in savage police beating, speaks at Pasadena city council meeting.

beating, barring the choke hold, and requiring immediate use of police "business cards" which would include the cop's name and badge number. Supposedly such a card would be proffered by the thugs in uniform before they deliver their real "calling cards"—brutal beatings with Mag-lites and lethal choke holds and bullets.

Zinzun, currently Peace & Freedom Party candidate for the 55th Assembly District, has also demanded an "independent" investigation of the attack. To this request, the Board responded quickly by naming the L.A. law firm of Cotkin, Collins, Kolts & Franscell to carry out the investigation. This firm's list of past clients reads like a "Who's Who" of L.A.-area racist killer cops. This is the firm that defended Signal Hill police in the 1981 jailhouse murder case of Ron Settles, a promising young black football star at Long Beach State.

They're also the same lawyers that represented the cops who cold bloodedly pumped eight bullets into Eulia Love in 1979, over an unpaid gas bill of $22. Cotkin, Collins & Co. have also been involved in defending police in past cases brought by the Coalition Against Police Abuse. While the city has now withdrawn the nomination of this law firm after heated criticism, this is the kind of "justice" and "impartiality" you get when you look to the capitalist state to investigate its own hired racist henchmen.

This latest brutal cop attack has tapped a seething and justified rage among black residents of Pasadena, a heavily-minority city of 150,000 just ten miles north of Los Angeles. As the city fathers celebrate the 100th anniversary of the "City of Roses," the harsh reality of life for blacks in Reagan's America has reared its ugly head. An incredulous Toni Stewart, spokesman for the NAACP, explained that "this is northwest Pasadena, not South Africa." But blacks in the Los Angeles area are all too familiar with the marauding of the LAPD and its suburban junior partners.

On July 21, the Pasadena Board of Directors will respond to Zinzun's demands. But clearly no powerless civilian police review board or appeals to the state for an "independent investigation" will control these professional killers, who are barely controlled by the bourgeoisie whose class interests they are paid to protect. "Community control" of the police under capitalism is a dangerous illusion. The presence of black Democratic Party mayor "Uncle Tom" Bradley hasn't held back the rampaging LAPD with its battering-ram tanks, APCs and trigger-happy SWAT teams.

There must be powerful mobilizations of labor, blacks, Chicanos to stop this racist terror. And it will take a proletarian revolution to bring justice for the exploited and oppressed, and vengeance for all the victims of these badge-toting killers. ■

Chile...

(continued from page 5)

Communists are to be "banned, isolated," nonetheless, "we will do our best to accentuate the anti-Pinochet aspect of the document." PCCh general secretary Luis Corvalán said straight out that in order to get a "democratic regime" in Chile, "we cannot rule out the possibility of an understanding on the matter with the armed forces in defiance of the tyrant" (*New Times* [Moscow], November 1985). After the July work stoppage they were even more explicit, saying the CP "favors negotiations with the armed forces and would support a military government 'without President Pinochet' as a formula for returning the country to democracy" (*Washington Post*, 7 July).

Under Allende and in the years following the coup, the Chilean "popular front"—from the CP and social democrats to their various fronts of the Chile Democrático variety (and including the ex-leftist MIR)—constantly chanted, "The people united will never be defeated." At a 1976 demonstration in New York against the torture ship *Esmeralda*, this call for class collaboration with the "democratic" bourgeoisie was sharply answered by the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League who countered with the chant, "Popular front means workers' blood." It was the refusal of the Stalinists and social democrats to transcend the bounds of capitalism, even returning land and factories seized by the workers to their capitalist "owners," and permitting the military's brutal searches for "illegal" arms which led to the tragedy of September 11. But this isn't just hindsight. From the moment of Allende's election, we said:

> "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970

Here we were merely applying the lessons drawn by Leon Trotsky from the defeat of the Spanish Revolution in the 1930s. Yet those who claim to represent Trotskyism in Chile deny Trotsky's central conclusion, that only by a victorious proletarian revolution can the forces of counterrevolution be crushed. The publication of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," *International Viewpoint* (28 October 1985), notes that "the lesson drawn today by many hundreds of communist cadres and thousands of young people is critical of the Popular Unity because it was unarmed," and adds: "Anything concerning the policy of class collaboration or the problem of alliances with the bourgeoisie tends therefore to be overlooked in any balance sheet of the 1970-1973 period." This is true of no one more than the Mandelites themselves! The balance sheet on "The Chilean Tragedy" by the USec's "Tenth World Congress" declared:

> "It would be completely out of place to make the presence of bourgeois political groupings inside the Popular Unity or the presence of bourgeois ministers within the Allende government the axis of our criticism of the Popular Unity."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 23 December 1974

Today, Mandel & Co. say that in Chile "revolutionaries must reply with a radical democratic perspective, one for the overthrow of the dictatorship through mass mobilisation and the election of a free and sovereign constituent assembly excluding the military." Yet in Chile today, with massive unemployment and burning land hunger, *everyone* from Pinochet on down is vividly aware that social revolution would be posed in the first hours of an uprising to overthrow the dictatorship. These fake-Trotskyists with their talk of a "radical-democratic perspective" are joining the Stalinists against the revolutionary masses. The bourgeoisie is diametrically opposed to a fight for democratic demands *out of fear for its class rule*. That is why decisive sections of the bourgeois opposition won't ally openly with the Communist Party, despite its explicit willingness to betray the working class in the interests of "anti-Pinochet unity"; and why they insist, as the *sine qua non* for a National Accord, on prohibiting any mention of armed struggle and anointing the sanctity of capitalist property rights. Therefore, the proletariat must take the lead in fighting for democratic demands as part of its program for *workers revolution*, for a workers and peasants government.

The ground is moving in Pinochet's Chile. There are serious rumblings in the Chilean military. After telling Pinochet he could only count on his loyalty until 1989 (when the junta chief is supposed to step down under his own constitution), air force commander Matthei followed this up by suddenly transfering Chile's entire force of Mirage interceptor jets and Northrop F-5E fighter jets to the southern tip of the 4,000-kilometer long Andean country at Punta Arenas. Navy chief admiral José Torribo Merino publicly called for revising Pinochet's constitution. And when Pinochet passed over senior generals Frez and Danus to appoint loyalist General Sinclair army commander, the general staff, instead of retiring the two, put them in command of the best armed troops in the country. As a well-informed article in the West German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (12 May) noted:

> "'Only the General Staff could have decided that,' according to a military expert in Santiago. 'It apparently decided against Pinochet. If Frez and Danus act together with the Navy and the Air Force, then Pinochet's game is over. Militarily he won't be able to do anything more then.' The Americans know that, too: recently U.S. ambassador Harry Barnes spent two hours with Danus in Punta Arenas."

The Reagan government, after years of unconditional support to Pinochet as a bulwark against Communism, has also heard the tremors in Chile. In March the U.S. voted for a UN human rights resolution on Chile for the first time since 1980, although largely as part of its war against Sandinista Nicaragua. An administration emissary has been dispatched to Santiago. The State Department, says *Der Spiegel*, would prefer an "honorable resignation" by Pinochet. A U.S. embassy official in Santiago is quoted as saying, "The Chileans must first show their capacity to create the internal unrest necessary for a change.... Only then can the U.S. floor the gas pedal." But they could miscalculate.

The working masses of Chile have undergone brutal torture, seen their loved ones and leaders assassinated, and survived a dozen years under Pinochet's jackboot. They have not endured all this to be a pawn of the CIA and find themselves ruled over by "democratic" generals and capitalists who grew rich under the dictatorship. From the creation in the last months of Allende's UP of the *cordones industriales*, regional factory committees which could have become soviets, to the bitter strikes of the copper miners against Pinochet and the determined resistance of the Santiago *poblaciones*, the Chilean masses have fought under the most adverse conditions. What they have lacked, and what is the key to rooting out the bonapartist dictatorship, is an authentic Trotskyist party, forged in uncompromising opposition to all forms of popular frontism. The battle cry of the Chilean Revolution must be: Pinochet to the Wall! Workers to Power! ■

Mass Evictions...

(continued from page 12)

while 11,000 applicants are waiting, some for ten years, to get into the projects. Even so, over 17 percent of the public housing units in D.C. stand vacant because the city never laid out the money for maintenance. Cynically playing off tenants' frustrations with the city's housing managers, D.C. black Democratic Congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy joined hands with Reaganite Republican Jack Kemp to put forward union-busting legislation for project residents to do their own maintenance at minimal wages! And now the administration, after gutting every form of housing assistance for the poor since 1981, wants to slash new public housing construction to zero, while pumping trillions into the military buildup for nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

Matheny/Black American

D.C. homeless protest intended eviction from shelter, proclaiming, "Hell no, we won't go!"

War on Blacks, Labor, Poor

Federal and city officials have already declared war on the city's estimated 5,000-10,000 homeless. The government's primary target is Mitch Snyder's Community for Creative Non-Violence (CCNV) shelter for the homeless a few blocks from the Capitol. Relying on volunteer work and private donations, the CCNV provides food and housing for over 700 people. Through repeated, well-publicized hunger strikes, Snyder has held off the attempts to close down the shelter while publicizing the issue of the homeless in Washington and across the country. Last November, shelter residents fought off attempts to move them into a federally operated building in Anacostia, several miles from downtown D.C.

Thereupon, Health and Human Services chief of staff C. McClain Haddow drew up a plan for a full-scale military assault, using specially trained "Federal Protection" agents backed by D.C. police. Haddow ranted about armed and dangerous Vietnam vets holed up in the CCNV "bunker," setting the stage for a slaughter like the bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia. The assault was called off only when someone informed the White House that killing off a bunch of homeless people, during the Christmas holidays wouldn't go over too well with public opinion. "Homeless Win One Over Rambo," headlined the *Washington Post* (31 December 1985).

Some of the anger seething through black Washington surfaced at a city council hearing into "Operation Caribbean Cruise," a brutal police raid last winter ostensibly targeting the Rastafarian cult, which was charged with running drugs to finance the overthrow of the Jamaican government. At 5 a.m. on February 22, D.C. police and federal agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Internal Revenue Service stormed into 69 black homes, seizing passports, destroying property and sowing terror. Several speakers at the July 2 hearing compared the raid to South Africa and the massacre of Philly MOVE. Only by luck was no one killed.

Meanwhile, real estate developers, many of whom are Barry's biggest financial backers, are forcing more and more blacks out of inner-city neighborhoods slated for "gentrification." As condo development proceeds and rents streak upwards, overcrowding has become endemic. This was horribly exemplified by the tragic fire last January that killed nine Salvadorans sleeping in a D.C. basement. Across the Potomac in Alexandria, thousands of Salvadoran refugees, blacks and Asians are being uprooted from the low-income Arlandria apartment complex which is to be renovated for a Yuppie clientele paying double the current rents. As they said in the '60s, "urban renewal means Negro removal."

"Home Rule" Hoax

Most of Washington's projects were built in the 1950s when developers tore down the infamous "alley dwellings" and other slum areas in Southwest D.C., Georgetown and Capitol Hill and put up luxurious apartment and hotel complexes. Public housing was carefully situated on the outskirts of the city, mostly east of the Anacostia River, far out of sight of bureaucrats and tourists. The 1968 ghetto explosion following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. further spurred efforts to "decentralize" the black population. The riot-torn areas have never been rebuilt, and while Barry has presided over the construction of a Metro subway system to comfortably move government officials from the suburbs to downtown, the Green Line through the black 14th Street corridor and Anacostia was never begun.

What black Washington got after 1968 was the fig leaf of "home rule," under which Congress and the White House maintained control while providing a mostly powerless elected city government (but no voting representation in Congress). Former civil rights activists like ex-SNCCer Barry, who once called the D.C. police an "occupation army," now started recruiting black cops. Going from the scandal-ridden Pride, Inc. youth program to the mayor's seat, Barry typifies the sellout black "leaders" who have made their political careers, first heading up the liberal civil rights movement and then using state power to keep the black masses in line for the racist rulers. As columnist Courtland Milloy bitterly observed on the tenth anniversary of "home rule":

> "New black masters now oversee the plantation that is D.C. Although the color of the faces has changed, this is still the last African colony."
> —*Washington Post*, 3 January 1985

From voting $100 million for the Nicaraguan contra bands and cheering the murder-bombing of Libya to mass evictions and raining bloody terror on black people at home, the Democrats act and sound more and more like the Reagan gang. And no wonder, for they share the fundamental aims of U.S. imperialism, and centrally the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive, which spells war against the working people and minorities at home. This must be fought by mobilizing the working class at the head of all the oppressed. Stop Barry's eviction threats by mass labor action to shut down D.C.! For massive public works at full union wages and benefits, to provide jobs for the jobless and homes for the homeless! For labor/black mobilization to stop the racist terrorists!

An example of the kind of workers action that can bring down Reagan reaction (including its Democratic front men) was the Labor/Black Mobilization in November 1982, initiated by the Spartacist League, which with broad union backing brought out thousands of black workers and youth and stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital. Faced with the deadly threat by the KKK lynchers, Mayor Marion Barry made sure he was 3,000 miles away in Los Angeles, while Congressional delegate Fauntroy railed against "Tarzan Trotskyites" and libeled anti-Klan protesters as some kind of criminals.

But black Washington cheered. And as the victorious anti-racist protesters marched by the White House, where Reagan was meeting with South African foreign minister "Pik" Botha, the crowd chanted the battle cry for a third, proletarian, American Revolution: "1-2-3-4, Time to Finish the Civil War! 5-6-7-8, Forward to a Workers State!" ■

South Africa...

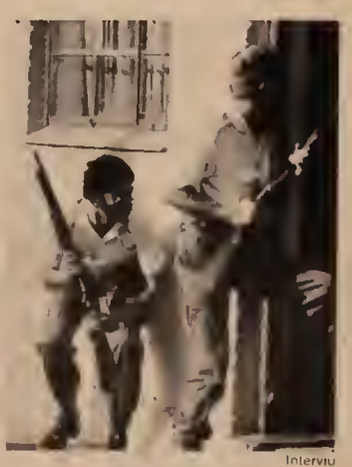
(continued from page 12)

mines around Kimberley, the historic center of the South African diamond industry. They went back only after the company promised to campaign for the release of the interned union leaders. At the same time, a massive slowdown hit Anglo American's Free State Geduld, the largest gold mine complex in the world. A 1,000-man work action also disrupted production at Anglo American's Kriel coal mine.

The mines are at the very heart of apartheid capitalism. South Africa supplies one half of the gold for the "free world," one third of its gem diamonds and is the dominant exporter of the strategically important minerals chromium, manganese and platinum. The *New York Times* (15 July) reports that, "Fearing Instability, West Seeks to Replace Minerals From Africa." Now that really would be "divestment"—not some stock market deal, but cutting off South Africa's most valuable exports. Except it's not so easy to produce ersatz chromium or find other sources for cobalt (most shipped from Zambia and Zaire through South African ports). And without cobalt there's no jet engines; without chromium, no stainless steel... no modern world.

South Africa's militant black proletariat has great strategic power. However, it remains *politically shackled* to petty-bourgeois nationalism. From its formation last December, the COSATU leadership has demonstrated close ties to the African National Congress (ANC). The subordination of the black workers movement to the ANC nationalists can only derail class struggle against the apartheid bosses. This was treacherously demonstrated last fall when NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa sabotaged a nationwide gold strike on the eve of a meeting between South African capitalists, headed up by Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly, and the ANC.

For almost two years the apartheid system has been shaken as never before by black revolt. However, the military power of the white-supremacist government remains intact. This situation cannot long continue. The apartheid state must be smashed or the South African ruling class will restore a social peace of the graveyard through a massive bloodbath. Botha's state of emergency—a big "screw you" to "world opinion"—signals preparations for a "final solution" to black unrest. The black African, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers can emerge victorious in the impending civil war only if they are led by a racially integrated Leninist workers party, which stands for the principle that he who labors should rule ■



Intervi

Botha's apartheid repression in the townships.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Miners, Students Strike Against Apartheid Terror

JULY 14—Today South Africa was hit by the first nationally coordinated mass protest against the "state of emergency" imposed by the apartheid regime on June 12. The "day of action" was called by the black trade unions and many workers stayed home, transportation was disrupted, cities like Johanneshurg were unusually empty and black schools had few students. Although initial reports indicate that the protest action was not as extensive as the general strikes of May Day and June 16, it nonetheless clearly demonstrates that the black labor movement is now in the forefront of the struggle against the apartheid police state. Today's *New York Times* observed: "Since June 12 when the decree was imposed, the country's black labor movement has emerged as the most vocal challenger to the white authorities, filling a vacuum left by political organizations whose leaders have been silenced by detention and threat."

You can't dig coal with bayonets, American miners leader John L. Lewis once said. Or gold or diamonds either. The white-supremacist bosses of South Africa are now finding this out. In the past few weeks thousands of black miners have struck in defiance of the "state of emergency," demanding the release of their imprisoned union leaders. A week-long strike crippled De Beers, the monopoly which controls world trade in diamonds. A slowdown by 5,000 miners led to a partial shutdown of the largest gold mine in the world.

NUM

Black miners at strategic heart of South African economy.

Botha's "state of emergency," imposed on June 12, aimed to behead South Africa's young, raw, combative and powerful black labor movement, especially the 650,000-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Over 1,000 trade unionists have been interned, including at least ten of COSATU's 100-man executive committee, among them federation president Elijah Barayi and Metal Workers leader Moses Mayekiso. We do not know all the labor leaders imprisoned because under the "emergency" it is criminally "subversive" even to report the actions of the police state!

However, white racist terror has not broken the spirit and militancy of the black toilers. The immediate aim of the declaration of "emergency" was to suppress the general strike called for June 16 to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. Yet that day saw the biggest "stayaway" strike in South African history, paralyzing every major urban center. In the days following, retail workers staged sit-down strikes in white-owned supermarkets and other stores, and auto and metal workers occupied factories in the Transvaal.

South African capitalists have been worried that the Botha regime's crackdown would backfire, further radicalizing the workers and fueling industrial unrest. Even before the mines were affected, the *Wall Street Journal* (1 July) reported:

> "The state of emergency has angered many business leaders, who worry that it will lead to wildcat strikes and make unions more militant in bargaining sessions. 'Negotiations are difficult anyway. This compounds it,' said an executive at Anglo American Corp., a mining and industrial concern that is among South Africa's more progressive companies."

Likewise, De Beers chairman Julian Thompson urged the government to release officials of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

The fears expressed by the Anglo American and De Beers bosses proved well founded. Strikes by some 3,000 black workers shut down five De Beers

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Crossroads Comes to Washington

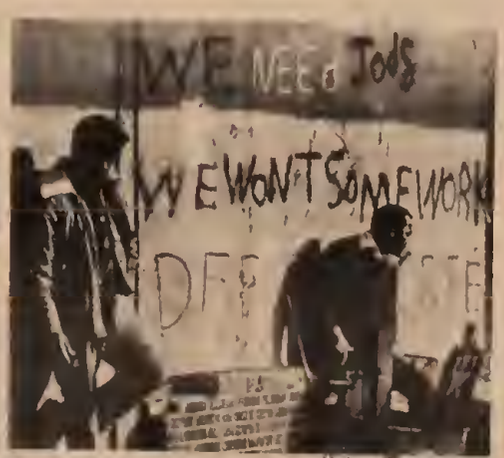
Black Poor Face Mass Evictions

Tens of thousands of destitute black people forced out of their deteriorating, rat-infested housing; thousands more homeless roaming the streets, some "living" in cardboard shacks; brutal predawn police raids in search of "terrorists"; a majority black population denied elementary voting rights by their racist rulers, with black unemployment five times higher than in neighboring white areas. Sound familiar? But it's not a South African apartheid hellhole we're describing, like the Crossroads shantytown outside Cape Town—it's Washington, D.C., "free world" citadel of U.S. imperialism.

Just as apartheid boss P.W. Botha has his kept bantustan chiefs and black township overseers, so Ronald Reagan has his black front men like D.C. mayor Marion Barry. His job: to keep the seat of government functioning while enforcing near-Third World living conditions on its disenfranchised black masses. Here in the capital of the world's wealthiest power, the infant mortality rate is *seventh highest* among the world's 77 largest cities, worse than Cairo, Egypt and Bogotá, Colombia (*Washington Post*, 13 March). And Washington has the *highest* percentage of the population behind bars of any city in the world, "higher than South Africa" according to the D.C. city administrator. On July 10 the situation exploded as hundreds of prisoners at Lorton Reformatory in Virginia burned 14 dangerously overcrowded buildings to the ground, reportedly chanting "Freedom Now!" Vindictive Mayor Barry responded that they would rot in jail.

WV Photo

Marion Barry runs D.C. black "township" of homeless and jobless for Reagan.



Matheny/Black American

Taking a cue from Botha's fiery destruction of Crossroads, Barry last month announced that *40,000* of D.C.'s black poor were to be evicted from public housing projects. Letters have been sent to thousands of elderly, handicapped and other impoverished tenants promising an "all-out effort" to evict "illegal" residents. The mayor pledged city money to pay overtime costs to the U.S. Marshals Service (Ed Meese's Justice Department police), which enforces eviction orders in D.C. Barry could have been "Ronbo" himself as he condemned "mushy-headed liberals" who want to "coddle" lease violators (*Washington Post*, 14 June). Now, faced with broad public outrage over his mass eviction plan, Barry says "only" 4,000 will have to move out.

That leaves 60,000-plus "legal" residents packed into about 9,000 units.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 409 | 1 August 1986

Smash KKK/Nazi Terror Drive!

For Labor/Black Action!

Now the racists are burning crosses on prime time TV. Across the country fascists are waging a widespread offensive, from the sinister "Aryan Nations" cabal in their remote Idaho lair to a fiery KKK display of race-terror outside Uniontown, Pennsylvania. In Reagan's America, where John Birch Society ultrarightists are appointed federal appeals court judges, the Meese Police are witchhunting sex "deviants," and the cops bomb black babies in the Philly MOVE commune, the fascist killers are acting like it's open season. In recent weeks, racist provocations have been staged from the Virginia Tidewater area to the Mexican border, where hooded commandos round up immigrants at gunpoint. It is important to resist the extension of the crystallization of fascist nuclei. When they overreach and in circumstances favorable to the anti-fascist forces, the fascist scum must be confronted and defeated.

The city of Chicago has been targeted for a major fascist drive, spearheaded by the June 28 Klan rally in Marquette Park. Now white bigots are whipping up a racist frenzy following a proposal by black city alderman Marlene Carter for an integrated "unity picnic" in this ethnic enclave. The race-terrorists are deadly dangerous, but *they can be smashed!* In Atlanta, the integrated Five Points community recently drove out the KKK when they tried to disrupt an anti-fascist theater performance. In Southern California, some 500 students at Cal State/Fullerton mobilized and forced the university to stop filming KKK leader Tom Metzger's racist filth for cable TV. What's urgently needed is organized mass labor/black mobilization, the way 5,000 predominantly black workers and youth stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in

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Detroit, Philly Workers Fight City Hall

Labor Showdown in Motown

Black Mayors Front for Reagan

JULY 29—Striking Detroit city workers told Mayor Coleman Young to shove it. By a three-to-one margin, they rejected the giveback deal served up by Young and union negotiators. With all garbage collection halted—with 5,000 Teamster sanitation drivers and Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) bus drivers solidly respecting the picket lines of the striking water and sewage plant workers, bus mechanics, technicians and clerks—it's hardening into a showdown.

The city bosses are playing hardball. Coleman Young says he won't negotiate, that the strike is illegal. Militant British miners have a saying: the only illegal strike is a strike that loses. As the bosses gear up their union-busting machinery—the courts, scabherding cops, National Guard—every union in this town must answer the strikebreaking mayor with one solid fist. Nothing moves—shut down Detroit!

For years the workers in the Motor City have made one sacrifice after another to bail out the profits of the bosses: dozens of plants have been closed, auto workers have swallowed one concessions contract after another, the wages of city workers have been frozen. Throughout the country unions have scabbed on one another, picket lines have been busted up and unions destroyed. But if the unions fight together they can smash the bosses' takebacks, laying the basis for a workers' offensive to win jobs and reverse the cutbacks.

With Reagan pumping billions into his anti-Soviet war buildup, American industry is going down the tubes, and there's no money for jobs, decent education and housing. For the black workers and poor in the inner cities, the American dream is a nightmare. And it's the black front men for Reagan racism who do the dirty work. From the butcher of MOVE, Wilson Goode in Philadelphia, to ex-CIO organizer Coleman Young and ex-SNCC leader Marion Barry in Washington, D.C., the black Democratic Party mayors have slashed social services, busted strikes and unleashed killer cops against the ghetto masses.

UPI

Winters/Philadelphia Daily News

Philadelphia sanitation workers form mass picket line (right), Detroit city workers defy the bosses' state. For a workers party to fight for a workers government and freedom for all the oppressed!

After eating it for years, workers in Philadelphia and Detroit—black and white—struck back. On July 1, some 13,000 Philly municipal workers hit the bricks. Strikers carried picket signs that drove home the message: "Goode or Reagan—What's the Difference!" Trash collection was brought to a complete halt, four-foot-high mountains of garbage lined the streets, and the city verged on a municipal crisis. Two weeks later the battle was on in Detroit, with Teamster and ATU drivers solidly backing the AFSCME strikers. "Picket lines mean don't cross" has been the order of the day for Detroit city unionists.

But the pro-Democratic Party union leaders believed and acted like Goode and Young were "their" mayors, that they would make a deal. Instead they got the PATCO treatment. Goode got a back-to-work order directed at the key 2,500 striking sanitationmen; when the workers balked, he threatened to fire them, and the AFSCME tops caved in. Young unleashed the cops against Detroit strikers and threatened to bring in the National Guard. But when the union leaders collapsed, the ranks said "Hell no!" They were enraged to find that the contract contained a potential *wage cut* in the third year.

Now the issue is squarely posed in Detroit. AFSCME workers have told Young: if the contract stinks, the streets will stink. The Teamsters contract expires on Thursday. Playing by the bosses' rules means sure defeat, as in Philly. Screw the bosses' law! No surrender! No arbitration! For mass pickets to smash scabherding! Mobilize labor to shut down Detroit! Forge a workers party!

Coleman Young: Union Organizer to Union Buster

Coleman Young is now the highest paid mayor in the United States, having just raised his own salary by 44 percent to $115,000. The city books show a surplus of $52 million. Blue-collar Detroit municipal workers, however, earn less than in any other major city in the U.S., including open shop towns like Dallas and Houston. So AFSCME workers, whose wages have been frozen for the past three years, were particularly incensed when the city offered a ridiculous *2 percent* first-year increase when the union initially demanded 40 percent! Adding insult to injury, Mayor Young wants to bust union seniority and take away city workers' accumulated sick time. So as the Philadelphia battle strike was reaching its climax, Detroit city workers hit the bricks.

A former auto worker, CIO organizer and civil rights activist, Coleman Young was once a fellow traveler of the Stalinist Communist Party. He took office as mayor in 1973 after a bitter election in which he campaigned with "community control" rhetoric. For more than a decade, Young has run the Motor City for Ford, GM and Chrysler, presiding over the slashing of tens of thousands of auto jobs, ramming

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Amador Betancourt Out of Jail

After eight months in jail for defending his union picket line, Amador Betancourt was finally released on June 6. Betancourt is a militant member of Teamsters Local 912—an strike for nearly a year against Watsonville Canning in California. Courageously, this union made up largely of Hispanic and Filipina women has gone up against scabherding courts, cop violence and the treachery of the Teamster union bureaucrats.

Betancourt was arrested last September after picketers routed a contingent of scabs; he was charged an patently trumped-up charges of throwing a Molotov cocktail. During a recent interview with Amador and his wife Gloria—president of the elected Strikers Committee—Amador described his arrest (the cops surrounded him, pistols drawn) and the conditions of the *five year* probation that still shackles him. Supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee conducted the interview at the Betancourts' home in Watsonville, California. "When they arrested me they put the handcuffs on and the handcuffs cut my wrists. I arrived at the jail with blood all over my hands from those cuts," Amador explained, noting that he was particularly unpopular with the police as a well-known strike militant. "I'd be out there with my sign yelling 'Viva la huelga, viva la huelga.' I used to yell at them that they were bought-and-sold police and things like that."

The judge—a crony of the cannery company's owner Mart Console, a regular visitor to the Reagan ranch—set and kept bail for Amador at an incredible *$250,000*. Although individual strikers contributed generously to the bail cost, the union bureaucracy did nothing. It refused to provide a lawyer and even stopped Betancourt's strike benefits following the conviction, forcing Gloria to support the family on her $55 weekly strike benefits. (The bureaucrats did not stiff one Jesse Jackson, Democratic Party shill, to whom they paid a cool $3,000 to address a union rally in June.)

Abandoned by the union officials, Amador was stuck with counsel unwilling to tackle the company's courts. "We had witnesses, there was no proof against me. I think the lawyer sold out to the company. He said, 'The jury will believe the police more than it will believe you.' So I got scared and accepted the deal they offered me," Betancourt told us. For eight months Amador languished behind bars—just where the company wanted him: "Everybody knows this, that the company didn't want me to get out of jail, even though I didn't do anything. They wanted to keep me a prisoner so that others would be afraid and would do nothing." The PDC has expressed our solidarity with monthly stipends during Amador's imprisonment and for three months following his release.

WV Photo

Watsonville cannery militants Gloria and Amador Betancourt with three of the children.

The conditions of Betancourt's probation are draconian: "They don't want me to be able to talk with a friend in the street. I'm not allowed to go closer than 100 feet near the cannery. I can't even go to the union hall to pick up the food distributed by the union. I need food for my children. I have to report once a month. If I make one mistake they can send me to prison, and they won't hesitate." The Betancourts have six children to feed and clothe—two sons, five and seven years old, three teenage daughters and a year-old granddaughter.

The children have also faced murderous scab attack; during the interview Gloria pointed to a bullet hole in their window: "They shot at the window. The baby was sleeping right there in her crib. We brought the police in here and showed them, but they didn't do anything." Such is "justice" for workers and their families in a company town. The Watsonville cannery workers have their backs to the wall. Labor must mobilize its strength in support of the strikers, to smash the union-busting probation slapped on Betancourt and to demand all outstanding charges against all strikers be dropped!

To obtain more information about the PDC program of stipends to class-war prisoners and copies of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, regular newsletter of the PDC, or to send sustaining contributions or donations, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

* * *

The American Federation of Nurses, SEIU Local 535, Oakland, California sent us the following letter of endorsement:

social services union
american federation of nurses
SEIU local 535

July 10, 1986

Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99 - Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013

At its meeting of June 21-22 the Civil and Human Rights Committee of our union reviewed your publication, "Class-Struggle Defense Notes" and introductory letter. Subsequently our full statewide executive board endorsed your efforts.

Please consider this letter an endorsement of your organization's work in defending political prisoners; you have our support and encouragement.

In solidarity,

Kerry Newkirk
Executive Assistant
kn:seiu535afl-cio

cc: Civil and Human Rights Committee, Local 535

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Labor Must Crush Fascist Terror

TROTSKY

LENIN

The present climate of Reagan reaction and anti-Soviet hysteria has fueled the growth of the Ku Klux Klan and other fascist terror groups in the U.S., targeting especially black people and other oppressed minorities. In February 1939 the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party organized a protest against the Hitlerite German-American Bund rally at Madison Square Garden. 50,000 people battled police protecting the fascists. The SWP's program of mobilizing the racially integrated labor movement to crush the fascist vermin in the egg was laid out at its convention the same year.

The long-term defense against fascism can be only the achievement of the social revolution. Meanwhile, however, there is the immediate and direct problem of the physical defense of the organization, lives, and liberties of the workers, which the fascists aim first to weaken and then to destroy, from the physical assaults of the fascist gangs. The experience of all countries, including the United States, proves beyond any doubt whatever that the agencies of the bourgeois-democratic state will not and cannot carry out this defense; but that on the contrary, reliance upon these agencies guarantees the smashing of the workers and the victory of the fascists. Only the workers themselves, relying on their own means and strength, can defend their own organizations and life and liberties. The only possible form of defense against the fascists is the *workers' defense guard*....

Moreover, the tasks of the guard must be conceived, from the start, not in narrow terms of the given single union which may be first involved, but of the labor movement as a whole, and indeed of all groups, individuals, organizations, racial minorities, etc. threatened or attacked by the fascists, vigilantes, or other reactionaries. The duty of the guard is to defend all who need defense from the assaults of the fascists.

—"Resolution on Workers' Defense Guard,"
SWP Second National Convention (July 1939)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 409 **1 August 1986**

The comrades of the Spartacist League extend our deepest condolences to Charles Brover and Kay Braver on the tragic death of their daughter, Molly, killed at age 17 when she was struck by a car on 26 July 1986. Charlie Brover was a central contributor to the work of the party for many years. Throughout their work with us, including Kay's membership on the editorial board of *Women and Revolution*, and Charlie's continuing work as co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee, many of us were privileged to get to know Molly and her sister Alice as they were growing up. Those of us who knew her feel keenly her tragic death.

The Brover Family

CP Joins Meese's Anti-Sex Witchhunt

Supreme Court Justice Stewart once said of hard-core pornography that maybe he couldn't define it, but he knew it when he saw it. Well, we know a weapon of state repression when we see it; obviously the Communist Party, USA doesn't. The Meese "porn commission" report released July 9 is an obscene call for right-wing state and vigilante censorship and repression. It has been rightly attacked by the American Civil Liberties Union and most of the left—indeed, even the editor of *Women's Day*, a commission member, dissociated herself from the final product, noting "efforts to tease the current data into proof of a causal relationship" between pornography and sex crimes "cannot be accepted." Yet the CP has accepted this report enthusiastically.

In its *People's Daily World* (16 July) editorial, titled "Sex and violence... A divisive force," the CP, without once mentioning the name "Ed Meese," hails the "Attorney General's Commission on Pornography" propaganda about how "dirty pictures" supposedly lead to violence, stating: "In our view these results are undeniable." It goes on: "the banning of violence-related pornography is not censorship," and then proposes a way to ban the stuff: "Our view is that it can be done by establishing government regulatory commissions at the national, state and local levels that are empowered to take the profit out of violence-related pornography through a variety of penalties, ranging from warnings to prison sentences." So are Angela Davis and Gus Hall now going to volunteer for those citizen vigilante squads Meese wants to hit your corner drugstore, or to sit on federal agencies to figure out how to throw people they don't like into jail?

In part, of course, the CP's eagerness to join Meese's book-burners and Moral Majorityite lynch mobs trying to censor sex reflects their Stalinist puritanism, going back to the days of Joseph Stalin and his glorification of the oppressive nuclear family as an instrument of social conservatism. No doubt they agree with Meese's commission that pornography is "any sexually explicit material that does not foster traditional family values." Further, the CP, to counter charges it is "unpatriotic" because of its ties to Russia, bends over backwards to identify with the Moral Majority and "true-blue Americanism" when their politics converge—e.g., against porn, for trade protectionism.

The Communist Party is thoroughly reformist, which means that deep down they really believe the American imperialist government can be pressured into carrying out the CP's program, whether it is banning the Klan or banning pornography. And as "their" government moves ever further to the right under Reagan, the CP's reformism drags it down the road of political reaction. As Nan Hunter of the ACLU noted about the Supreme Court decision upholding reactionary sodomy laws, "in the McCarthyism of the '80s sexuality is the primary form of deviancy...just as the Supreme Court virtually suspended the First Amendment in order to silence Communists 35 years ago, it has now rendered homosexuals, as a class, outlaws in the eyes of America" (*Village Voice*, 15 July).

In 1940 the CP applauded the prosecution of the Trotskyists under the anti-communist Smith Act for their opposition to the second imperialist world war. A few years later these same laws were used against the CP itself during the McCarthyite witchhunt. The present campaign against sexual "deviants," like the hysteria over drugs, is designed to create a climate to wipe out political "deviants" too. And the CP won't be the last of Attorney General Meese's victims—though perhaps if they're really slavish enough they can apply for the job of movie censor in the federal pen.

Letter

Workers Control of AIDS?

Newburg, Ontario
June 5, 1986

Workers Vanguard

Dear Editor:

I read with surprise your polemic against ILWU militant and Bolshevik Tendency supporter, Howard Keylor (*WV* #402, 25 April 1986). I could not imagine a BT supporter calling, in your words, for "union narcs." I took the trouble to get a copy of the *Militant Longshoreman* which you cited as the source of this "deviation" (No. 14, 3 January 1986). What I read there was *exactly the opposite* of what was conveyed in your article, where you lifted quotations out of context and ignored the actual content of the newsletter.

Keylor's article was an expose of the collusion between the PMA maritime bosses and the ILWU labor fakers in a proposed drug and alcohol screening scheme.... The *Militant Longshoreman* item concluded with the demand for the reestablishment of union power and control over its own internal affairs—things which the labor bureaucracy has traded for its cosy relationship with the bosses:

> "There is a traditional union solution to the problem of brothers who use substances that affect their functioning. In the earlier history of the union, before Harry Bridges and his buddies surrendered so much union power and control back to the PMA, the union handled such problems *internally*. But when our local tries to exercise union discipline as part of the effort to help our brothers overcome their problem, PMA has rushed in to stop us. Our union must reassert this right and exercise internal union discipline and control."

Your argument against Keylor seems to hinge on the proposition that reliance on the traditional mechanisms of internal union discipline to control the odd member who might engage in dangerous or abusive behaviour toward his brothers or sisters could *potentially* be misused by the bureaucrats. To be consistent you should also then come out against the hiring hall—for what is that but an example of "union power and control" over individual members? In neither case is it possible to offer any absolute guarantee that union discipline might not be utilized improperly—whether in allocating work unfairly or in regulating the behaviour of a particular member.... Union discipline is simply the best of all conceivable methods (from the point of view of the working class) for dealing with the kind of problems which inevitably arise in the real world.

As for the rest of your polemic—it is hard to take it seriously. What if Keylor did hold the wrong political position on World War II years ago when he was a supporter of the Communist Party?

WV Photo

BTer Howard Keylor (left): would-be union narc.

Where was Jim Robertson on Soviet defensism in the early 1950s? That kind of argumentation is contemptible.

Your article "ET Wants Unions to Police Workers: Ed Meese Unionism," stinks and anyone with access to the documents knows it. It is indeed evidence of profound degeneration when those who claim to uphold the mantle of Trotskyism are convicted in the pages of their own press of this kind of cynical manipulation. Small wonder that students at Berkeley now reportedly greet the SL with the jeer "The Main Enemy is the BT!"

Yours for militant truth,
Bryan P.

P.S. I now consider myself a supporter of the Bolshevik Tendency.

WV replies: Your long letter [excerpted for space] in defense of the indefensible Howard Keylor and his policy of "proletarian Meeseism" is a quintessential expression of Canadian social democracy—i.e., it's "our" job to keep the slovenly, drunken lowlifes of the working class in line, to keep them clean, moral, hard-working and disciplined in the name of temperance, god, the queen and especially the Cold War. Your views reek of all the hypocritical moralism of the New Democratic Party; which is currently campaigning to stop the Ontario Liberal government from allowing beer and wine to be sold in grocery stores. Issues of *Playboy* have been banned in Canada. For years Swedish social democracy has made the price of hard liquor, cigarettes and even cigarette papers too expensive for workers to afford, because "it's not good for them." Britain of course is notorious for its restrictive licensing hours of pubs.

In our article "Down with Meese's Drug Witchhunt!" (*WV* No. 400, 28 March) we stated: "The anti-drug hysteria is part of the Reagan administration's effort to regiment American society, the domestic side of the anti-Soviet war drive." This is the context of the compulsory "screening" for drug and alcohol use of new-hires initiated by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) with the support of the ILWU union tops.

There was no drug or alcohol "problem" on the waterfront until the PMA said there was! But Keylor (and you) accept, and therefore legitimize, the premise of the PMA witchhunt. He refers sanctimoniously to "the problem of brothers who use substances that affect their functioning." You echo Keylor with your condescending reference to "the odd member who might engage in dangerous or abusive behaviour toward his brothers or sisters...." Keylor merely objects to the instrumentality of an *employer*-administered anti-drug program ("No employer drug or alcohol screening," is all he states under the heading of "Safety"), and instead argues that the union should have its *own* program to deal with "the problem." Keylor's concern about employer drug testing seems mainly to be that the innocent could be caught up with the "guilty." Citing the "notorious unreliability" of the employer tests, Keylor complains, "A person who never uses marijuana but happens to be in a room or enclosed space where someone else is smoking a joint will test out as a user for up to 30 days afterwards." The man even talks like a narc! Presumably he wants a *union* anti-drug campaign using more "reliable" methods, like maybe eyewitness informants.

Only a reformist-minded cynic and dilettante, comfortably remote from the struggles of the working class would attempt as you do to equate union control of the hiring hall with your own despicable call that "union power and control" be used "in regulating the behaviour of a particular member." The 1934 San Francisco general strike was a historic victory for the North American working class. In fierce and bloody battles the longshoremen and their allies wrested union recognition and the union hiring hall from the maritime bosses, thereby ending the infamous "shape up" system of hiring on the West Coast waterfront. Now you and the self-proclaimed "Bolshevik Tendency" of Cold War quitters would have that same union put its hiring hall in the service of the maritime bosses by denying work to members victimized by the Reagan/Meese-inspired anti-drug witchhunt!

Your blithe generalization of Keylor's position, "Union discipline is simply the best of all conceivable methods... for dealing with the kind of problems which inevitably arise in the real world," is a proposal that the existing trade-union leadership take charge of and repress real or alleged social evils within the working class. How nice for the

continued on page 10

The Dispatcher

1934: SF general strike won ILWU union hiring hall. BT grotesquely equates this historic gain to the union's enforcing Meese's drug witchhunt.

Big Chill at Berkeley Rad-Lib Confab

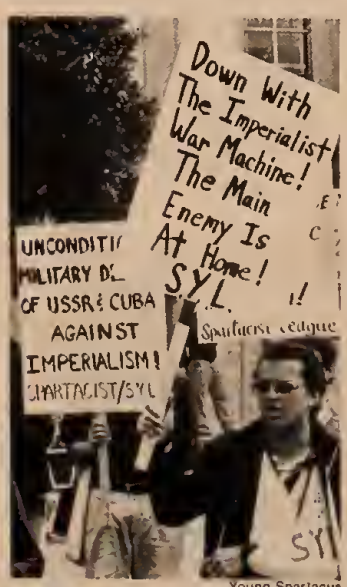
CAA Rejects "Anti-Imperialism"

The revolt of South Africa's oppressed black masses commands the support of everyone who believes in social justice and democratic rights. In the U.S., opposition to apartheid has produced the biggest campus protests since the Vietnam War. However, the just outrage against racist terror has in the main been channeled into the liberal moralistic program of divestment—demanding the universities sell off their securities of multinational firms operating in South Africa. The only economic effect of such portfolio shuffling is to increase business for stockbrokers. Far worse, the entire divestment strategy fosters the dangerous illusion that American capitalism—the most rapacious and ruthless exploiter of workers and peasants around the world—can be pressured into helping combat social oppression in South Africa (and presumably elsewhere).

Now, for their own reasons, the bulk of the American ruling class has decided to jump on the divestment bandwagon. Reagan's in the minority on this one. California's *right-wing* Republican governor, George Deukmejian, has instructed the state university system to divest itself of $3.1 billion in South Africa-related stocks. This unexpected, total "victory" has in no way benefited South African blacks (see article on page 12). It has thrown the Berkeley divestment milieu into disarray. What can you do when Deukmejian co-opts your program?

An article titled "UC Students Say Divestment Isn't Enough," in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (22 July), cites an officer of the Berkeley Graduate Assembly, Roger Myers, calling for the university to cancel service and supply contracts with firms that do business with South Africa. Why not then demand that students break all such ties, like not working for these companies when they graduate? *All* major banks trade rands in their foreign exchange operations and deal in South African-mined gold. So why not demand that students withdraw all their money from banks, send back their credit cards and refuse to take out loans?

We are, of course, using *reductio ad absurdum* arguments against pro-divestment liberals and radicals. But there is a fundamental truth revealed here: the American ruling class is inextricably bound politically, economically and militarily to the apartheid state. Thus a *real struggle* against U.S. support to white racist rule in South Africa necessarily means a fight for socialist revolution in this country.



Young Spartacus

SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez: anti-imperialist fighter up against UC repression.

CAA Conference: Hot Air and the Cold War

For more than a year, the UC Berkeley campus has been rocked by large-scale student anti-apartheid actions and police riots against the protesters. South Africa-style "bannings," mass arrests and bloody beatings by the cops have spurred some students to gut-level militant defiance against the university and the state. Among the three divestment-centered groups at Berkeley, the Campaign Against Apartheid (CAA) has been generally seen as more radical than either the UC Divestment Coalition or the United People of Color. CAA led last April's anti-apartheid shantytown action, a symbolic protest so viciously smashed by the police that it made headlines throughout the country. In the aftermath, CAA found itself the victim of obscene "violence"-baiting by liberals as well as the campus administration, and tactically at odds with more "mainstream" divestment groups.

On July 12-13 the CAA convened a conference to discuss why and how it should exist and whether or not to declare itself an explicitly "anti-imperialist" organization. Replicating some of the worst aspects of the New Left—"participatory democracy" masking bureaucratic procedural wrangling and rampant political confusion—the conference attracted a whole host of New Leftovers and fake-leftists. Lending their services as "best builders" of a reborn, spanking new CAA were the Socialist Workers Party, Revolutionary Workers League, Marxist-Leninist Party, Freedom Rising, Revolutionary Communist Party...and the embittered clot of quitters from the Spartacist League now calling themselves the "Bolshevik Tendency" (BT), who in a McCarthyite witchhunting denunciation of other left groups at the conference managed to alienate CAA members from the right. United in their tacit or overt support to both divestment and anti-Sovietism, the pro-Democratic Party reformists offered no alternative to the impasse in which the CAA has, predictably, found itself.

The anticipated "anti-imperialist" unveiling of the CAA at this confab didn't happen; the event was frankly a dud. A motion to "oppose capitalism, patriarchy and imperialism as exploitative and oppressive systems" was amended with the intentionally anti-Soviet statement against attempts by "powerful nations" to "interfere in any way with the striving of people to control their own lives." Both were finally dropped altogether. That a gathering of ostensible opponents of U.S. imperialism barely touched on the question of Central America—where Reagan and the Democrats are poised for war in the name of anti-Communist "rollback"—speaks volumes about the impotence of single-issue "pressure" politics. As comrade Stefan from the Berkeley Spartacus Youth League put it:

> "There are a lot of people here who are trying to understand what is going on in the world today. Why, for example, U.S. imperialism recently ferried troops to the Honduran border, why the attacks against Libya, why the 'contra Congress' voted, as Daniel Ortega said, a declaration of war against Nicaragua. What ties this all together, what unites this 'contra Congress' is the anti-Soviet war drive. That is the dominant fact of politics today."

Were it not for the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal, the U.S. would long ago have reduced Vietnam and Cuba to piles of radioactive rubble. We Spartacists hail the "interference" of the Soviet-backed Cuban troops in their heroic defense of black Angola from CIA-backed Savimbi and the apartheid army. The red flag of the Soviet Union is unfurled by black youth in South Africa not least because the Soviets are known for providing arms to the ANC, and because "anti-communism" is the code word Reagan/Botha employ to "justify" racist, police-state terror against the black masses.

Young Spartacus

Berkeley, April 1985—At mass student protest Spartacus Youth League banner says "Smash Apartheid! Workers to Power!" in contrast to liberal moralist call for divestment.

Then there are the not-so-powerful nations, like tiny El Salvador, whose troops have massacred 60,000 leftist guerrillas and civilians in six years of civil war. One can't understand the world—let alone *change* it—with a classless vision of "progressive" "little" peoples and nations against "big" and "strong" ones. The eclectic self-styled radicals of the CAA (abetted by their reformist cheerleaders) operate within the confines of capitalist Democratic Party politics. Thus their "anti-imperialism" is so much empty rhetoric. As one CAA member stated baldly, "nobody thinks we're going to lead a working-class revolution"—so why pretend?

Howard the Coward as Redbaiting Renegade

During a break in the tedious sessions, Spartacist comrades and CAA members engaged in heated debate over burning questions of the day: Nicaragua, Libya, the fight against fascism in this country. This infusion of communist politics not only irritated certain CAA luminaries, but evidently unhinged the pipe-smoking, pompous grey eminence of the BT, one Howard Keylor. To virtually everyone's disgust, Keylor took the floor to deliver an icy blast from the past (circa 1950) against "hard left groups" who "have a tactic of splitting the CAA," ripping off the better pieces, or trying to take the group over wholesale in order "to adopt their own" commie program.

Pointing to the small delegation from the "critical" pro-Albania Marxist-Leninist Party, Keylor demanded that such leftists "justify themselves" at the conference. Keylor's tirade was swiftly challenged by a South African exile and supporter of the CAA, sickened by this attempt to "shield" the conference from the "spectre of communism." In any event, Keylor, this self-appointed defender of youth against the "red menace," was forced to flee the conference. Left behind was the one hapless black envoy for the BT, trying to explain "what the comrade meant to say...."

Howard Keylor said what he meant to say. Anti-communism is the handmaiden of hostility to black liberation. Keylor and his BT cohorts quit the Spartacist League precisely because we defend Russia, we have a strategic orientation to the black proletariat, we advocate a class-struggle fight against racist oppression—because "black and red" means trouble in Reagan's America. Meanwhile, the BT's idea of "class struggle" was demonstrated last spring when Keylor & Co. led some CAAers down the garden path to a really dumb, and dangerous, *anti*-working-class stunt at Pier 80 in San Francisco. Trying to give a "labor face" to divestment liberalism—but unwilling to fight within the longshore union for genuine anti-apartheid action lest he run afoul of his union tops—Keylor along with assorted rad-libs and Democrats set up a student "picket line" in front of a ship carrying South African cargo. This action was designed to menace the *workers* and accomplished precisely nothing, except to anger some ILWU workers who can and should be vital allies of their class brothers and sisters in South Africa.

During a break in the meetings, one CAA member asked our comrades why, when so many left organizations were participating, only the SL said it was not trying to build a better CAA and insisted we already have an organization with a program to overthrow apartheid in South Africa and imperialism worldwide. Because we are not interested in pressuring this group of confused petty-bourgeois radicals to the left. Certainly activists in the CAA, as in other anti-apartheid groups, can be won to revolutionary politics. But to do so they must break from liberal moralism and understand that *class struggle* is the key to social progress.

Internationally, this means above all defending the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution, which despite subsequent bureaucratic degeneration represents the greatest victory for the international working class in history. Here in the U.S. it means breaking with the "liberal" imperialists in the Democratic Party and building a revolutionary workers party to fight for power in this very powerful country. Only then will the enormous wealth and technical resources of the United States be used to liberate, not oppress and exploit, the mass of humanity. ■

WV Photos

James and Elizabeth Grimes at July 18 victory party celebrating dismissal of all charges stemming from this transit worker's act of armed self-defense. Labor Black League for Social Defense was formed at the Brooklyn event.

Labor Black League Founded in NYC

A victory celebration for New York City transit worker James Grimes was held in downtown Brooklyn July 18. Grimes was facing a gun rap for defending himself on the job against an assault by three muggers last January, but on June 25 all charges were dismissed.

The celebration was organized by the Committee for a Fighting TWU (Transport Workers Union), whose members and supporters mobilized repeatedly along with other concerned members of TWU Local 100 on Grimes' behalf during his six-month ordeal. The culmination of the evening's events, attended by some 60 people, was the formation of the Labor Black League for Social Defense. The League's ten-point program includes demands for "Labor/black mobilizations to stop the racist terrorists, in and out of uniform," and "For the right of armed self-defense! No to gun control! Down with the death penalty!"

A flyer distributed at the party stated: "The Labor Black League for Social Defense stands for mobilizing the masses of black working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black League for Social Defense is part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism."

The League program also calls for full union and citizenship rights for foreign-born workers, free abortion on demand, full democratic rights for homosexuals and for a fighting labor movement—sit-down strikes against mass layoffs. The League opposes the anti-Soviet war drive and calls for support to revolutionary struggles of working people abroad. Calling on labor and blacks to break from the Democratic and Republican parties, the League's program demands a workers party to fight for a workers government.

The evening's events included a video tape of television news coverage of the Grimes case and a tape of the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. David Brewer of the Committee for a Fighting TWU stated, "From the beginning of this case we said that gun control kills blacks. We remembered Willie Turks, our brother who was beaten to death by a racist lynch mob in the Gravesend area of Coney Island, and we said that if Turks had had a gun that night, he would be alive today and if James Grimes had not had a gun, he might not be alive today with us." This case was an important victory for the right of armed self-defense.

WV Photo

James Grimes and his attorney Harry Lipsig (right). Transit workers' support was key to Grimes' victory.

Reuben Shiffman, also a member of the Committee, presented Grimes with a copy of the video tape and a framed photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Grimes, surrounded by their supporters, as they emerged victorious from the Brooklyn courthouse. Later in the evening, Elizabeth Grimes introduced the many family members, friends and supporters present including Roy Innis of CORE. The presence of Innis, who supports CIA stooge Savimbi in Angola, prompted critical remarks from the speakers. Shiffman noted that "Fundamental rights are under attack in America as Reagan tries to regiment this country for war—as he runs guns for the contras in Nicaragua and South Africa's contras in Angola."

Ed Kartsen, the Spartacist candidate for Manhattan Borough President in 1985 and a former candidate for TWU Local 100 president, recalled the American Civil War, pointing out that militant aholitionists, inspired by John Brown, "took the position that slavery could not be abolished unless the slaveowners themselves were suppressed by armed force." Today, Kartsen said, "wage slavery in South Africa has to be also suppressed by armed force. And one of the fronts is the struggle on the part of union workers in South Africa to smash the apartheid regime. The other is the Cuban troops to crush Savimbi in Angola."

Dismissing both the pro-capitalist misleaders and the phony leftist organizations which lead workers and minorities into the arms of the Democrats, Kartsen said that without a workers party of professional revolutionaries, the cause of the working class and all the oppressed could not succeed. A Labor Black League, he said, "will represent all of you who commit yourselves to mobilizing to protest the racist terror, like the bombing [of the black MOVE commune] in Philadelphia, and against the Ku Klux Klan provocations which are emerging at a tremendous rate throughout this country.... I hope all of you will join the Labor Black League tonight and organize for the final victory of the working class."

The response to Kartsen's call to join the League was enthusiastic. Thirty-nine people, including a number of transit workers and James and Elizabeth Grimes, proudly received their League cards which carry a quote from Karl Marx: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Those interested in participating in the Labor Black League for Social Defense are urged to call (212) 925-4387.

The defense of James Grimes continues. After the victory celebration, the Grimes family found their home had been robbed. And the next day, the Transit Authority sentenced him to report for work at 6 a.m. at a station in the Bronx two hours from his home, although Grimes is still in poor health due to the January assault and subsequent victimization by the TA and Brooklyn D.A. Moreover, so far neither the union health plan nor workmen's compensation has covered one penny of the resulting medical bills, totaling more than $8,000, and doctors are threatening to cut off vital health services to Grimes.

Union chief Sonny Hall declared he would do nothing about the TA's vindictive treatment of Grimes, but a leaflet by the Committee for a Fighting TWU vowed, "We beat the DA, we can beat the TA." Among the first tasks of the Labor Black League will be to raise money to replace the cash and personal effects totaling more than $2,000 stolen from the Grimes' home. It will also campaign for James Grimes to receive a full medical pension and compensation for the mugging and official victimization. ■

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U.S. Troops Out of Bolivia!

Declaring a "war on drugs," Yankee imperialist soldiers have invaded Bolivia. On April 8, Reagan signed a directive designating drug traffic into the U.S. a national security risk, and authorizing the use of military force to stop it. So "Operation Blast Furnace" was launched and in mid-July a giant C-5A transport plane loaded with six Black Hawk helicopters was dispatched to Bolivia along with 160 U.S. soldiers to wipe out "narco-terrorism." This time however, the gendarmes of the world looked like the Keystone Cops. It seems that the C-5A (which measures only 53 feet less than a football field) was noticed by local media and others when it landed in Santa Cruz. By the time the raid got off the ground, most of the drug traffickers had flown the coop.

Coca production is a big deal in Bolivia, occupying tens of thousands of peasant growers and armies of transporters. More dollars come into the country each year through illegal exports of coca paste than from oil, tin and all other exports combined. (One drug kingpin offered a $2 billion loan to pay off the debt to New York banks in exchange for legal protection from extradition.) In 1980, in what became known as the "cocaine coup," a colonels cabal seized power in order to control the drug trade. In 1984, the army's elite "anti-drug" Leopards brigades seized popular-front president Siles Zuazo, vowing to "root out communism," and held him hostage until freed by the U.S. ambassador. Now there is a mass outcry against President Paz Estenssoro (whose "election" by the Bolivian Congress was ordered by Washington) over the presence of Yankee soldiers.

Gentile/Newsweek

Reagan's "narco-terrorists" invade Bolivia.

The whole operation reeks of imperialist hypocrisy. Obviously, there would be no massive exports from Bolivia without the multibillion dollar U.S. market for cocaine. And coca leaves are not cocaine. The slightly narcotic leaf is a traditional and necessary product in this country "on the roof of the world." Tourists visiting the Inca ruins at Macchu Pichu in Peru are given coca tea in order to adjust to the high altitude. And for malnourished Bolivian tin miners on the barren altiplano, chewing coca leaves suppresses hunger. The U.S. tries to buy off growers by offering them $350 per acre of land withdrawn from coca production for other crops. Yet this pittance is less than one-thirtieth what they earn by growing the tiny green leaf. So when bribery doesn't work, Washington dispatches its hit squads. We denounce this arrogant Yankee attack, and stand with Bolivian peasants in defending their livelihood.

The mission of the American troops in Bolivia is not to stop the drug trade: from Cuban gusanos and Nicaraguan contras to Afghan mujaheddin, from General Ky to Somoza and Duvalier, the U.S.' own puppets are the biggest drug traffickers of all. The real purpose of the strike force dispatched from the Pentagon's Southern Command in Panama is to deploy U.S. military forces in Latin America, preparing the way for imperialist aggression against Sandinista Nicaragua. And they promise to repeat this operation in Peru and Colombia. Whether it's Drug Enforcement Administration agents running amok in Guadalajara, Mexico or Special Forces in Black Hawk choppers cruising at 184 mph at treetop level across northern Bolivia, this display of imperial arrogance is a deadly threat to the peoples of the continent.

The armed bands, in and out of uniform, who act as the drug traffickers' enforcers are certainly a menace to the Bolivian workers movement. Among the organizers of such groups like the "Fiancés of Death" was Klaus Barbie, the notorious Nazi SS butcher of Lyon (France) who helped organize and finance the 1980 coup. The American government, which arranged Barbie's escape down the "rat line" from occupied postwar Europe and protected him in South America for 35 years, is the godfather of these murderous thugs. The real "narco-terrorists" operate out of Langley, Virginia, and they and their fascist gangs will only be eliminated by the red guards of workers revolution. .U.S. troops out of Bolivia! ■

Free Leftist Prisoners in Sri Lanka!

On June 26 the Sri Lankan police broke up a public meeting convened by the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL) in Chilaw, 50 miles north of Colombo. Seven people were arrested. Three of them—Wije Dias, Brutan Perera and R. Perera—are still being held under the J.R. Jayewardene regime's draconian "Emergency" decree. We demand their immediate release and that of the thousands of Tamil youth and other opponents of Jayewardene's bloody rule now facing torture and murder in Sri Lanka's prisons and detention camps. These arrests are part and parcel of the repression directed primarily against the struggle for Tamil self-determination.

The RCL is part of the Healyite tendency (which now, after the ouster of Healy, is evidently headed by David North of the American Workers League). According to North's *Bulletin*, the RCL meeting had been called to protest the victimization of students and teachers in Chilaw. The RCL is a very small group. But Chilaw is located in the "border" area between Sinhalese-majority and Tamil-majority areas. And Chilaw happens to be the site of the largest "Voice of America" radio transmitter outside the United States, capable of beaming its counterrevolutionary lies to the whole of the Indian subcontinent, to East Africa, China and Soviet Central Asia.

Over the past two years, thousands of Tamil youth have been seized under the "Emergency" provisions, which include detention of "suspects" for up to 18 months, often without any formal charges being laid against them. One such case brought to the attention of the Spartacist tendency is Sinniah Kumar, seized at his family home in Nawalapitiya on 3 December 1984; one year later, his mother was still unable to find out why her son had been arrested. At last report Kumar was still being held at Bogambara prison in Kandy. In the case of Ram Manikkalingam, a graduate of MIT in Boston and the son of a former ambassador to Indonesia, the government claims he was arrested on April 19 of this year, although his family maintains they reported him missing April 1.

The Sri Lankan armed forces are continuing their terror campaign against Tamils in the north and east. And this year, scores of Sinhalese youth have been detained under the "Prevention of Terrorism" Act. They are accused of belonging to split-offs from the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (the formation that led the radical Sinhalese youth uprising in 1971 and which now espouses a rabidly anti-Tamil line) and of having links to the Tamil militant groups. Among the Sinhalese leftists previously grabbed by the government is Indika Gunawardena, whose brother is an ultra-communalist Member of Parliament.

WV Photo

Demonstration against Sri Lankan prime minister Premadasa in Boston, July 28. Spartacist supporters participated, demanding release of Tamil detainees and leftist prisoners.

In June, a massive dragnet operation of 600 Colombo police arrested 350 Tamils who were "unable to give a satisfactory explanation of their presence in Colombo" ([Ceylon] *Daily News*, 7 June). Now the vicious regime is denying Tamils the right to appear in the capital city of their own country without a South Africa-style "pass." But while Jayewardene's state terror centrally targets the Tamil people, it has been unleashed also against every kind of class and social struggle. Even Buddhist monks who were supporting the recent nurses strike were abducted, allegedly by plainclothes cops.

Shortly after he had named foreign mercenaries operating in Sri Lanka, the Communist Party's lone Member of Parliament, Sarath Muttetuwegama, was killed, reportedly in an auto accident. In a speech to Parliament (reprinted in *Lanka Guardian*, 1 May) he had named names of five British "ex"-SAS mercenaries employed by the Sri Lankan Ministry of Defense. One of these had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment in Zimbabwe as a spy for South Africa. Muttetuwegama also named the "Keeni Meeni Corporation," reportedly an international agency supplying mercenaries to governments. According to the London *Tamil Times* (May 1986), "Sarath Muttetuwegama said that he had a list of other names which he was checking." The possibility of further exposés was cut short by his death.

The day before the RCL arrests, the government opened the new round of its All Party Conference to discuss Jayewardene's latest fraudulent "peace" proposals. Though Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sinhalese-communalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the bourgeois Tamil United Liberation Front declined to attend, the Communist Party, along with the Lanka Samasamaja Party and its left split, the NSSP ("New" LSSP), were all present, eager to demonstrate their loyalty to the Sri Lankan bourgeoisie.

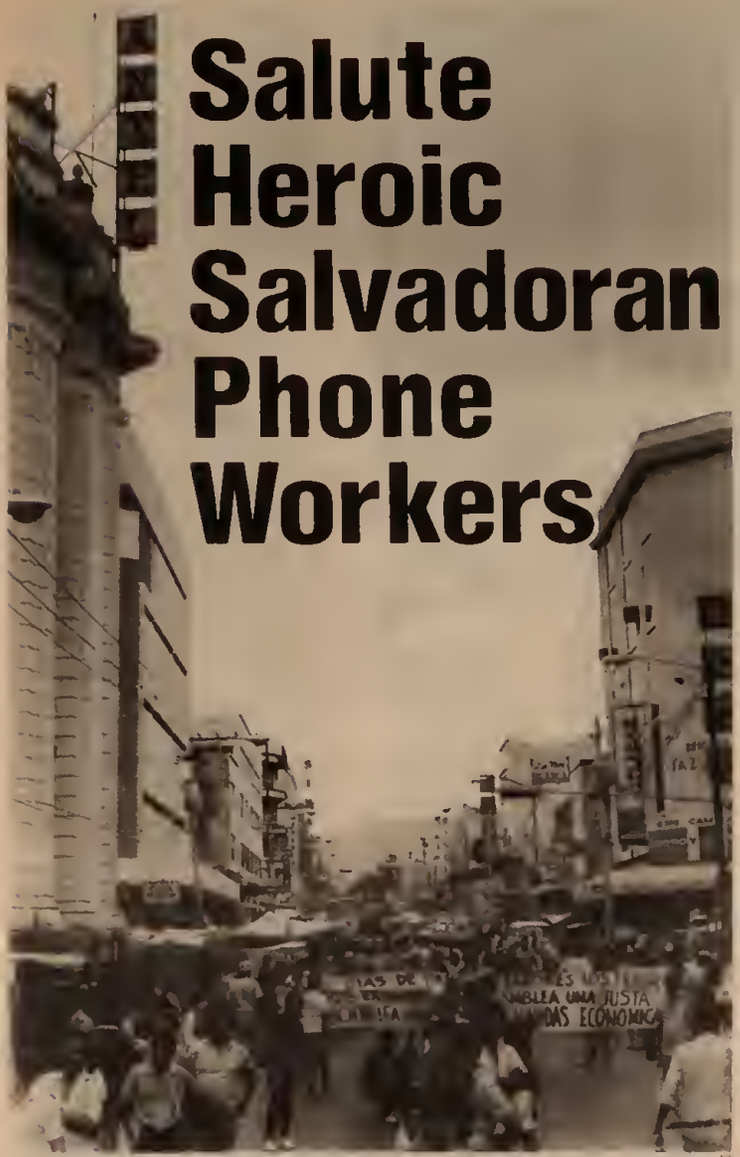
The class-collaborationist "left parties" have been in bloc with Sinhalese chauvinism since the mid-1950s. As a consequence, "Marxist" currents were discredited among the Tamils, and increasingly the younger generation of militants turned toward anti-working-class nationalism. Now, over the past year or so, the Tamil nationalist movement—which increasingly looks in desperation to capitalist India for its salvation—has degenerated sharply into indefensible killing of innocent Sinhalese civilians and murderous turf warfare between the competing Tamil militant groups. Unable to conceive of class struggle uniting the island's peoples against racist capitalism, the Tamil nationalist groups place their hopes on Rajiv Gandhi, pressured by the 50 million Tamils in India. Meanwhile, atrocities against Sinhalese fishermen, poor settlers, Buddhist pilgrims and tourists are a great gift to Jayewardene as he seeks to bind the Sinhalese masses to his vicious capitalist regime.

Under the notorious Sixth Amendment, it is illegal to advocate or publicly support separation from the present unitary state of Sri Lanka. This measure is directed not just at the Tamil groups who are struggling to establish Tamil Eelam, or groups like the RCL who extend political support to Tamil nationalism, but at anyone who defends the right of Tamil self-determination. The RCL arrests are an attack on all critics of the regime's brutal suppression of the Tamil minority. They are directed at all actual or potential opponents of Jayewardene's bonapartist, pro-American government.

As if to underline the connection, Prime Minister Premadasa sent fulsome greetings to Reagan's obscene July 4th pageant, pledging support to "democracy" and a common struggle against "terrorism." What this means is whipping up communalist frenzy against the Tamil people, wholesale detention of Tamil youth, intimidation of strikers, the use of police-state measures against leftists. It means endorsing Reagan's provocations against Libya and Nicaragua and making Sri Lanka a staging area for U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive.

We demand: Release the RCL members! Free all the leftist and Tamil nationalist political prisoners! Down with the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the "Emergency"! The VOA transmitter is an obscenity—shut it down! Trincomalee harbor must not fall into the bloody hands of U.S. imperialism! Army out of the Tamil areas! For the right of Tamil Eelam! For the federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■

Salute Heroic Salvadoran Phone Workers



no credit

Strikers march past phone company (ANTEL) offices in downtown San Salvador.

Workers Vanguard has reported in recent weeks on defense efforts for the combative phone workers of the Association of Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers (ASTTEL) against a vicious union-busting campaign by the military administrators of the phone company (ANTEL). On July 5, 265 workers of the technical division successfully held a conference braving harassment by the National Guard, National Police and Treasury Police stationed in ANTEL offices. A letter to *WV* by the Salvadoran phone workers describes the repression:

> "1- On Friday the 4th, the workplaces were invaded by more forces of the repressive army, who immediately proceeded to list our compañeros.
> "2- ANTEL management threatened to fire the workers who went to the conference.
> "3- They almost completely cut off public transportation so that our compañeros could not get there.
> "4- They set up military roadblocks with plainclothesmen on the highway leading to the meeting site.
> "5- They sent five policemen in plainclothes into the conference.
> "6- From Thursday the 3rd on, they set up a photo surveillance squad to take photographs of our activity. This was denounced by neighbors of the house where the military was filming.
> "7- On Monday the 7th, police were placed in all the offices and our workplaces were turned into veritable military barracks.
> "But even with all the military presence, we reaffirmed our readiness to continue with the just struggle we have undertaken, for it is a historic commitment to our people and the world working class."

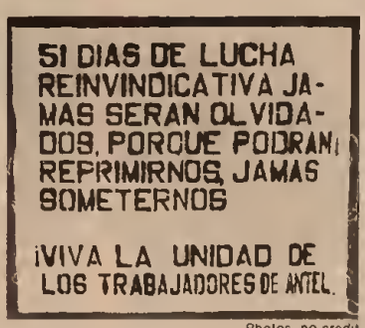
A committee of Technical Workers on Battle Footing–ASTTEL was established and plans laid for future action by the entire ASTTEL union to win jobs back for 20 fired workers. While the CIA "labor" front AIFLD has tried to set up a rival company union, it has only attracted nine members. For more on this gang of union-busters, see "Workers: Smash AIFLD!" (*WV* No. 405, 6 June). In the face of death threats, firings and forced transfers, ASTTEL workers are continuing to fight.

In this country, class-struggle unionists in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) have taken up the cause of their Salvadoran fellow workers. Phone workers in Bay Area CWA Local 9415, in the midst of their own strike against AT&T, passed a solidarity resolution put forward by the Militant Action Caucus, and between an official donation and membership collections donated $445 to the ASTTEL workers. On July 23 the executive board of CWA Local 4309 in Cleveland also passed a motion backing the Salvadoran phone workers. Meanwhile, on July 14, CWA Region 1 vice president Jan Pierce spoke to a Congressional/labor meeting calling for support to ASTTEL and the fired workers and union officials.

no credit

Phone workers have faced constant military repression on strike and in workplace.

The Salvadoran phone workers have sent a message of "fraternal greetings to all the telephone worker compañeros who have sent us their valuable financial contribution," adding that their struggle will continue, "even if they jail us or kill us, because we are fighting for liberty, justice and peace." Under the most difficult conditions of civil war, these brothers and sisters are courageously waging an important class battle. We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* to send contributions and telegrams of support to: Carlos Bernal, c/o FENASTRAS, Avenida 29 de Agosto, Plaza Barrios, San Salvador, El Salvador. ■



Photos no credit

Women workers (left) played important role in strike, braving death threats and repression by military management. Banner (right) says: "51 Days of Struggle For Our Demands Will Never Be Forgotten, Because They Can Repress Us But Never Make Us Submit. Long Live the Unity of ANTEL Workers!"

Workers Free Salvadoran Unionist

MEXICO CITY—Union militant Fehe Elizabeth Velásquez, a member of the executive council of the leftist National Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS), was freed in San Salvador July 11, after five days in the hands of the ruthless Treasury Police. In an all-too-familiar scenario, on the morning of July 7 Velásquez was forced into a minibus by men in civilian clothes in downtown San Salvador. Were it not for the vigorous reaction by her fellow workers, as well as labor nationally and in the U.S., she might have joined the 500 trade unionists languishing in prison; or, worse still, ended up among the 60,000 civilians killed by the U.S.-backed regime in six years of civil war.

FENASTRAS officials here told *WV* that Velásquez' 350 co-workers at the CIRCA textile plant (makers of Levi jeans), where she is union general secretary, immediately called a strike. They bravely sent a delegation to police headquarters to force the cops to acknowledge that Velásquez was in their custody and to demand her release. Three days later FENASTRAS organized a march of more than 1,000 unionists. An international publicity campaign was launched, and

Guardian

Salvadoran unionist Febe Elizabeth Velásquez.

an ad was published in San Salvador newspapers signed by over 120 American union officials. U.S. puppet president José Napoleón Duarte was forced to relent—in a hypocritical show of benevolence, he then personally escorted Velásquez back to the FENASTRAS office.

Velásquez later described how she had been beaten, deprived of food, sleep and use of bathroom facilities during her captivity. Anti-labor repression in El Salvador is escalating as strikes, massive demonstrations and battlefield victories by the FMLN guerrillas belie U.S. claims of a "success story." A FENASTRAS spokesman said on the day of Velásquez' seizure, "The kidnapping forms part of a plan of the government and the North American embassy to behead the workers movement through massive repression against the workers" (*El Dia*, 8 July). That same day, three unionists in the western city of Santa Ana were seized.

For international class solidarity with beleaguered Salvadoran unionists! Military victory to Salvadoran leftist rebels! For workers revolution throughout Central America!

Smash KKK/Nazi Terror Drive...

(continued from page 1)

November 1982.

It is no accident that the Klan is now targeting places like Chicago, Uniontown, or Virginia Beach near Norfolk, where burning crosses have been erected on Navy housing. In recent years the Tidewater area has been the focus of resistance to efforts by Congress and the courts to turn back busing, resistance led by black workers in the strategic shipyard and longshore industries. The mobilization of Tidewater black labor was critical to stopping the fascists in Washington, and now must take the lead in the fight to smash the cross-burners and get the school buses rolling again!

AP

UPI

Fascist killers meet at remote Aryan Nations camp in Idaho (above). KKK cross-burners outside Uniontown, Pennsylvania.

KKK's President Reagan

Loudspeakers blared "Dixie" and Nazi marching songs over the "Aryan Nations" white-supremacist enclave at Hayden Lake, Idaho, for the national fascist gathering July 13-14. Differences between nativist white-sheeters and Hitler-lovers were pretty much obliterated as hundreds of Klansmen, Nazis, racist survivalists, Posse Comitatus and TV evangelists burned crosses, gave stiff-arm salutes, brandished AR-15 automatic rifles and swapped hit lists for their personal computer networks. Among those present was Metzger, the former California KKK "grand dragon" and now head of "White American Resistance" (WAR). But the focus was on Chicago, as Klansmen proudly displayed video tapes of their recent provocations in Lincoln and Marquette parks.

In 1984 the poisonous "Aryan Nations" crowd spawned The Order, the racist band which murdered Denver Jewish broadcaster Alan Berg, robbed banks and armored cars and declared war on the "Zionist Occupation Government," vowing to establish a white-supremacist "homeland" in the Northwest. The Order ran afoul of the government when they blew away a Missouri state trooper—they didn't understand that the fascists are held in reserve to do the dirty work for the bourgeoisie, and are not supposed to start shooting up cops. A massive FBI manhunt was launched and the feds now claim all known Order members are either dead, in prison... or have federal protection as witnesses. But the white-supremacist killers are still on the loose: last December a racist drifter murdered a Seattle lawyer, Charles Goldmark, saying he was trying to kill a commie for Christ; and in May a bomb-wielding couple took a Wyoming school hostage demanding $2 million in ransom to finance a "white homeland."

In fact, the fascists are coming together again to try to exploit the prevailing social climate. As yesterday's "lunatic fringe" increasingly overlaps with today's mainstream rulers, the Kluxers and Birchers are marching in lock step with the White House. The "Aryan Nations" Nazis seek the repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment, which extended the Bill of Rights to the states and extended citizenship to American blacks. These killers aim to send all blacks "back" to Africa and deport all other non-Aryans to their supposed countries of origin. So guess who else claims "states' rights" supersede the post-Civil War Amendments: "Justice" Department boss Ed Meese. "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson explained the KKK's support for their favorite Klandidate, Ronald Reagan:

> "They said we're opposed to affirmative action, we're opposed to forced busing and we're for states' rights. For those reasons we supported President Reagan [in 1980] and for those reasons we're going to support President Reagan this year."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 23 April 1984

The Reagan years really began in November 1979 under Democrat Jimmy Carter when the KKK/Nazis murdered five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina. The Greensboro massacre was a green light for racist murder, planned and carried out with the full participation of the cops and federal government. At the subsequent whitewash trial, the fascists' "legal defense" was that it was okay to gun down communists. The lawyer for the KKK/Nazis argued explicitly: "These defendants are patriotic citizens like the German citizens" in World War II. "That's why they went to Greensboro, to stop Communists." This defense worked—all-white juries twice let the fascists go free.

For the current rulers of this very sick, decaying society, crime is in—but only some people's "crime." The soon-to-be Supreme Court Chief Justice William Rehnquist makes his own law: he looks for who he wants to hurt and then writes a law to get them (e.g., the recent anti-sodomy ruling). Meanwhile, Rehnquist has a picture on his office wall, a friendly picture of a felon named Richard Nixon who escaped prosecution only through the pardon of his successor Gerald Ford. So for the Nazis, the Klan, the "right-to-life" terrorists: it's open season, backed by the courts.

The anti-Soviet war drive means racist terror at home. The clearest link between the Reagan administration and the fascists is the Civilian Matériel Assistance. This group gained notoriety in 1984 as the CIA's conduit supplier to the Nicaraguan contras during the Congressional aid ban, especially when two of them came back in a box after their helicopter was shot down by the Sandinistas. Today, equipped with the most sophisticated assault rifles and night-vision scanners, the CMA polices both sides of the Mexican border and ambushes Latinos. These are not a bunch of kooks, but murderous enforcers of government policy.

Stop the Klan in Chicago!

The KKK has targeted Chicago for deadly terror. In the explosive combination of a black mayor seeking to govern "Segregation City," the fascists smell an opportunity to whip up race war. Screaming mobs in Marquette Park take their cue from the white ethnic Democratic Party pols' war against the Harold Washington administration. Emboldened by their Marquette Park provocation to race-terror, a week later the fascists firebombed the home of Shirley and Aleem Waheed, a black family in Gage Park, and attacked a Hispanic family just blocks away. When the latter defended themselves against a baseball-bat wielding racist, they were arrested.

Since then, race-hate attacks have multiplied. A black teenager riding home through Marquette Park from his job at McDonalds was attacked by a rock-throwing white mob. Racists tried to torch the headquarters of Jesse Jackson's PUSH organization with a gasoline-soaked telephone book. In the town of Zion, 60 miles north of Chicago, black Muslim teenager Fahim Ahmad was attending a "Liberty Weekend" carnival when he was shot and killed by a white racist shouting "Klan, Klan, Klan." Activists with Zion's "Citizens Against the Klan" say the shooting was spawned by months of Klan terror in the city, including their tolerated appearances in full KKK regalia at city council meetings.

At a June 8 meeting, members of Chicago's Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308 put forward a motion calling for the union to demand the charges be dropped against eleven courageous supporters of Progressive Labor Party, arrested June 28 when they tried to stop the fascists at their staging point. This was then tabled by the bureaucrats, but union action is the key. At the bus barns, black and white workers were following events closely, and were outraged to hear of the firebombing in Gage Park. The integrated, organized Chicago labor movement—bus drivers, meatpackers, steel workers—has the social power to smash the fascists! Labor must take the lead and mobilize all enemies of racist terror with mass labor/black action.

WV Photo

"We stopped the Klan!" chanted 5,000 at Labor/Black Mobilization in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982.

Chicago is a city of unionists, blacks, Latins, Jews, Catholics and many others who all know they're in the fascists' crosshairs. In October 1980, when the Nazis marched on the heavily Jewish suburb of Evanston for a race-hate rally, a counterdemonstration of 2,500 protesters, many of them concentration camp survivors (and including a 70-plus Spartacist contingent), drove the Hitler-loving punks out. The Evanston action was a welcome sight, particularly coming after years of Nazi threats in Marquette Park and nearby Skokie, where the American Civil Liberties Union came out for the fascists' supposed "right" to goose-step in this community of Holocaust survivors. Democrat Jimmy Carter's White House decided that the Nazis' "human rights" to terrorize were to be secured at bayonet point, if necessary.

But as momentum built for the biggest anti-fascist rally in decades, the Carter government engineered an obscene "trade-off," in which the Nazis would call off their march in Skokie, in exchange for which they were given cop-protected access to terrorize blacks in the streets and parks of Chicago. This

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was the decision which opened up Marquette Park as a staging area for the Nazis. Anti-Nazi demonstrations of a couple thousand people were headed off by the cops. But when a few years later, on 27 June 1982, the Nazis attempted to stage an anti-homosexual provocation in Lincoln Park on Gay Pride Day, a 3,000-strong labor/black mobilization spiked the fascist threat. Organized by the Spartacist League, the action mobilized Chicago unionists and blacks in defense of gays.

Ever since the 1960s, when Martin Luther King, Jr. was stoned in Marquette Park while leading an "open housing" march, the fascists have been firebombing and stoning to enforce a reign of racist terror. In the face of the June 28 KKK rally, Mayor Harold Washington told Chicago blacks to stay home and give the Klan the "silent treatment." His reaction was consistent with other black mayors such as D.C.'s Marion Barry and Detroit's Coleman Young. Also dangerously diverting black people from the struggle against the Klan is the sinister Louis ("Hitler was a great man") Farrakhan. The same day as the KKK's hate fest in Marquette Park, Farrakhan was preaching "black capitalism" at Chicago's Conrad Hilton. This apostle of racial separatism and anti-Semitism is actually supported by white fascists like Metzger, who attended a Farrakhan rally in L.A.

Mass labor/black mobilizations built by the Spartacist League were in every case forged in struggle *against* the Democratic Party mayors who consistently tried to get the actions called off, engineered "alternate" gabfests, threw up lines of cops to protect the racists from the demonstrators' wrath. Installed by the ruling class to cool out the ghetto explosions of the '60s, these black front men for Reagan reaction are delivering black people to racist terrorism. The struggle to smash the fascists means the independent mobilization of labor and minorities, and a political struggle to break with the Democrats and forge a revolutionary workers party.

There is every reason for revolutionary optimism in the struggle against burgeoning fascist/racist movements in this country. The alliance of ultraright, paramilitary groupings is very unstable—including "right to life" Catholics, super-WASP fascists (like the Klan whose claims to have abandoned anti-Catholic hatred have not convinced anyone) and Zionist fanatics who are not likely to get on well with Hitler-loving Nazi scum. Such a lash-up is not going to last for long. But the basis for unity between the organized labor movement, ghetto and barrio masses, Jewish people, youth and other minorities is both urgent and palpable. Organizing these diverse forces into action against the fascists is the task of a Bolshevik party which has assimilated the lessons of the workers' victory in Russia and the workers' horrible defeat in Germany.

In Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Washington, mass labor/black mobilizations kept the fascists off the streets. Now the cross burners and lynchers are raising their heads again. They must be crushed, now. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri 5:00-8:00 p.m. Sat 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues 5:00-9:00 p.m. Sat 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St. 10th Floor
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New York City
Tues 6:00-9:00 p.m. Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Detroit Workers...

(continued from page 1)

budget cuts and wage freezes down Detroiters' throats, and unleashing racist police terror on blacks. When city workers struck in 1980, on the eve of the Republican convention at Cobo Hall which nominated Ronald Reagan, Young and the union tops (who have continued to support the mayor up to the present) blackjacked the ranks into taking down their picket lines. Young's obscene strikebreaking slogan was, "Detroit Loves a Good Party."

It certainly hasn't been party time in Motown lately. Within two days after the onset of the current strike, Young was in court seeking a back-to-work order. When a municipal judge nixed that, the city threatened to bring in the Guard (using a primary election as the pretext). Detroit's club-happy cops went to work on pickets: at least four strikers were seriously injured by police or management scabs barreling through picket lines in their cars. City bosses were able to get a federal court order banning pickets at the truck entrance of the sewage plant. Daily deliveries of chemicals essential to the plant's functioning had stopped when Teamsters honored the picket lines, but the AFSCME tops obeyed the order and deliveries resumed. If the waste water treatment plants are crippled, Young & Co. will be forced to their knees *real* fast.

Shortly before midnight on July 25 a tentative agreement was arrived at in shotgun bargaining ordered by the courts. While the union tops boasted that they won on the non-economic takeaways, they settled for a 5 percent first-year wage increase, plus whatever the city decides it can "afford" to pay. Detroit officials put the squeeze on to get the Teamster sanitation workers and ATU bus drivers back to work, in order to stampede the strikers. But the picket lines stayed up, unions continued to honor them, the garbage continued to pile up. And at a meeting last night, when it was revealed that the "financial solvency" clause included a provision for a 2 percent wage cut in the third year, the AFSCME ranks' anger boiled over.

Wilson Goode: MOVE Butcher, Strikebreaker

In Philadelphia the horrendous firebombing massacre of six adults and five children of the black MOVE commune was the ultimate proof that black Democratic mayors are the front men for Reagan's war on black America. Wilson Goode declared that he'd "do it again"; Reagan's top cop Meese, whose FBI supplied the powerful C-4 explosives for the bombs, praised it to the skies. The Osage Avenue massacre was supposed to be a message to anybody—blacks, labor, leftists—who gets "out of line" in Reagan's America.

The unions, next on Wilson Goode's hit list, should have shut down Philly over this racist atrocity. But the labor bureaucrats were tied to Goode, and the ghetto masses were initially disoriented by the fact that the entire black establishment rallied behind one of their own. However, as ever more revelations about the MOVE massacre came out, black anger steadily built up against the "mayor of murder." This was definitely a factor behind the militancy of the city workers strike. One black picket bitterly told *WV*: "Nobody wants to work for that child killer. He killed 11 people. To hell with him."

When 13,000 predominantly black city workers organized by AFSCME walked out on July 1, Goode's capitalist masters put him on notice that his job as overseer of Philly was on the line. On July 17 Goode's courts issued a back-to-work order directed at the 2,500 sanitation workers. Union leaders tried to duck the squarely posed issue,

Amos/National Geographic

Coleman Young (center) runs Detroit for banker David Rockefeller (left) and auto boss Henry Ford II.

refusing to defy the order. They put the onus on individual members to "make their own decisions." But the ranks stayed solid. At large sanitation facilities scattered throughout the city it was "no contract, no work."

As hundreds of municipal workers demonstrated their defiance, union stewards were also telling them that the strike would end if the mayor got a contempt of court citation. Two days later Goode did exactly that. The mayor claimed he would fire every sanitation worker who didn't go back; the judge threatened the union with $40,000 in daily fines. Faced with this obscene attempt to blame the strikers for "endangering health and safety," the union should have boldly met the challenge by saying who the real terrorists, murderers and enemies of the people are. They should have demanded real solidarity by appealing to Philly unions to take strike action alongside the sanitationmen.

But the AFSCME leaders buckled. (The white-collar DC 47 union had already gone back to work, scabbing on the predominantly black blue-collar workers.) And the cowardly city AFL-CIO tops refused to back the embattled sanitation workers with strike action. The capitalists' law, made to order to protect Reaganite baby butchers and union-busters, was allowed to prevail. A powerful strike collapsed. The top levels of the American ruling class, who understood the explosive potential in Philadelphia after the MOVE massacre, breathed a sigh of relief. The *Wall Street Journal* (23 July) headlined its article: "Mayor Goode's Handling of Strike in Philadelphia Partly Restores Confidence in His Ability to Lead."

Blacks in Front Line of Class Struggle

In the late '60s when the Northern ghettos exploded in rage over the failure of the civil rights movement to change the conditions of life of the black masses, the U.S. ruling class brought in black Democratic mayors to cool things out. Particularly during the Reagan years, the grinding squeeze on the American population to finance the anti-Soviet war buildup has long since put an end to those token pacifying social programs dubbed "the war on poverty." Thus the black Democrats have become the local enforcers for war regimentation and cutbacks. And now they have become the focus of angry workers' resistance to givebacks and to racist Reagan reaction.

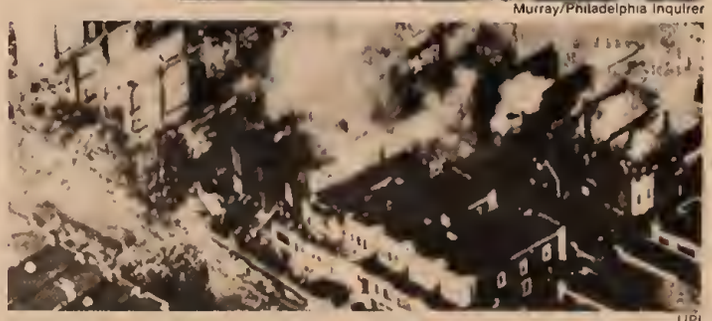
When heavily black unions wield their social power by striking against the Democratic black mayors, what does the "socialist left" say? Sam Marcy's *Workers World* (24 July) runs an article on the Philly strike where they "neglect" to mention Wilson Goode's name. The Communist Party's *People's Daily World* (26 July) doesn't mention Coleman Young. These strikes might as well have been in Oshkosh. The reformist left has long backed "progressive" black Democrats, in Congress and in City Hall. So when the unions strike against black Democrats, the reformists can only lie.

The two-party capitalist stranglehold can be broken: significant sections of black workers have demonstrated in action that they don't buy the liberal lie that a few "black faces in high places" means liberation. But the labor movement remains chained to the Democratic Party through the trade-union bureaucracy. At the same time, black Democratic pols like Jesse Jackson and Coleman Young retain their hold on the ghetto masses in good part because the racist AFL-CIO tops are openly contemptuous of black people.

To avenge the MOVE martyrs, to create a society where hundreds of thousands of auto workers are not thrown on the scrap heap for the greater profits of the Iacoccas and Fords—this will take a socialist revolution. To unlock the enormous social power of the American proletariat, black workers must take the lead in breaking with the Democrats and forging a multiracial, class-struggle workers party that will fight for a workers government to liberate all the oppressed. ■

Murray/Philadelphia Inquirer

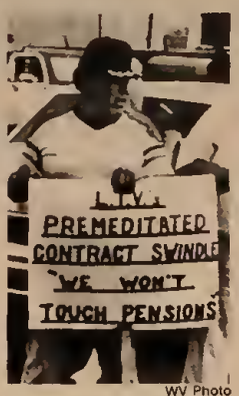
Philadelphia's Wilson Goode ordered firebombing of black MOVE group, killing eleven, including babies, and burning out an entire black neighborhood.



UPI

Steel Workers Up Against Rust Bowl Capitalism

Pensioners Spark LTV Strike



WV Photo

Post Tribune

Pensioners picket LTV steel in East Chicago (left); strikers stop locomotive from entering mill.

CHICAGO, July 28—Just four months after the giveback contract which robbed steel workers of more than $3 per hour in wages and benefits, LTV Steel filed for bankruptcy on July 17. Over 55,000 retirees and their spouses have lost medical benefits and their pensions are threatened. Active LTV workers have had their accident insurance canceled and banks are refusing to cash LTV paychecks.

Angry retirees, who have already been turned away from area hospitals demanding prepayment, picketed LTV's Indiana Harbor Works in East Chicago last week, demanding the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) strike LTV in defense of the meager benefits they slaved in the mills for decades to get. But USWA Local 1011 bureaucrats, openly siding with the steel bosses, broke up the retirees' picket line, even as the East Chicago cops arrested five of the pickets. Massive outrage forced the union leaders to authorize strike action. LTV has thrown the retirees and thousands of steel workers on the slag heap, and their hatchetmen in the USWA bureaucracy are working overtime to make sure the workers stay there.

LTV's Chapter 11 bankruptcy, like that at Wheeling-Pittsburgh which provoked a 98-day strike last October, is intended to rip up the latest giveback contract before the ink on it is dry, using the bosses' courts to slash steel workers' paychecks yet again. Meanwhile, USX (formerly U.S. Steel) has pushed the union to the wall, demanding cuts of $3.39 per hour, coupled with job classification changes that would immediately wipe out *one-third* of the company's 22,000 remaining jobs, with deadly speedup for the rest of the workforce.

In response to an overwhelming 10,051-to-66 authorization vote to strike on August 1, the company is shutting down its Gary Works—essentially locking out 7,500 union members, many of whose jobs may be wiped out. And last Thursday, USWA Local 1014 in Gary uncovered a company order for $17,000 in tear gas grenades and "small arms ammunition" to be brought into the plant. A retired LTV worker picketing the LTV East Chicago plant told *WV*: "It'll be 1937 all over again if we don't watch out. They killed my father." It was in front of the Republic Steel plant (now LTV's South Chicago Works) that ten steel workers were shot down in the 1937 Memorial Day Massacre.

This spring, union president Lynn Williams tore up the industrywide contract, whipsawing steel workers at National Steel, Bethlehem, LTV and Inland into givebacks. In the midst of this giveback "bargaining," Williams & Co. staged obscene flag-waving rallies on June 21, the joint USWA and steel bosses' "Save American Industry and Jobs Day." A featured speaker was Minnesota Democratic governor Rudy Perpich, who last January sent in the National Guard to break the strike of the Hormel meatpackers!

USWA members are being battered, but it's not by their class brothers and sisters in Japan, who are in fact *better* paid than American steel workers. The USWA tops push racist protectionism and givebacks to "save" the steel barons' *profits*. For years steel has been among the *most* protected of American industries, while the steel bosses have let the mills deteriorate and invested elsewhere, turning the Midwest into a rust bowl. USX (dropping "U.S. Steel" in recognition of its demise as a steel company) spent billions on Marathon Oil and Texas Oil and Gas, while scrapping 70,000 out of 90,000 steel workers. And while LTV Steel, created through the purchase of Jones and Laughlin, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and Republic, is awash in debt, its parent company rakes in millions as a major war industry contractor. As the steel mills close, scrapping *half* the USWA membership—700,000 workers thrown out of work in the last 12 years—the capitalists take the money and run.

The bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, first under Carter and now Reagan, has sucked billions of dollars out of productive investment and into the massive war buildup. But the labor traitors in the USWA bureaucracy, like their masters in the Democratic Party, back Reagan's "crusade against Communism" to the hilt. In addition they whip up racist "yellow peril" hatred for Asian workers, in the hope of saving red, white and blue profits and their shrinking dues base. While they try to save the profits of a rotting American steel industry and a decaying war-drive economy, the Williams gang sentences USWA retirees to die because they are unable to pay the thousands of dollars demanded for medical care.

The money is there, but not for the LTV retirees, the desperately impoverished black population of Gary, the thousands of steel workers with their backs to the wall who are determined to strike USX in defense of their livelihoods. Some hard class struggle—like seizing the plants—is the way to force the bosses and government to give something real for the years steel workers sweated in the mills.

But as long as the ranks of the USWA remain chained to the labor bureaucracy's program for "saving jobs"—givebacks, protectionism and support for the racist, capitalist Democratic Party—steel workers will pay in blood for the rotting of American steel. The future of the black and working people lies in the construction of a class-struggle workers party. The rust bowl of the Midwest will not be rebuilt by decaying American capitalism. Only a planned, centralized economy producing in the interests of working people can revitalize basic industry. And that can only be achieved through victorious American socialist revolution. ■

Steel Worker Sandy Thomas Victimized

Honor Bay Area Iron Workers' Picket Lines!

OAKLAND, July 28—Iron Workers Local 790 struck Bay Area steel fabricating plants and construction sites last Tuesday in the face of a vicious "giveback" offensive by the bosses in the Western Steel Council. The Building Trades Council is honoring Iron Workers' picket lines at construction sites. However, Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1441 officials refused to pull their members out—though their own contract expires August 31. At Judson Steel at Emeryville, where some 70 iron workers are on strike, more than 200 Local 1441 members have been told by their union officials to cross the picket lines and to continue working.

One militant steel worker at Judson, Sandy Thomas, a Spartacist supporter, has refused to scab and is honoring the iron workers' picket line. The Judson bosses immediately retaliated with a five-day disciplinary suspension and then fired Thomas. At a special meeting on the strike last week, Local 1441 unanimously passed a motion pledging to do everything in its power to restore her job. The most effective way to do that is to honor the picket lines and pull Local 1441 out. Thomas' courageous stand is widely respected on the picket lines, and an Iron Workers official has said they will demand that there be no reprisals against workers honoring picket lines.

In contemptible contrast to Thomas, three supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP—publishers of the misnamed *Militant*) in Local 1441 have been daily slithering across the lines at Judson; they have the gall to tell picketers they are "supporting" the strike "on the inside," where they are helping produce the steel which continues to come out of the plant. These scab "socialists" are also echoing Steelworkers bureaucrats who are hiding behind a vicious "no-strike" clause in the union's contract at Judson.

If you play by the bosses' rules, you lose. Strike together and shut it down—that's the only way to win! Defend Sandy Thomas! No reprisals! Picket lines mean don't cross!

Young Spartacus

Sandy Thomas, who is supporting three children, faces loss of her job because she refused to cross picket line.

BT Letter...

(continued from page 3)

bourgeoisie! Even the old labor lieutenants of capital with their "business unionism" outlook didn't want that role. How about "union control" of AIDS testing? With this rationale you could have found some people to transport the Jews to the death camps.

But why has this issue come up at all? Because there has been a substantial move to the right in this country, and the BT's idea of meeting this shift is an obscene collaboration. You people have got it exactly wrong. Instead of opposing it, you have simply joined the pack, only with a nuance.

What you refer to so offhandedly as Keylor's "wrong position on World War II" was support to his own bourgeoisie in an interimperialist war. And it wasn't "years ago." He maintained this position while a member of the Spartacist League. Attempts to discuss this question of class principle with Keylor were interrupted by disputes over his unwillingness to raise the SL program in the popular-frontist Central American trade-union solidarity milieu. These disputes ultimately concluded with his resignation from the SL in late 1981 over our condemnation of the betrayal of the PATCO strike by the U.S. labor bureaucracy.

Interestingly, Keylor—who joined the Communist Party because of its support in 1948 to Henry Wallace, the "third party" candidate of the capitalist Progressive Party—left the CP only in 1961, and then over the relatively smaller issue of a trade-union question. With your common outlook of white, reformist, anti-communist laborism, you and the other Canadian BTers and the aspiring labor bureaucrat Keylor are fit company. By your efforts to legitimize Meese's reactionary anti-drug crusade you serve the interests of your own bourgeoisie, attempting to put a "labor face" on the domestic side of the anti-Soviet war drive.

P.S. The BTs bombed out badly at Berkeley recently when your pal Keylor disgusted a roomful of anti-apartheid students when he launched into a real 1950s-style redbaiting attack against the pro-Albania Marxist-Leninist Party. ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August. Our next issue will be dated August 29.

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

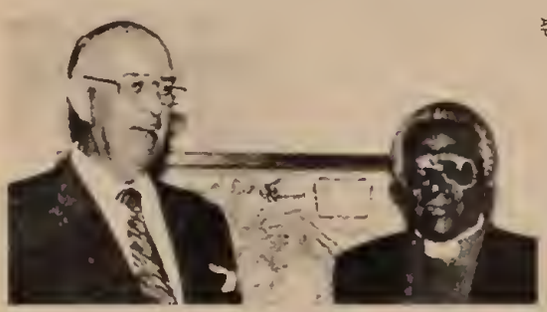
racist Afrikaner nationalist regime to cut a deal with the black opposition, or at least its "moderate" elements, in order to save South Africa for the "free world."

Thus in his recent speech Reagan emphasized the vital importance of South Africa to that "free world" of imperialist exploitation and colonial domination. Its superexploited black miners produce half the gold which underlies the world financial system. It is the major source of strategic minerals like chromium, manganese and platinum. Without these there would be no steel, auto or chemical industry, and of overriding importance to the American ruling class, no war industry.

In other ways as well the racist police state is a strategic member of the U.S.-headed global alliance against the Soviet Union. South African troops police southern Africa for the imperialist powers. Together with the contra forces of Jonas Savimbi they rain terror on Angola, whose hard-won independence is defended by 30,000 Soviet-backed Cuban soldiers. Pretoria monitors Soviet shipping and submarine activity around the Cape of Good Hope for American and British intelligence. And as was recently revealed in the *New York Times*, they in turn spy for Pretoria on the African National Congress, the main political organization of black resistance to apartheid terror.

Campbell/Sygma

South African black miners: powerhouse for workers revolution.



AP

Nobel "Peace" Prize winner Bishop Tutu pleads with No. 1 apartheid butcher Botha, July 21.

It was in this same speech that Reagan called upon his racist allies in Pretoria to "begin a dialogue about constructing a political system that rests on the consent of the governed." He exhorted personally his junior partner P.W. Botha "not to retreat into the locker." The "Gipper" apparently thought the *laager*—the circle of ox wagons which nineteenth-century Afrikaners formed to fight black tribesmen—was where South African whites hang their soccer shorts.

The Democratic response to Reagan's speech was made by black Congressman William Grey, a leading advocate of sanctions. He accused Reagan of being shortsighted and thus driving South African blacks into the arms of the Russians:

> "The President says our strategic interests would be jeopardized if violent elements assume power in South Africa, but the President's own policies put our strategic interests at risk. He condemns apartheid but he refuses to back it with meaningful action. In doing so he gives black South Africans no choice but to accept support from other nations who offer it. That does not serve our long-term strategic interests."

The "Sanctions" Debate

Despite the exaggerated claims on both sides, divestment and the sanctions proposed *will not seriously damage* the South African economy nor are they intended to. Reagan himself pointed out that foreign banks have stopped lending to South Africa, and many Western businessmen have already pulled out. We might add that these divestors *continue to superexploit* South Africa's black labor. They've sold their operations to South African or other foreign capitalists, mainly in exchange for interest-bearing notes. So instead of getting profits out of South Africa, they're collecting interest payments, which in the present crisis of apartheid rule is a far safer means of investment.

As for sanctions, Congress is not going to pass anything but wrist-slapping measures—canceling landing rights for South African Airways, barring new investment in that country (at a time of massive capital flight!). Even the "tough" House bill *exempts* imports of South African gold, manganese, chromium, etc., that is, 75 percent of all South African exports. No way is Congress going to do anything to disrupt the Pentagon war machine and the industries on which it is based.

But despite the minimal nature of the proposed Congressional sanctions, Reagan is having none of them. At the same time, he did move to try to undercut his liberal opponents on South Africa. White House spokesmen announced that a black was being considered as the new ambassador to Pretoria, North Carolina businessman Robert J. Brown. At first it seemed like an inspired ploy. Everyone from ultra-rightist Jesse Helms—who would surely feel more comfortable in South Africa than in the U.S.—to NAACP head Benjamin Hooks approved the choice.

But Brown was soon exposed as a professional union-buster and all-round shady operator. Formerly the highest-ranking black official in the Nixon administration, after leaving Washington Brown wangled a loan from the Small Business Administration as a "disadvantaged minority" capitalist. Carolina labor leaders revealed that his public relations outfit specializes in helping textile mills bust unionization drives among black workers. Under a barrage of bad publicity, Brown withdrew from consideration as the new ambassador to Pretoria.

It is testimony to the power of South Africa's black workers movement that being a union-buster is viewed as a disqualification for U.S. imperialism's top agent in that country. After all, probably half the American ambassadors around the world are drawn from the ranks of union-busting capitalists. At the same time, the "free world" yellow trade-union bureaucracy sent to South Africa a delegation from Britain, West Germany and the U.S. headed by none other than AFL-CIO (better known abroad as the "AFL-CIA") chief Lane Kirkland. Kirkland no doubt wants to leash black union leaders in South Africa to the same kind of sellout treachery that is destroying the organization and living standards of labor, particularly black and migrant workers, in the U.S. and West Europe.

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

Closely bound up with the debate over sanctions within the imperialist ruling circles are differences over the nature and goals of the African National Congress (ANC). For much of the Reagan gang, the ANC consists of little more than KGB agents in blackface. Defending spying on the ANC for Pretoria, an intelligence officer in the Reagan administration stated, "we target the A.N.C. We've always considered them to be the bad guys, to be Soviet pawns, stalking horses for the Soviets" (*New York Times*, 23 June).

While the ANC gets most of its arms from the Soviet bloc, these petty-bourgeois nationalists are *not* fighting for red revolution. On the contrary, their goal is a "power-sharing" deal with "progressive" white capitalists like Anglo American's Gavin Relly, the biggest exploiter of black labor on the African continent. This utopian program of class collaboration dangerously diverts the black toilers from revolutionary struggle against apartheid capitalism.

However, the imperialists' fear of socialist revolution in South Africa, shared by both Reagan and Teddy Kennedy, has a basis in reality. The red flags with hammers and sickles displayed at black funerals demonstrate a widespread sympathy for communism, such as it is understood, among the oppressed masses. The young, combative black workers movement, especially since the "state of emergency" was declared on June 12, has moved into the forefront of resistance to apartheid terror.

Today in South Africa all of the elements of a prerevolutionary situation are there, and yet there is one absolutely vital element missing: a Leninist vanguard party. Without revolutionary proletarian leadership the rebellious black masses can be played off against one another (e.g., along tribal lines), isolated in the segregated townships and crushed in a bloodbath of historic dimensions. What is desperately needed to prevent this outcome is a racially integrated Bolshevik party fighting for a society based on the principle that he who labors must rule. Forward to a black-centered workers government in South Africa! ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 12)

spoke of the land reform which has sharply accelerated this year, handing over to the peasants almost five million acres.

The largest applause came when Ortega spoke of the shutting down of the CIA organ *La Prensa*, and the exile of two counterrevolutionary bishops. Earlier, at the June 27 recnactment of the march from Managua to Masaya, when the Sandinista leader referred to the "indefinite suspension" of *La Prensa*, the crowd responded demanding, "Burn it!" But Ortega stressed that these measures were not meant as a political change in direction. "The state of emergency has been put into effect to preserve political pluralism and the mixed economy, within constitutional limits," he said in Esteli. The FSLN's attempts to ally with a fictitious "patriotic" bourgeoisie is a mortal threat to the revolution, as capitalist economic power represents one of the contras' most strategic weapons.

On June 27, Ortega told the crowd of fighters in the capital, "We don't want to kill North American youth. But if they send them to kill us, whether they come as advisers or with invading Yankee troops, they will die here." As the contras are once again openly run by the CIA, and now trained by Green Beret "advisers," the contra aid is an integral part of U.S. plans for a direct attack. Even recently fired U.S. ambassador to Honduras John Ferch said that "it's really just the first step," adding, "it's a military goal" the Reagan administration is after, namely crushing the Sandinista regime. A Pentagon report leaked to the press in May said that an invasion attempt would involve 100,000 U.S. Army troops, plus substantial naval and air power, for a cost of $9 billion in the first year.

Yet even today, as Washington's Central American puppets and regional powers such as Mexico try to use "Contadora" to disarm the Nicaraguan Revolution, and strangle leftist rebels in El Salvador and Guatemala, Daniel Ortega renewed his support for this treacherous "arms limitation" trap. The fates of the workers and peasants throughout the isthmus are inextricably linked. In Nicaragua today, the need is more urgent than ever for a Leninist-Trotskyist party with a program to defend, complete and extend the revolution. And in the U.S. as well, where the Democrats are dancing to Reagan's tune, revolutionaries must fight for workers action against Yankee aggression. "Reagan's war" will not be popular on the home front—it won't just be three million Nicaraguans against a U.S. invasion.

Tens of millions of Americans, who haven't forgotten Vietnam, can be mobilized against such a bloody imperialist adventure, through revolutionary struggle in the belly of the beast. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Under Reagan's Guns

Nicaragua Masses Vow to Defend Revolution

Defend, complete, extend the revolution! Managua, July 1985: masses rally for sixth anniversary of Sandinista victory.

WV Photo

Seven years after the Sandinista revolution which toppled U.S.-backed tyrant Anastasio Somoza, the Nicaraguan masses are preparing to meet escalating contra attacks, the "advance guard" of direct U.S. aggression. Last month's House vote in favor of $100 million in aid for the Somozaist counterrevolutionaries is widely seen here as a green light for launching B-52 bombing raids and sending in the Marines.

Report from Estelí

Even the bourgeois parliamentary opposition parties complain that the approval of contra aid "presages more violence and pain for Nicaraguans." But while the CIA's mercenary scum will increase their murderous attacks on non-military targets, no one gives them a chance of shaking the radical-nationalist Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) regime.

Everyone in Nicaragua is well aware of the huge weapons arsenal that the U.S. has "pre-positioned" in Honduras, the twice-daily reconnaissance flights by U-2 and RC-135 spy planes, the constant patrolling of U.S. war ships off their coastline. As Sandinista Army chief of intelligence, Ricardo Wheelock, explained, "They [the contras] will continue to attack the economy and the civilian population, but it is obvious that U.S. war efforts in the region since 1983 have been devised within the overall strategy of direct U.S. intervention" (*Barricada Internacional*, 24 July). And Nicaraguans vow to meet that threat with a war of the people. Some 400,000 guns have been distributed to a population of three million, and at the anniversary celebration here of the FSLN-led popular insurrection there were defiant chants of "We are 3 million defeating your $100 million."

The July 19 festivities this year were held in Esteli, just 21 miles from Honduras and the contra camps which are scattered along the border. Holding the celebration in a war zone was a statement of the Sandinistas' military and political strength. Esteli is known as "three times heroic," for the three insurrections its people launched against Somoza's powerful National Guard during 1978-79. The town was virtually destroyed by bombardment of Somoza's air force and rebuilt from rubble and ashes by its citizens. The *esteleños* continue to actively support the revolution, surpassing production quotas and enthusiastically registering for military service. Also in the crowd that swelled to 50,000 in the stadium nestled in the green hills on the outskirts of Esteli were peasants from Las Segovias province where Sandino fought the Marines in the 1920s.

As a bus caravan of U.S. and other foreign guests headed north from Managua, hundreds of soldiers and militia along the route safeguarded their passage. With AKs flung over their shoulders, they scanned the hills for a promised contra attack which never came. The Sandinista Army's very effective Irregular Warfare Battalions (BLI) had secured the countryside around Esteli in the weeks before the anniversary. After passing La Trinidad, briefly overrun by contras a year ago, the caravan passed through a valley flanked by steep hills, a favorite ambush zone. When two Soviet MI-24 helicopters passed overhead, combing the hills for contra troops, one young American woman remarked how strange it felt to be protected by Russian guns from the U.S.-armed mercenaries.

The crowd itself was somewhat subdued, reflecting the more socially conservative peasants of the northern provinces. The main spark was provided by a group of July 19 Sandinista Youth from Managua, who danced and vigorously chanted, *"¡No pasarán!"* (They shall not pass) and *"poder popular"* (people's power). Sandinista president Daniel Ortega spoke for an hour and a half, recounting the horrors that five years of U.S. aggression had visited upon the Nicaraguan people: 31,290 Nicaraguan casualties on both sides of the U.S.' proxy war, $1.5 billion in economic losses, the destruction of health centers, schools and homes. He

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Imperialists Squabble Over South Africa "Sanctions"

Black Workers Must Bury Apartheid!

The "state of emergency" imposed by the racist South African regime was intended to put a halt to the last two years of continual revolt by the brutally oppressed black masses. The young and combative black workers movement demonstrated its strength on May Day and again on June 16—the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising—when the economy was paralyzed by the two biggest general strikes in the country's history. But in spite of an estimated 8,000 detentions, including hundreds of union leaders, the draconian repression has failed to crush the revolt. The apartheid police state is fast heading toward civil war.

Then, while all the world is watching South Africa, Ronald Reagan goes on television and gives a speech universally regarded as blanket support of the white-supremacist regime, and a big "screw you" to blacks in both Africa and the United States. The eminently peace-loving, red-baiting Bishop Tutu captured their reaction when he said: "Your President is the pits as far as blacks are concerned." (Of course, the good bishop was feeling some heat from black militants when his recent powwow with his own president P.W. Botha produced nothing.)

Now there is a lot of talk about Congress declaring "sanctions" on South Africa, supposedly as an alternative to the administration's policy of "constructive engagement." Yet the liberal and reformist advocates of sanctions share the same fundamental goals as Reagan. They, too, want to head off civil war in South Africa. They, too, seek to give a global "democratic mission" to U.S. imperialism, the greatest enemy of the oppressed toilers the world over.

No one seriously doubts that the white-supremacist regime in Pretoria has the military capacity to drown in blood a black upheaval at this time. But the men who run Wall Street, the City of London and the Common Market are deeply pessimistic about the future of apartheid capitalism. Even they question how much longer a privileged caste of 4.5 million whites can totally subjugate and hideously superexploit 26 million black Africans, coloureds (people of mixed race) and Indians. They fear the white-ruled police state is going to crack sooner rather than later.

Mendel/AFP

Powerful, 500,000-strong black labor federation COSATU founded last November. Forge a Bolshevik party in South Africa!

What then is the sanctions debate within the American and European imperialist circles about? Why all the sound and fury? Even the queen of England is reported to have pressed the "sanctions" issue with her prime minister (and Reagan's closest ally) "Iron Lady" Thatcher. This debate is about the degree of pressure to put on the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 410 | 29 August 1986

U.S. Workers: Smash War on Nicaragua!

American imperialism has now declared war on Sandinista Nicaragua. The Senate vote of $100 million in aid to the CIA's counterrevolutionary terrorists, following the House vote in June, is a green light for a direct U.S. attack. Naturally exultant, Reagan told a Mexican paper that the "only alternative" is for the contras "to have their way and take over" (*Excelsior*, 17 August). Two days later the Pentagon announced plans to send Green Berets to Honduras as "advisers" to this gang of hired killers, torturers and rapists. And as we remember from America's savage war in Indochina, after the advisers come the U.S. troops...and soon the body bags start coming home.

Memories of Vietnam come to everyone's mind. As one Democratic Senator predicted: "There are going to be ugly scenes on nightly television of dead and maimed civilians, destroyed schools and hospitals, school buses blown up by mines." A U.S. invasion of Nicaragua will be no Grenada-style walkover, however. Sandinista president Daniel Ortega told a group of fighters in Managua last June: "We don't want to kill North American youth. But if they send them to kill us, whether they come as advisers or with invading Yankee troops, they will die here." No one should doubt the courage and spirit of self-sacrifice of the Nicaraguan masses.

Ever since taking office the Reagan gang has viewed the radical nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua as the spearhead of "Soviet expansionism" in the Western hemisphere. They thus made this small Central American country the front line of Cold War II. For some time past the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and their fellow travelers in the U.S. have looked to the Democrats in Congress to stop Reagan from turning Nicaragua into another Vietnam.

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Reagan, Democrats "Free World" Narcs

Drug Witchhunt

"It's turning into Drug War Summer," editorialized the *New York Times* (5 August) after Ronald Reagan's speech declaring a "national crusade" against drugs. Already, they're dispatching cops, troops and spies to police the locker rooms, classrooms and bedrooms of America. Companies are expected to do their bit to keep a "drug-free workplace," with mandatory drug testing for millions and mass firings of those who fail the test. Internationally, this "world war on drugs" is supposed to be waged by a vast network of Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) narcs, with U.S. special forces squads flown in for the hit, Bolivia-style. Naturally, "there will be no legislation of this type," said White House spokesman Larry Speakes. The president orders it, so be it: it's "national security."

"Starting today, Nancy's crusade to deprive the drug peddlers and suppliers of their customers becomes America's crusade," Reagan proclaimed. In his Orwellian vision of post-1984 America, legions of latter-day Carrie Nations will "pressure the user," busting up "crack" houses like they used to go after speakeasies. They're building a witch-hunt atmosphere reminiscent of the dark days of McCarthyism. And in the words of the old '50s ditty, "If your mommie is a commie, turn her in...": so on August 13, California tecnager Deanna Young turned in her parents to the police for using cocaine and marijuana. And after putting mom and dad behind bars, this teenage snitch was lionized by the First Lady herself ("she must have loved her parents a great deal"!).

Ourand/Sipa

"Miami Vice": drug busts and cop takeover of cocaine trade.

This sordid story of snooping and finking captures the current anti-drug hysteria in a nutshell. Deanna Young did her duty for god and Reagan. After returning home from a Bible study class, the 13-year-old "freedom fighter" filled a garbage bag with small quantities of drugs and turned them over to the Orange County cops. She herself was sent to a state home—which should have taught the nasty little brat a lesson. But a dozen movie companies immediately bid for the rights to Deanna's story, for which she is promised a six-figure sum. Still, some Hollywood producers were uneasy, saying it "smacked of a Big Brother environment," and had "vaguely fascist undertones." Vaguely? One is reminded of stories of Hitler Youth turning their parents over to the Gestapo.

This government-instigated uproar over drugs, sex and "terrorism" has turned into a full-scale assault on individual freedoms. Meese's crusade against pornography and the Supreme Court assault on consensual sex are part of an attempt to impose the mores of the fundamentalist religious right on the American people. This drive for ideological conformity is cloaked in rhetoric about a return to "traditional values," but it is enforced by the mailed fist of an increasingly bonapartist state.

The "new patriotism," union-busting, a resurgence of the KKK and racist terror, bombing abortion clinics, the drug/sex/porn witchhunt: they're all part of the domestic side of the anti-Soviet war drive. For the past decade both capitalist parties have been fixated on overcoming U.S. imperialism's stinging defeat in Vietnam. They remember an American army that wouldn't fight, and instead sat around in hootches smoking dope and talking about "fragging" officers. They vividly recall the streets full of antiwar protesters, and know that this war-wary country could quickly become war-weary if body bags start coming home from Central America. They're seeking not only military but also "moral rearmament."

The "Moral Majority" owes its influence not to some TV evangelist preachers and New Right fund-raisers but to the fact that their agenda is the cutting edge of U.S. ruling-class opinion. At home, "discipline" is to be re-established in the workplace while racist cops brace for a new round of terror in the ghettos. Abroad, under the guise of the "drug wars," U.S. troops are once again slashing and burning their way through Third World countries. Then they get upset when Mexican cops arrest one of their DEA agents and rough him up in the usual style. They fume when the Mexican president refuses to let the feds fly 100 miles into Mexico in "hot pursuit" of drug

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Spartacist Brief Against "Creationism" in the Classroom

IN DEFENSE OF SCIENCE

see page 6

Young Spartacus

see pages 4-5

Transit Workers Come Through for James Grimes

We reprint below excerpts from a 12 August leaflet issued by the Committee for a Fighting TWU representing militants in Transport Workers Union Local 100. More than 900 NYC transit workers as well as a dozen workers from other industries contributed to the fund drive for the courageous black subway clerk James Grimes.

James Grimes and daughter Cynthia celebrate hard-won victory at founding meeting of NYC Labor Black League, July 18.

WV Photo

The emergency fund drive for Brother James Grimes has surpassed its goal. Over $2,300 was raised, mainly from his fellow transit workers but also from other working people in the New York area. A retired merchant seaman from New Jersey learned of the fund drive from *Workers Vanguard* and sent in $100. The fund drive was launched by the Labor Black League for Social Defense. The League was founded the night of the victory party on July 18 for Grimes and his family celebrating the dismissal of gun charges stemming from his courageous act of armed self-defense against muggers last January. The fund drive was to help the Grimeses replace things stolen from their home in a burglary the night of the party. But James Grimes remains in poor health due to the January mugging and subsequent victimization by the courts, DA and TA. We must continue to demand that James Grimes' medical bills be paid and that he receive a full medical pension and compensation for what he has gone through.

The Shameful Act of a Sonny Hall Hack

Even *after* the victory for James Grimes, the spiteful Sonny Hall [TWU Local 100 president] gang was still trying to put the screws to the brother. During the fund drive, we ran into some opposition from various union officials. We expected this from the class-collaborators. But none went so far as one John Meehan so-called Depot Chairman of Hudson Pier Bus Depot. Acting more like the Gestapo than a workers leader, he ranted and raved and *ran to management*, insisting that *management* stop the collection unless "approved" by the Hall gang. Driving Meehan up the wall and over the class line, the good drivers of Hudson Pier gave *their approval* of the collection effort by continuing to give generously even under these banning orders.

The subordination of the union leadership to the Democratic Party and the capitalist class is keeping workers defenseless against the anti-union "take-back" campaign. The "take-back" campaign in this city is reinforced with attempts to legally terrorize minorities by anti-drug raids by Koch's racist cops and attempts to undercut the victory won in defending James Grimes by intensifying attacks against the right of armed self-defense. Reagan and Meese want to have the cops and courts invade the bedroom and dictate anti-homosexual and anti-sex bigotry. In addition the cops and the courts are carrying out and covering for racist terror laying the basis for the crystallization of a fascist core in this city. Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist mob in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn and Democrat Liz Holtzman gave the killers a slap on the wrist. So the racist killers have struck again, beating the black bus driver Phillip Patten [in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn]. **The TWU must mobilize flatbed trucks filled with thousands of black, white and Hispanic worker militants and drive this racist scum from the streets! Labor must mobilize to prevent the crystallization of a fascist base! For labor defense guards to stop fascist terror! For the right of armed self-defense! Defend the democratic rights of homosexuals!**

Along with the likes of Sonny Hall, the supporters of the fake-socialist *Bulletin* oppose the fundamental need for the mobilization of labor power to stop racist attacks concretely. The *Bulletin*'s coverage last year of the Philadelphia MOVE massacre incredibly does not even mention that the bombing was *racist*. For the *Bulletin*, racism does not exist in Reagan's America.

The May 6th issue of the *Bulletin* fingered James Grimes for not following "required" procedure and echoed the Sonny Hall leadership's demand for more escorts, that is the same TA cops that murdered Michael Stewart, the son of a retired transit worker, and chained James Grimes to a bench for nine hours!

For our part, the Committee for a Fighting TWU will continue to tell the truth about the deep racial and ethnic divisions that weaken our union's fighting ability. And when we are able, as in the James Grimes case, we will lead political mobilizations of transit workers for the class-struggle defense of the rights of labor in general and against the special oppression of blacks, women, foreign-born workers and other minorities. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Darwin and Marx

In a 1923 speech commemorating the fifth anniversary of Sverdlov University, Leon Trotsky called attention to Darwin's contribution to Marxism and a materialist worldview, aiding the emancipation of man from the bondage of superstition so that he could emancipate himself from the bondage of class exploitation.

It is only the inner connection between Darwinism and Marxism that makes it possible to grasp the living flow of existence in its initial connection with inorganic nature; in its further particularization and evolution; in its dynamics; in the differentiation of the necessities of life among the first elementary varieties of the vegetable and animal kingdoms; in its struggles; in its changes; in its growth, as it became more sophisticated in form; in the appearance of the "first" human or humanoid creature, taking up the first tool-like objects; in the development of primitive cooperation, these creatures putting to use tools that they made themselves; in the further stratification of society on the basis of the development of the means of production, that is, of the means of subjugating nature; in class warfare; and finally, in the struggle for the abolition of classes.

To comprehend the world from such a broad materialist point of view signifies the emancipation of one's consciousness for the first time from the legacy of mysticism, securing both feet firmly on the ground. It means knowing that for the future one has no inner subjective hindrances to the struggle, but that the only resistance and opposition is external, and must be undermined in some cases, circumvented in others, smashed in still others—depending on the conditions of the struggle.

—Leon Trotsky, "Tasks of Communist Education" (June 1923)

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No. 410 29 August 1986

Canadian Trotskyists Demand Political Asylum for Tamils

Tamil Refugees From Sri Lanka Flee Germany

Anstey/Canadian Press

Zitty

Driven from Sri Lanka by racialist terror, Tamil refugees fleeing German camps arrive in Canada after ordeal at sea (right). Third World refugees seek asylum in West Germany (below), face racist immigration laws.

For 155 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka (Ceylon), after a trip of horror and despair Canada was the end of the line. Originally escaping from the murderous state terror of the Lankan government of J.R. Jayewardene, more immediately they were fleeing West Germany, where they had been placed in virtual concentration camps with little hope of obtaining asylum. From the starvation conditions on their overcrowded lifeboats, they were rescued off the coast of Newfoundland. Canada is granting them asylum for one year, though in true Reagan style Ottawa threatened to deport any refugee found to be a "terrorist"—i.e., who supports "Tiger" guerrillas fighting for a Tamil Eelam separate from the majority Sinhalese Lanka state. Meanwhile they have become the targets of racist outcry in Canada.

The exodus of this group of Tamil refugees has received wide publicity, coming to symbolize the plight of thousands of dark-skinned Third World refugees who increasingly find the borders of the imperialist countries closed to them, and who, if they manage to get past the borders, fall victim to virulent chauvinism and discrimination.

The Tamils paid $340,000 to West German captain Wolfgang Bindel to take them to Canada. Like the mercenary, racist slave traders, Bindel kept them like animals in the cargo hold of his ship. One of the refugees described the conditions: "We were fed tinned soup, liquidy rice, mouldy bread and dirty water from two barrels aboard. Inside the boat was a nightmare.... We slept crowded together in lifeboats and on the floor" (*Toronto Sun*, 17 August). After 16 days in these hideous conditions the 155 men, women and children were crammed into two lifeboats and left to drift on the icy waters of the North Atlantic for three days before they were picked up by Canadian fishermen.

When they arrived there was none of the warm welcome given to Nazi war criminals, Polish anti-Communists and all manner of counterrevolutionaries who have found safe haven in Canada. Instead, the Tamil refugees were met with a backlash of white racism. Fomented by the bourgeois media with headlines screaming "Send them back," "Close doors to phony refugees" and "Canada's a sucker for illegals" (all from the *Toronto Sun*), this chauvinist hysteria has been picked up by the fascists. A former leader of the paramilitary Western Guard, now with the anti-Soviet "Canadian Coalition for Peace Through Strength," has called a race-hating anti-Tamil demonstration in Toronto.

These racist terrorists have us *all* lined up in their crosshairs! Yet Ed Broadbent, leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party, scandalously called for "a tougher look at all our immigration procedures" to prevent "abuse" by "quick-buck artists." The Trotskyist League of Canada issued a press statement demanding: "The labor movement, socialists, blacks, East Indians and other minorities must mobilize together with all fighters for social justice and opponents of racist terror to demand: full, immediate and unconditional political asylum for all Tamil refugees and full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!"

Since 1983, when hundreds of Tamils were burned and hacked to death by the racialist mobs and troops organized by the Jayewardene government, over 300,000 have fled Sri Lanka. Many took one of the few means of escape from the island that exists—a Soviet Aeroflot flight to East Berlin and then traveling by subway across the open frontier to West Berlin. They did not run into Western patrols as the dividing line between the two halves of Berlin is not recognized as a border by the American, British and French NATO allies who still share with the Soviet Union occupation rights over the city. In the first half of this year alone, some 40,000 political refugees fleeing terror in Iran, Turkey, India and Ghana have made use of the West Berlin loophole.

However, passing through this "gateway to the Free World" they are met with contemptuous treatment showing that the West German successor state to the Nazi Third Reich has forgotten nothing of its Hitlerite past. At first they were dumped on the streets and in train stations; later it was tent camps and boxcar-like barracks. From there they are shipped to special camps for political refugees, where they are effectively imprisoned. They are not allowed to leave city or (in most cases) village limits, and applicants for political asylum are routinely prohibited from working. West German citizens are banned from entering these heavily guarded stalags without special permission. Refugees have been attacked on the streets and camps have been firebombed by skinheads and neo-Nazis.

The West German state obviously hopes that this barbaric existence will force refugees to leave "voluntarily" to return to torture and death at home. Alternatively, it is common to force refugees to sign statements in a language they do not understand agreeing to deportation. According to *Der Spiegel* (11 August) this method was used by the Bonn government to get rid of over 400 asylum seekers in the month of July alone. Also in July, Francis Asare, a refugee from Ghana, hanged himself in his prison cell after signing such a statement claiming that he was not a political refugee, but had just wanted to escape poverty.

The plight of these refugees highlights the intersection of Cold War anti-Sovietism and racist terror. For the desperate Tamils, the seemingly generous constitutional provision granting the right of asylum to "all political refugees" is a cruel hoax. The frontier is only meant to be "open" to anti-Communist refugees fleeing the Soviet bloc. No East German or Pole is ever rejected, and 72 percent of Afghans are accepted—but those fleeing "Free World" terrorism need not apply. The 25th anniversary of the Berlin Wall, a bureaucratic measure to stem Western attempts to drain the East German economy of skilled labor, led to an orgy of anti-Sovietism from the Vatican to the White House. West Berlin mayor Diepgen demanded: "Berlin's border has to become more penetrable." This is the same man who, as part of the right-wing German nationalist backlash against "foreign infiltration," complained about open borders!

AP

Colombo, Sri Lanka, July 1983: Victim of anti-Tamil state terror.

Others are even more frank. *Der Spiegel* (28 July) quoted a woman saying, "We should re-open Bergen-Belsen," the Nazi concentration camp. The ruling Christian Democrats (CDU) and Bavarian *Führer* Franz-Josef Strauss are playing with the resurrection of this brownshirt nationalism to bolster their chances in the 1987 elections, calling for restrictions on the right to asylum proclaimed in the West German constitution. This is opposed by the Social Democrats (SPD), but not out of any concern for or defense of the political refugees in West Germany's camps. The SPD government of Helmut Schmidt deported over 800,000 foreign workers. The SPD shares the revanchist appetites of German imperialism, the *Drang nach Osten* (Drive to the East) which was Hitler's battle cry. The Social Democrats seek to pose as the "democratic" alternative to the Stalinists with the aim of "rolling back Communism" through counterrevolution *from within*.

The Stalinist rulers of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), meanwhile, have struck a treacherous and criminal deal with Bonn, which the SPD hails. In July 1985, in return for an interest-free "swing credit" from West Germany of $404 million a year, the East German government agreed to prevent Tamils without valid visas from entering West Berlin. This outrageous action is part of the reactionary logic of "socialism in one (or in this case, half a) country," in which the lives of refugees from racist terror are traded off in the narrow nationalist interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The West German left and petty-bourgeois radicals like the Greens, themselves standard-bearers of German nationalism, offer no effective opposition to the chauvinist persecution, harassment and violence against political refugees. The social-democratic-led West German DGB trade-union federation has been largely silent. But it is the organized proletariat, with its sizeable immigrant component, that has the power to defeat the racist, nationalist backlash. What's needed to mobilize this power is an internationalist Trotskyist party, recruiting heavily among foreign-born workers; unconditionally defending the DDR and the rest of the Soviet bloc degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism; and raising the banner of revolutionary reunification of Germany, through socialist revolution in the West and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East, as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

Under Lenin and Trotsky, Red Russia established the principle of extending citizenship rights to all foreign workers in the land of the Soviets, and to all refugees from rightist persecution. Only international workers revolution can forever end the bloody rule of capital that breeds racist terror from Sri Lanka to Europe and North America. ■

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Young Spartacus

Harvard's Filthy Fête

Young Spartacus would be remiss if we did not comment on the upcoming Harvard celebration of its 350 years devoted to "Profitas." The guest list for this occasion naturally reads like a Who's Who in counterrevolutionary terror: key speakers include War Secretary Weinberger, Secretary of State George Shultz, the Nicaraguan contra scum of *La Prensa* and, for comic relief, the chinless wonder of the British monarchy, Prince Charles. How many pigs does it take to blow out the candles on Harvard's birthday cake?

Students will not have the opportunity to present Harvard the gift it so richly deserves: mass, militant protest against the war criminals converging on the Yard. The Corporation has seen to it that this fête takes place before classes begin, thus removing the nuisance of young people running around embarrassing the guests. Or reminding any of the alumni of their salad days. As *Boston Globe* columnist David Nyhan wrote, Harvard is:

> "...putting the clamp on all its photos of The Bust, the episode in 1969 when helmeted state troopers swept through the Yard at dawn and collared the student protesters occupying University Hall. That may have been the darkest day of Harvard history, ushering in the Red Guard era of student incivility.... Harvard says it's not trying to hide the pictures. It wants to protect the privacy of those hellions, now distinguished alums who presumably vote Republican and tithe regularly to Fair Harvard."
>
> —*Boston Globe*, 24 July

Student "incivility" has plagued Harvard more recently than '69: the last time Weinberger showed up on campus, in 1983, he was heckled by over 600 student protesters. (In a vindictive frenzy, Harvard waged an unsuccessful attempt to witchhunt two Spartacus Youth League members as "examples" after the Weinberger protest.) The South African consul-general, Abe Hoppenstein, was also "welcomed" by angry anti-apartheid students in an SYL-led protest in 1985. On May 20 of this year, Reagan's top cop Edwin Meese III was picketed by the SYL and supporters when he was being honored by Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. Now Harvard is arrogantly parading its war criminal pals to prove "who's in charge" in Cambridge.

Even having dispensed with possibly troublesome students, Harvard has had its problems with the filthy fête. For one, a number of faculty, alumni and students gagged on giving Reagan an honorary degree, so Reagan declined the invitation to appear at all. In his stead, Shultz will be there. "'I knew we couldn't go without some representative

Young Spartacus

War Secretary Weinberger's last visit to Harvard (November 1983): hundreds of students heckle, "War criminal!" and "Murderer!"

of the Reagan Administration,' said Agassiz Professor of Zoology Richard C. Lewontin, [class of] '50, who led the protest against Reagan"—as for Shultz himself: "I don't think he tells untruths more than anybody else in his business" (Harvard *Crimson*, 25 July).

Then there was the possible strike by campus workers in Local 26 of the Hotel and Restaurant workers. A settlement was effected. Harvard's approach to the "laboring classes" was captured in a muckraking piece in the *New England Monthly* (June 1986): "In December 1930, during the depths of the Depression, the university tries to save money by withholding $3,880 in back pay due the scrubwomen of Widner Library." But squeezing every last hour and penny from its abysmally underpaid staff is hardly the main source of Harvard revenue. Its $3.7 billion endowment comes in part from well-heeled alumni (e.g., David Rockefeller, class of '36, who was among ten Harvardians to donate $5 million each to the anniversary fund drive). There is also the "Washington-Cambridge link."

No more prestigious think tank for U.S. imperialism exists than Harvard. For its services in this regard, the Corporation is handsomely rewarded. We do not simply refer here to Harvard's contributions to the losing, dirty genocidal war against the Vietnamese people—Professor Louis Fieser's invention of napalm and Henry Kissinger's (class of '50) orchestration of that bloody adventure. During the First World War, Harvard's chemistry department developed poison gas. Indeed, from the Spanish-American War to the present insane bipartisan drive toward a thermonuclear anti-Soviet World War III, Harvard has done a bustling business. Kennedy School dean Graham Allison is a paid consultant to Weinberger, dubbed an "intellectual strategic reserve" by the Pentagon, and spends—as many Harvard profs have been encouraged to do—at least one day a week working for the government.

"Unlike the tacky Wolperization of New York ["Liberty Weekend"], Harvard won't have 200 imitation Elvises," *Globe* pundit Nyhan writes. But, in its discreet charm, the bourgeoisie certainly hasn't overlooked the possibility to make a quick buck on the "350th." For the last year, Harvard has "been licensing the rights to 350th commemorative merchandise, ranging from $3 flags to $1,500 art prints" (*Boston Globe*, 3 August).

With students, campus workers, and the odd dissenting faculty member presumably out of the way, the "gentlemen" of Harvard and their madams from Washington can get down to business. Over champagne and cheese balls, they can discuss how best to slaughter workers and peasants around the world. Harvard may, however, have overlooked the Boston homeless as a source of trouble. In January Harvard installed grilles over the outdoor vents to prevent homeless people from using the escaping heat to keep warm. Widespread outrage and exposure forced Harvard to remove the grilles. If a petit-four or two happen to disappear from the trays, it's because people are starving just outside Harvard's ivied walls.

An awkward moment might also occur should a black person of some rank come across Harvard's own Robert Klitgaard (former special adviser to President Bok) holding forth on his theory that black students are inherently inferior and would be better off at "lesser" institutions where they might enjoy a "greater overall perceived feeling of equality." Subjects we doubt will be discussed include: Harvard alumnus John F. Kennedy's use of the Mafia to cook up numerous failed plots to assassinate Fidel Castro (as well as hustle women for him); Harvard's former president (1909-1933) Abbott Lawrence Lowell's key role in executing worker-militants Sacco and Vanzetti; Ernst "Putzi" Hanfstaengl (class of '09) who turned a Harvard fight song into a Nazi march for his friend Adolf Hitler—this was the march played on the day

Young Spartacus

Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks

Victims of "Veritas"

Better Red Than Crimson! Young Spartacus (February 1982) exposed Harvard's role as brain truster for U.S. Imperialism. Harvard's logo should be "Profitas"—not "Veritas."

Hitler's brownshirts took power in Germany ("rah, rah, rah" was changed to "Sieg Heil"). To their credit, Harvard students "rioted" when Hanfstaengl turned up at Harvard in 1934.

There's plenty of dirt in Harvard's 350 years of whoring for capitalism (see "Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks," *Young Spartacus* No. 97, February 1982). We revolutionary youth seek to recruit *class traitors* from Harvard, people like the heroic American Communist John Reed (class of '10) who gave his life in defense of the Russian Revolution. We also work toward the day when elite schools like Harvard are *nationalized*, admissions are open to all and those ivied walls and mahogany-filled rooms will be available to anybody—no matter what their race, last name or neighborhood of origin. Join us in the fight for a socialist future and the smashing of imperialist filth so typified by Harvard. ■

McNamee/Newsweek

AP

Henry Kissinger ('50): Dr. Strangelove architect of imperialist mass murder in Vietnam. Napalm, too, was a Harvard "contribution" to "civilization."

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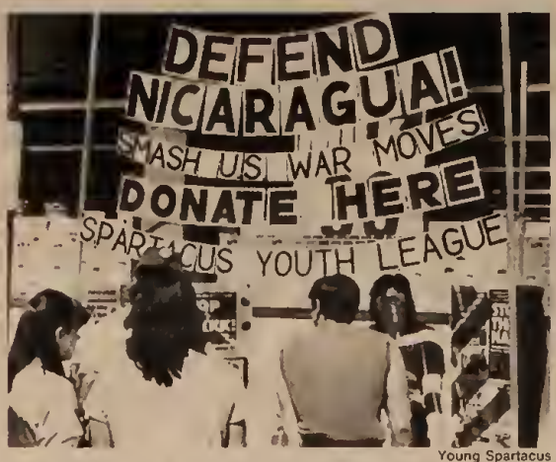
Donate Dollars! Crush the Contras!

When the U.S. announced its trade embargo against Sandinista Nicaragua in the spring of 1985, the Spartacus Youth League began a fund drive to aid the urgent defense of Nicaragua. An extremely enthusiastic response on the part of workers and youth across the country resulted in over $25,000 being collected and turned over to the Sandinista government.

Now with the recent approval of $100 million in aid to the contras, Congress has given Reagan the green light to invade Nicaragua. Meanwhile the U.S. trade embargo contributes to shortages of basic foodstuffs and medicines. We say: defend, complete, extend the revolution! Now, more than ever, dollars are urgently needed by the Sandinista government, to buy everything from antiaircraft missiles to spare parts to medicine. We are again asking people to donate generously. Crush the contras!

Here in the belly of the beast we have a special responsibility to take a side in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. The Reagan administration has announced plans to use Green Berets to train contra commanders in their campaigns of assassination, torture and sabotage against the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. Defend Nicaragua! Donate dollars! Make checks payable to Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua and send to Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008.■



Young Spartacus

Spartacist Canada

Spartacist comrades collect urgently needed funds for Nicaragua at Cleveland street fair, 1985 (left); Sandinista soldier outside hospital on Jinotega front wears popular SYL "Nicabutton."

Supreme Court Gags Students

The Supreme Court is at it again. Coming on the heels of its recent upholding of Georgia's anti-sodomy law, on July 7 the Court upheld a Spanaway, Washington high school's two-day suspension of Matthew Fraser for making a so-called "lewd and indecent" speech to a school assembly in 1983. This sinister ruling effectively removes First Amendment protection from students and gives the go-ahead to school administrations to quash *any* student activity deemed "inappropriate" or "disruptive."

In April 1983, Fraser—now a student at the University of California at Berkeley—made a campaign speech for a friend running in student elections. Fraser described him as "a man who is firm—he's firm in his pants, he's firm in his shirt, his character is firm" and as someone who "takes his point and pounds it in... a man who will go to the very end—even to the climax, for each and every one of you" (*New York Times*, 8 July). The speech was arguably tasteless, but evidently Fraser's fellow students liked it. The candidate for whom he spoke won by a wide margin. Suspended from school for this speech—which contains not one "four-letter word"—Fraser fought back in court, arguing that his First Amendment rights had been violated. Two federal district courts agreed, awarding Fraser $278 in damages and $12,750 in litigation costs and attorney's fees.

Don Kechely

Inspired by Southern civil rights movement, Berkeley students massively demonstrate for free speech rights, 1964.

Then the Reagan administration stepped in on the school district's side. Attorney General Edwin Meese's "Justice" Department argued that "student speech could be restrained 'if officials have a reasonable basis for the regulation grounded in the maintenance of an atmosphere of civility or the transmission of basic societal values'" (*New York Times*, 8 July). So Reagan/Meese "went all the way"—to the Supreme Court. As the verdict against Fraser came down, "Education" Secretary William Bennett crowed: "The decision reminds us that schools must possess the moral authority to prepare our young people for citizenship."

"Citizenship" here may be roughly translated as docile cannon fodder for the next imperialist war move. What really gets the Reagan administration's goat is not so-called "obscenity" but student political activity outside the straitjacket of the Reaganite/Moral Majority worldview. From Meese—whose position on anti-Vietnam War protesters was that they deserved to be shot down—to Bennett, the administration has targeted the universities in particular for its campaign of regimentation for war. Right-wing frats can torch anti-apartheid "shantytowns," "right-to-life" bigots can bomb abortion clinics, but any political opposition to the policies of the Reagan administration that goes beyond a polite professorial letter to the *New York Times* is branded "criminal."

Reagan & Co. are pissed as hell that during the last few years students have militantly protested certified mass murderers and war criminals like "Dragon Lady" Jeane Kirkpatrick, war secretary Caspar Weinberger and top cop Meese. In a May 14 speech to the American Jewish Committee, Bennett,

continued on page 10

Northwestern U. Witchhunts InCAR Prof

Defend Barbara Foley!

CHICAGO—Barbara Foley, an assistant professor of English at Northwestern University and an outspoken supporter of the Progressive Labor Party/International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR), is being victimized in a blatant political purge by the NU administration. Foley was denied tenure last May by NU provost Raymond Mack—despite the strong positive recommendation of the English Department, two faculty committees and the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences—because of her role in a successful protest against murderous Nicaraguan contra leader Adolfo Calero in 1985. If the denial of Foley's tenure is not reversed, she will have to leave her job on 1 September 1987. This dangerous McCarthyite assault must be defeated!

Daily Northwestern

Barbara Foley, InCAR supporter and NU professor.

When Calero was invited to speak by ultrarightists on campus in April 1985, he was driven from the stage by militant protesters at the urging of PL/InCAR supporters. We *hail* this just blow against the counterrevolutionary scum, whose organization has murdered thousands of Nicaraguan workers and peasants in the last four years. Such a blow contributes to the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution, and helps frustrate the U.S. imperialists' attempt to regiment the campuses as part of their war drive aimed at obliterating the remaining gains of the Russian Revolution.

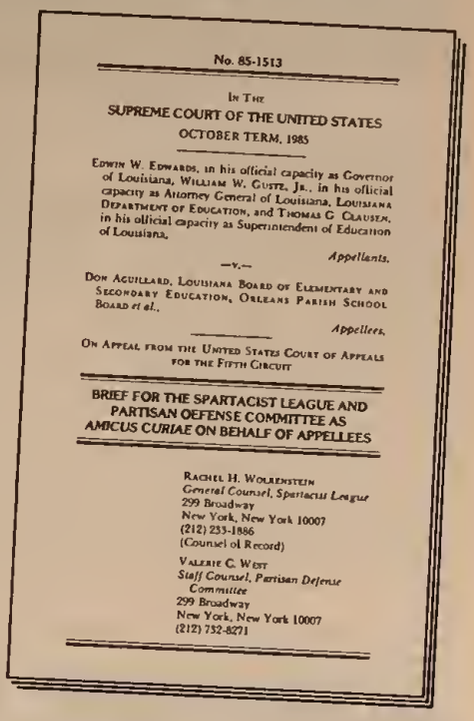
The Northwestern administration went into a frenzy about the denial of Calero's "free speech," and set up a faculty committee to punish those responsible. The committee found Foley guilty of "grave professional misconduct" and a letter of "reprimand" was placed in her file. But Mack and NU president Arnold Weber are out for Foley's blood, and having failed to get her suspended for the Calero incident they are now using the tenure process to fire her outright. Many faculty members, and the American Association of University Professors, have taken up Foley's case—while cravenly denouncing her role in driving out Calero—in the name of defending tenure rights. But it will take a broad-based political campaign, not a narrow procedural dispute, to win back Foley's job.

Unfortunately the crazed Stalinist reformists of PL/InCAR do not believe in solidarity in defense of even their own supporters, often engaging in physical violence against their political opponents on the left. This stupid sectarianism makes difficult the task of united working-class defense, now especially urgent in the case of the eleven PL/InCAR supporters who face charges for their brave attempt to stop the Klan from marching into Chicago's Marquette Park on June 28 (see article page 12).

For years the Northwestern administration has been content to drape the mantle of academic respectability over Arthur Butz, an associate professor of engineering who authored the fascist propaganda tract *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* and who has addressed audiences of Klansmen and Nazis with his vile apologetics for the slaughter of six million Jews in Hitler's holocaust. NU president Arnold Weber is a personal friend of Secretary of State George Shultz, to whom he presented an honorary degree at the last graduation ceremony. And recently it was revealed that NU's Traffic Institute has been training some of the most infamous Salvadoran death squad leaders and torturers, personally responsible for thousands of murders, in "anti-terrorism" techniques. This blatant use of the university as a Pentagon annex must be opposed. Keep the butchers on the run! Stop the witchhunt against Barbara Foley!

Spartacist Brief Against "Creationism" in the Classroom

IN DEFENSE OF SCIENCE



No. 85-1513

In The
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
OCTOBER TERM, 1985

EDWIN W. EDWARDS, in his official capacity as Governor of Louisiana, WILLIAM W. GUSTE, JR., in his official capacity as Attorney General of Louisiana, LOUISIANA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, and THOMAS G CLAUSEN, in his official capacity as Superintendent of Education of Louisiana,

Appellants,

—v.—

DON AGUILLARD, LOUISIANA BOARD OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, ORLEANS PARISH SCHOOL BOARD *et al.*,

Appellees.

ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS *AMICUS CURIAE* ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

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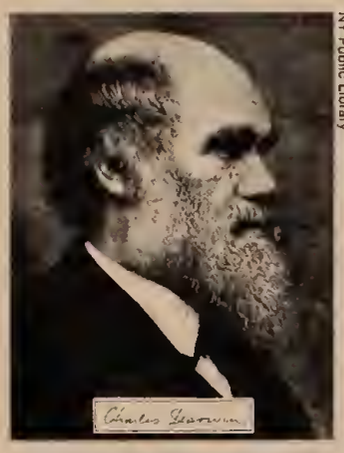
"A tidal wave of enforced intolerance is sweeping America," states the *amicus curiae* brief filed by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S. Supreme Court August 18 against the teaching of biblical "creationism" in the public schools. The brief was filed on behalf of the Louisiana Board of Education in its opposition to the State of Louisiana's "Balanced-Treatment Act" mandating the teaching of "creation-science" whenever scientific evolution is taught.

The act is part of a sinister nationwide campaign by the Moral Majority and fundamentalist far right to parochialize public education. Twenty-one state legislatures have considered or are considering similar legislation. Four months after the Louisiana Act was signed into law in July 1982, federal district court judge Adrian Dupaltier struck it down as unconstitutional. Again in January 1985, Dupaltier issued a summary judgment that the act violated the First Amendment.



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Charles Darwin, founder of the science of evolution.

This decision was narrowly upheld on appeal by the full Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in an 8-to-7 decision. Ominously, the Supreme Court denied a motion to affirm that decision and agreed to hear the state's appeal.

At issue, the SL and PDC brief states, "is the preservation of separation of church and state, the gains of the Enlightenment, and the education of future generations." Turning the slogans of "religious freedom" and "academic freedom" into their opposite, the creationists are waging war on the gains of the American bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1776 and the defeat of slavery in the Civil War. This First Amendment case has evoked widespread support from major scientific, religious, educational and civil rights groups, including a brief submitted this past week by 72 Nobel laureate scientists and 24 scientific organizations.

The separation of church and state has been a fundamental component of proletarian revolutions from the Paris Commune to the victorious Soviet republic of Lenin and Trotsky. Marxism has as its foundation the gains of the Enlightenment and bourgeois revolutions which freed scientific and social development from the shackles of feudalism, particularly the contributions of Charles Darwin, by which man as part of nature, in social struggle to master nature, became a field of scientific inquiry. Scientific evolution, the Spartacist suit underlined, definitively destroys the myths of racial superiority.

This case, particularly in its social context, invites comparison to the 1925 "monkey trial" of John Thomas Scopes for teaching evolution in Dayton, Tennessee. Reconstruction had been defeated in the South as the KKK enforced Jim Crow segregation with lynching and cross-burnings, reaching their height the year of the trial when a white-robed rabble of 40,000 poured through the streets of the nation's capital. In the North a draconian anti-red and anti-immigrant witchhunt jailed tens of thousands, while Sacco and Vanzetti were sent to the chair. Today's bible-thumping bigots crusade against "atheistic evolution" as a stalking horse for a political and social agenda shared with reactionaries from the warmongering White House and anti-Bill of Rights Supreme Court to abortion clinic firebombers, the cop mass murderers of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia and the resurgent Klan and racist murderers across the country.

The decay of capitalist society is dramatically demonstrated when the men who have their fingers on the button of the most advanced nuclear technology and weaponry have minds filled with the worst superstitions, ignorance and bigotry of the Dark Ages. They believe man's history is to be found in the literal interpretation of the Book of Genesis, and mankind's future is spelled out in the Armageddon of "Revelations," as they are preparing to plunge the world into a fiery end in an apocalyptic battle against the "Evil Empire" of "godless" Russia. The only future for humanity in which man may realize his full potential unfettered by dark obscurantism and social oppression must necessarily be a socialist one.

We reprint below in its entirety the Spartacist League/Partisan Defense Committee *amicus* brief.

QUESTION PRESENTED

WAS THE COURT OF APPEALS CORRECT IN FINDING THAT THE LOUISIANA "BALANCED-TREATMENT ACT" VIOLATED THE ESTABLISHMENT CLAUSE OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION?

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The Louisiana "Balanced-Treatment Act" violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment of the United States Constitution because it is in furtherance of religion in that it propagates biblical creationism in the public schools. The essential starting point is that "creation-science" is religion. There is no secular purpose to this Act.

At issue is the preservation of separation of church and state, the gains of the Enlightenment, and the education of future generations.

BRIEF OF THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE

Pursuant to Rule 36.1 of the Rules of this Court, the organizations named above file this brief in support of the appellees. Consent for the filing of briefs *amicus curiae* has been granted to all interested parties by both the appellants and appellees. Letters to that effect have been filed with this Court.

INTEREST OF AMICUS CURIAE

The Spartacist League is a Marxist political organization with a history of over twenty years of activity in the United States, including running candidates for public office, holding classes and public forums on Marxist history, international and domestic politics, and publishing a biweekly newspaper, *Workers Vanguard* and a theoretical journal, *Spartacist*.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. It gives aid and support to cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people.

Before this Court is a challenge to a fundamental principle of the American republic and one of the most basic gains of the American Revolution of 1776—separation of church and state. The battlefield on which this is being fought is the public schools. The weapon being used is the religious dogma of biblical creation against scientific theorizing about evolution. The potential casualty is not only the separation of church and state, but the education of masses of children in the science and culture of the world.

The gains of the American bourgeois democratic revolution of 1776 and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, codifying the defeat of slavery during the Civil War, were progressive developments in the history of mankind. They are part of the outcome of a long and complicated, and in the case of the Civil War, bloody struggle during which feudal fetters on political freedom, economic freedom, religious freedom and scientific freedoms were broken or transcended.

During the Age of Enlightenment the basis was laid for the eradication of medieval superstition by scientific knowledge—for defeat over the forces of obscurantism. The current battle poses the defense of the gains of the American Revolution, Civil War—and the Enlightenment.

A tidal wave of enforced intolerance is sweeping America. Government is pandering to the religious fundamentalist movement, politically bellicose with its program of action to rejuvenate the "moral fiber" of a demoralized and economically declining nation. Simultaneously, in the current social climate in the United States, the terrorist ultra-right flourishes as

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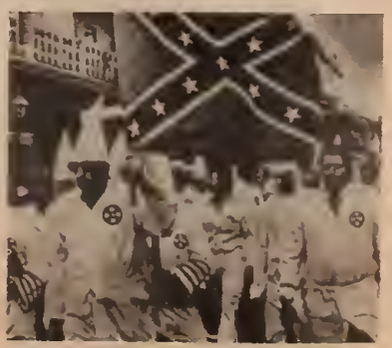

Crusaders for ignorance, bigotry and war on Soviet Union: fundamentalist preacher Jerry Falwell, Reagan and Ku Klux Klan.

seen in the bombing of abortion clinics, Ku Klux Klan mobilizations and attacks on blacks and Asians. Thus the attacks on the First Amendment and the growing reactionary terrorist threats are reflections of the tendency towards state bonapartism, part and parcel of the drive towards war.

War has been declared on "secular humanism." The dictionary defines humanism as "a doctrine, set of attitudes, or way of life centered upon human interests or values: as a philosophy which rejects supernaturalism, regards man as a natural object, and asserts the essential dignity and worth of man and his capacity to achieve self-realization through the use of reason and scientific method." *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, p. 1100 (1976). To the fundamentalists and Moral Majority everything from atheism to the United Nations, the writings of Hawthorne and Hemingway, from sex education to the theory of evolution are anathema as examples of secular humanism.

Evolution, the science of man's "descent with modification," is the particular object of the fundamentalist religious attack. The reasons for this lie in the fact that evolutionary theory deprives man of a mythical "special" status in nature, and exposes the lack of scientific basis for the various religious and other justifications for belief in racial inferiority. The not so hidden agenda of the proponents of teaching

UP

1925: Clarence Darrow (second from left) defended Tennessee biology teacher John T. Scopes (third from left), tried for teaching evolution.

creationism in the schools is to enforce the destructive and dangerous dogma of racial inferiority.

To the organizations here filing as *amicus curiae*, the study of scientific evolution is fundamental to man's quest for a materialist understanding of our world and human society, not the least because it provides material evidence that we are all part of the same human race, definitively destroying the myths of racial superiority.

As Marxists, *amicus curiae* are profoundly committed to education and knowledge. One of the hallmarks of any struggle for social emancipation is the struggle of the oppressed against the internal, mental stripes left by the master's whip: the fight for knowledge and for access to the culture hoarded by the privileged classes.

This country used to be notable for the relatively democratic nature of public education—largely a product of the Civil War and struggles by an ethnically diverse working class for social reform. Today there is an all sided assault on public education, of which the current attack, if successful, will render future generations ignorant and prey to the superstitions of our ancestors.

The fundamental principles of the First Amendment—the free speech and press as well as the religion clauses—are intertwined with the progress of mankind. Some thirty years ago, on the occasion of a proposal to appoint a United States ambassador to the Vatican, this point was succinctly made by James P. Cannon, veteran American Trotskyist:

> "Under...the First Amendment, free thinkers and atheists, heathens and public sinners, who are very numerous in this country, have had a chance to breathe and spread enlightenment without fear of the dungeon and the rack. The First Amendment has been a protecting shield for the Children of Light and has enabled them to make their great contributions to literature, art and science. A breach in this provision of the Constitution, leading to its eventual repeal, would be an unspeakable calamity aiding and strengthening the forces of reaction and obscurantism here and all over the world."
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> —*Notebook of an Agitator*, "Church and State," pp. 282-283 (Pathfinder Press, 1973)

For the reasons set forth above the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee are compelled to submit this Brief *Amicus Curiae*.

STATEMENT OF THE CASE

The State of Lousiana's Balanced-Treatment Act, La. Rev. Stat. Ann sec. 17:286 (West's 1982) mandates the teaching of creationism under the rubric of "creation-science" whenever evolutionary science is taught. The Act declares that its purpose is "academic freedom" and demands the establishment of state and local boards to develop a curriculum guide and provide college level faculty to assist. Penalties are imposed for any discrimination against a teacher of "creation-science," but not for a teacher of evolutionary science.

The majority of the Court of Appeals affirmed the district court's judgment that the law is unconstitutional. "Not withstanding the supposed complexities of religion-versus-state issues and the lively debates they generate, this particular case is a simple one, subject to a simple disposal: the Act violates the establishment clause of the first amendment because the purpose of the statute is to promote a religious belief," (765 F.2d 1251).

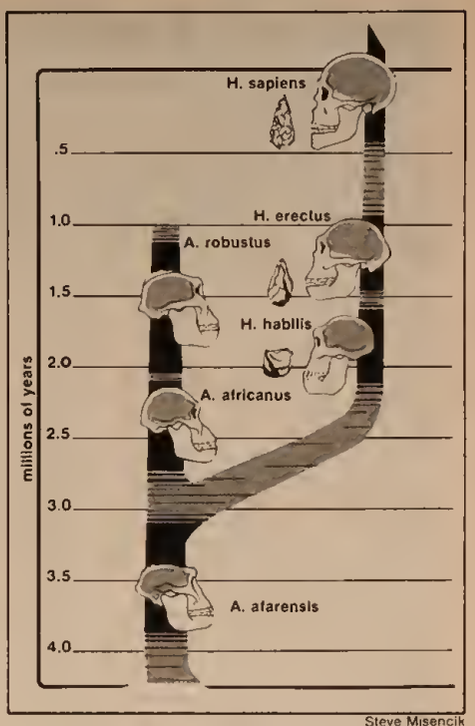
Amicus adopts the statement of the case as set forth in Appellees Brief, particularly as it sets forth the legislative history of the Act.

There is a historical context to this issue—and it begins long before the Scopes "Monkey Trial" in Dayton, Tennessee. The battle being fought originated during the Enlightenment. On the ideological plane it was the forces of religious reaction against humanism and the development of science. It was not only the fight of Darwin, but that of Galileo two hundred fifty years earlier. On the political plane it was the monarchy and church united against the democratic republic. In short, the period is identified in materialist historical terms as that of the bourgeois democratic revolution.

The Balanced-Treatment Act is part of a campaign by the fundamentalist religious right to impose their program on the totality of American society. Having failed at promoting and defending state laws which directly outlaw the teaching of evolution, the proponents of the Louisiana law attempt to justify the teaching of creationism by a definition of it as "science." The essential starting point, however, is the fact that creationism is not science, but religion.

The advocates of the "Balanced-Treatment Act" have tried to buttress their claim with pseudo-scientific affidavits and assertions of the scientific basis for creation. But the description of "creation-science" as "abrupt appearance in complex form" discloses all. The creationists assert they deny *only* the fact of "macro-evolution" (evolution of all species from simple one-celled animals, originating in the primordial soup), while affirming that "micro-evolution" (evolution within a species, type or family) does occur. This pseudo-scientific jargon means that they deny the descent of man from earlier forms of primate life—since the days of Charles Darwin this has been the central aim of the religious opponents of evolution.

Creationists trade on semantic unclarity and willful ignorance when they argue that scientists refer to evolution as a "theory." The term theory as used by scientists means "a coherent group of general propositions used as principles of explanation for a class of phenomena." *Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, p. 1471 (1967). This is quite the contrary of the popular use of the term theory, e.g. "a mere hypothesis, conjecture, or guess." Scientific theories are proved through research and experimentation. Since codified by Charles Darwin in *The Origin of Species* in 1859, the scientific theory of evolution has been more than amply proven to be a fact. That evolution happened is a fact. The exact process by which it happened continues to be one of the most vital, controversial areas of scientific research.



Steve Misencik

Depiction of man's evolution by anthropologist Donald Johanson, discoverer of famous "Lucy" skeleton.

The scientific ferment surrounding evolutionary theory does not mean that scientists are doubtful about the theory of evolution. Quite the contrary: unlike religion, science accepts nothing as dogma. The ability to test the theory through research and experimentation is what makes a theory scientific rather than mystical or religious.

The creationists' use of controversy among evolutionary scientists to discredit evolutionary theory is dishonest. They attempt to use the works of Harvard biologist and geologist Stephen J. Gould—a vocal activist on behalf of evolution—as "evidence" to support creation. Gould explicitly denounced the creationists' attempt to distort his theory of punctuated equilibria into support for their religion. "Evolution as Fact and Theory," *Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes* (W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1984). Gould's theory, propounded in collaboration with Niles Eldredge in 1972, argues that evolutionary change occurs in "bursts" of rapid speciation, followed by longer periods of stable existence. This theory has

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Counterclockwise from top left: Galileo tried by Catholic church in 1633 for declaring Earth revolves around the sun; Rembrandt's "The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp" (1632), depicting one of first public autopsies; Delacroix's painting of Liberty marching in French Revolution.

Spartacist Brief: In Defense of Science...

(continued from page 7)

nothing to do with creationism.

In addition to distorting the work of current evolutionary scientists as support for the "scientific basis" for creationism, the appellants rely in part on "eminent 19th century scientists," Louis Agassiz, Georges Cuvier and Sir Richard Owen. Owen was in fact an evolutionist; Cuvier's creationism "disproved the linchpin of modern fundamentalist creationism: an age of but a few thousand years for the earth." See, Gould, "The Stinkstones of Oeningen," *Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes*, p. 104. Agassiz was widely ridiculed in the scientific community for his opposition to Darwin's theory of evolution; Agassiz was also a notorious racist who subscribed to the theory of polygeny (separate creation of human races). When asked by a member of President Lincoln's Inquiry Commission in 1863 for his considered opinion on the role of blacks in American society, Agassiz replied: "they are incapable of living on a footing of social equality with the whites...." Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1981), p. 48.

The Balanced-Treatment Act will inhibit the teaching of evolution, intellectually impoverish future generations of children and rob them of scientific understanding. Whether or not a creator or some other religious or mystical power had anything to do with the history of life on our planet is a matter for the individual as his own private beliefs and not a matter for the public schools.

LEGAL ARGUMENT

THE LOUISIANA "BALANCED-TREATMENT ACT" MANDATING THE TEACHING OF CREATIONISM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS VIOLATES THE FIRST AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION IN THAT IT IS IN FURTHERANCE OF RELIGION

The First Amendment is the "keystone of our Government...the freedoms it guarantees provide the best insurance against destruction of all freedom," Mr. Justice Black dissent in *Dennis v. United States*, 341 U.S. 494, 580 (1951).

The First Amendment primarily consecrates the political and legal theory of the Enlightenment, a criticism of general feudal arbitrariness. It and the other texts of the Bill of Rights are "historical texts, and as such constitute a precis or summary of the abuses of feudalism throughout Europe....[D]irected against feudalism, it was the philosophy of enlightenment in opposition to the philosophy of obscurantism." Mitchell Franklin, "Infamy and Constitutional Civil Liberties," *Lawyers Guild Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, Spring 1954.

Senzer/Newsweek

Harvard biologist Stephen Jay Gould, defender of evolutionary science against "creationist" obscurantism.

The First Amendment is a unified totality, the "text is indeed both general and absolute. In one sentence it separates church and state and guarantees free opinion." *Id.*, at 5.

It is long established that the First Amendment is unified in its various clauses by the central liberty of freedom of conscience. *Cantwell v. Connecticut*, 310 U.S. 296 (1940), *Wooley v. Maynard*, 430 U.S. 705, 714-715 (1977), *Widmar v. Vincent*, 454 U.S. 263, 269 (1981), *Wallace v. Jaffree*, 105 S. Ct. 2479, 86 L. Ed2d 29, 39-40 (1985).

The legal force and continued applicability of the First Amendment rests with the fact that the Constitution of the United States is in reality three constitutions, each of which states in legal formulations the outcome of vital historic changes in American social history. The First Constitution, that of 1787, justified an American separation between national or general power and state or particular power. This was called federalism; and behind the shield of it American slavery existed and developed for several decades until such servitude was destroyed by the Civil War.

Library of Congress

Within two years, the First Constitution was subordinated. The Second Constitution was introduced in 1789 through the Bill of Rights consecrated in the first ten amendments of the Constitution.

After the defeat of slavery on the battlefields of the Civil War, the Third Constitution was initiated. It is grounded on the Reconstruction Amendments, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Thus the Third Constitution codifies the completion of the U.S. bourgeois democratic revolution creating a democratic, national American State, founded on the hegemony of the first ten amendments and of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, appropriately subordinating the so-called federalism of the First Constitution.

The import of this constitutional history is that the Constitution and particularly the Bill of Rights is a living document, infused with flexibility by the Due Process and Equal Protection Clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment, subordinating the state governments to these democratic principles. See, *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S. 652, 666 (1925), *Cantwell v. Connecticut, supra., Everson v. Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1, 15-16 (1947).

The principle of separation of church and state was the most radical of these rights. Henry Steele Commager explained:

> "We tend to forget that separation of church and state and rejection of religious establishments were, in the 18th century, the most revolutionary experiment on which the new United States embarked. It commanded more attention, applause and censure than the creation of the new nations or the rejection of colonialism. No other Western nation had ever tried so reckless an experiment."
>
> —*New York Times*, 16 September 1984

The fundamental concern of the Religion Clauses of the First Amendment is the relationship between religious expression and the state. The underlying historical perception is that a union between religion and government leads to persecution and civil strife, *Everson v. Board of Education, supra.* and "tends to destroy government and degrade religion," *Engel v. Vitale*, 370 U.S. 421, 431 (1962).

In *School District of Abington v. Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203, 215 (1963) the Court approvingly quoted *Board of Education v. Minor*, 23 Ohio St 211, 253 (1872), which stated:

> "The great bulk of human affairs and human interests is left by any free government to individual enterprise and individual action. Religion is eminently one of these interests, lying outside the true and legitimate province of government."

Citing Thomas Jefferson, the rigour of this principle has been described as, "intended to erect a wall of separation between church and State." *Everson v. Board of Education, supra.*, at 16. Furthermore, as the Court held *Everson*:

> "The 'establishment of religion' clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another."
>
> 330 U.S., at 15.

Harper's Weekly

Left: Heroic Massachusetts 54th, first black regiment in the Civil War, charging Fort Wagner, South Carolina, July 1863. Right: Jubilant ex-slaves and Union army veterans celebrate Congress' approval of 14th Amendment to Constitution establishing citizenship for blacks. Racist "creationists" seek to roll back gains of the Civil War, the Second American Revolution.

The First Amendment "requires the state to be neutral in its relations with groups of religious believers and non-believers," *Id.*, at 18; *School District of Abington v. Schempp, supra.*, at 216. And, as stated in *Wallace v. Jaffree*, "when the underlying principle has been examined in the crucible of litigation, the Court has unambiguously concluded that the individual freedom of conscience protected by the First Amendment embraces the right to select any religious faith or none at all," *supra.*, at 41.

As applied to the American schoolroom, the Court is compelled to protect against violations of the First Amendment, *Epperson v. Arkansas*, 393 U.S. 97, 104 (1968), including laws respecting a particular religious belief, *School District of Abington v. Schempp, supra.*, at 215. The state's right to prescribe its public school curriculum is limited to the extent that it may not compel or prohibit the teaching of a theory or doctrine for religious reasons. *Epperson, supra.*, at 107. The vigilant protection of the First Amendment is nowhere more vital than in American public education. *Id.*, at 104.

Mr. Justice Brennan, concurring in *School District of Abington v. Schempp, supra.*, at 230 stated: "Americans regard the public schools as a most vital civic institution for the preservation of a democratic system of government. It is therefore understandable that the constitutional prohibitions encounter their severest test when they are sought to be applied in the school classroom."

The instant law, mandating the teaching of creationism in the Louisiana public schools, cannot survive constitutional scrutiny. The standard applied in testing the violation of the Establishment Clause was set in *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602, 612-613 (1971): (1) whether the statute has a secular legislative purpose; (2) whether the principal or primary effect of the statute advances or inhibits religion; and (3) whether the statute fosters an excessive entanglement with religion.

With the recognition that creationism is a religious belief and in cognizance of the weighty social history surrounding the battle between science and religion—the Enlightenment and obscurantism—it is indisputable that the Louisiana Act is in furtherance of religion and serves no secular purpose.

CONCLUSION

For all the reasons set forth above, the decision of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit should be upheld.

Dated: New York, New York
August 18, 1986

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Drug Witchhunt...

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traffickers. Washington reacts like they did when Qaddafi fired off missiles at U.S. warships which had brazenly invaded Libyan waters: how dare you claim we can't be in your territory!

So what the hell was a federal narc doing there in the first place, staking out a house in downtown Guadalajara, with no ID, in a car with false plates and an Uzi machine gun in the trunk? How would the Reaganites like it if East German agents were swarming all over the U.S. looking for drug traffickers? The DEA is notorious for "plucking suspects off the streets of foreign capitals and shoving them onto airplanes or across border frontiers" (*Los Angeles Times*, 17 July). Just who gave the U.S. the right to claim extraterritoriality around the globe? U.S. troops out of Bolivia! U.S. narcs and feds and spies out of Mexico and the rest of the world!

Bipartisan Drug Wars

While the White House normally leads such things, on the drug front the Republicans are scrambling after the Democrats. From House Speaker Tip O'Neill's multibillion dollar anti-drug bill to Jesse Jackson's obscene grandstanding on Len Bias' grave, the Dems are trying to out-Reagan Reagan. It was the outcry over the cocaine death of the black basketball star which convinced the Democrats they could run against Reagan in the mid-term elections on a cynical, safe, flag-waving anti-drug campaign. As the *New York Times* (10 August) noted, "Democrats and Republicans...have been trying to outperform one another all week, and the White House raced to catch up with Democratic plans to spend billions of dollars in the fight on drugs." Presidential contender Mario Cuomo wants life sentences for pushers. NYC mayor Koch calls for concentration camps for "drug abusers."

If it weren't so sinister, the drug crusade would be a theater of the absurd. Gung-ho U.S. attorney Rudolph Giuliani and New York Senator Alphonse D'Amato donning shades and cruising Manhattan's Washington Heights to cop a couple of vials of crack. Reagan announcing the whole Cabinet will "voluntarily" take drug tests. The gross hypocrisy, and the grotesque spectacle of White House staffers peeing into Dixie Cups, publicly displaying their urine samples in the campaign for compulsory drug testing, even got to Nixonite flack William Safire. Why doesn't Nancy Reagan undergo urinalysis too, he asked: "Does she have something to hide?"

> "Of course not. Mrs. Reagan is not in the urinalysis parade because it would be unladylike and distasteful. She must know, too, that if she joins 'jar wars,' she will be asked about visits to the White House workplace by Ron Reagan Jr. He's under 30 and writes for Penthouse. Will he be denied entry at the gate without proof of nonuse?"
>
> —*New York Times*, 11 August

Last March when the Meese Commission report on organized crime came out for mandatory drug testing, there was an uproar over the threat to civil liberties. But now such a vigilante atmosphere has been whipped up, the liberals have all jumped on the bandwagon. Gone are the concerns about the high rate of "false positives" in the inaccurate urinalysis. The *New York Times* (12 August) editorialized: "When is testing justified? The presumption of innocence applies automatically only in the case of criminal prosecutions." Evidently everything else is just fine—expelling kids from school, arbitrary firings, etc. There is a bourgeois consensus to stamp out porn, pot and privacy in the service of god, the family and imperialist war. The Spartacist League says: Government out of the bedroom! Down with laws against "crimes without victims"!

Lopez/NY Times

Higgins/NY Times

Drug Wars: Reagan and Weinberger map out campaign to "clean up" U.S. military for dirty wars. Anti-popular front for Reagan/Koch at NYC City Hall, July 21: (from left) Senator D'Amato, state prosecutor Sterling Johnson Jr., Dick Gregory, city councilman Wendell Foster and Ossie Davis.

From the Moral Majority to Hitler

What is all the hullabaloo over getting high, looking at girlie magazines, watching "adult" videos, "sodomy," and god knows what else people do? And what right do these all-round bigots with state power have interfering in our private lives? Mandatory drug tests? How about mandatory alcohol tests after a White House dinner? Out in the land of beansprout- totalitarianism, liberal states like California and Minnesota have legalized veritable terrorization of cigarette and cigar smokers. What it's about is witchhunting. The Marxist position on such questions was outlined in the Spartacist document *Youth, Class and Party* (1971):

> "...we call for an end to all laws against what are known as 'crimes without victims' (e.g., prostitution, pornography, gambling, drug addiction, anti-liquor laws). In calling for an end to laws against 'crimes without victims' we do not believe that these practices should be a matter of indifference to the socialist movement. Rather we maintain that such practices should not be subject to the repressive arm of the bourgeois state, where they often serve as a source of police corruption and individual victimization. Widespread drug addiction and alcoholism sap the revolutionary energy of the working class and other sections of the oppressed. However, the social milieu producing widespread alcoholism and drug addiction should be fought through the moral authority of the proletarian socialist movement, and not through state coercion. Further, prostitution and drugs spawn a group of social parasites (pimps, pushers, etc.) who generally act as the shock troops of reaction in periods of intense social struggle. On the other hand, laws against gambling and various sexual practices reflect official puritanism allied to organized religion, which acts as an important ideological pillar of capitalism, convincing the masses there can be no happiness this side of the grave."

Right now, there's an uproar over the explosion of "crack" in the ghettos. This potent and highly addictive cocaine derivative has become popular because it's smokeable and relatively cheap. Crack is a cheap street drug—the high is too fast and jagged, the low is a sharp crash that drives kids to get back up as soon as possible. So they end up needing money fast. It's abundant now because the big drug dealers switched from marijuana to more easily transportable coke when the DEA got on their tails, and now they're trying to dump a big glut on the market without lowering the price of cocaine. So crack is flourishing from gutted apartments on New Lots Ave. in Brooklyn to the freeway "drugstores" in L.A.

Crack is a bad trip, but it's hardly new. Earlier there was PCP, or "angel dust"; before that, the hallucinatory drugs of the '60s, and the tremendously debilitating heroin, the leading addiction in the '50s. Not to mention gang fights, teenage suicides, etc. Black parents are anguished at the sight of their teenage children's lives wasting away. But the cause is not the particular form that escapism takes in this period, but the vicious cycle of joblessness, drugs and crime, promising a future of despair for a generation of ghetto youth. What kind of life is it where the "alternatives" are welfare, jail, or the army? No wonder kids are desperately searching for a euphoric high.

Besides, this ruling class and its cops aren't going to clean up the dope trade. The cops are frequently the *main* source of supply! Prohibition turned everyone who took a drink into a criminal and made big bucks for the gangsters, the cops and Joe Kennedy. Today's billion-dollar cocaine/police corruption rings make Al Capone's operation look like chicken feed. In real life, "Miami Vice" is not just car chases and drug busts in which hip cops without socks terrorize the black community. In the wake of the 1980 ghetto explosions in Miami's "Liberty City," they thought they could cool things out by hiring some minority cops. So they got a bunch of Cuban Marielitos who promptly went out and assassinated the coke dealers and took over the trade (see Pete Hamill's "White Line Fever," in the *Village Voice*, 26 August).

The Moral Majority campaign to dictate puritan social values finds an eerie echo in Hitler's ravings in *Mein Kampf*. The Nazi *Führer* vituperated against Weimar Germany as "a hothouse for sexual ideas and stimulations," and whipping up the AIDS hysteria of his day he went on for pages ranting about combating syphilis as "*the* task of the nation." A premature anti-porn crusader, he proclaimed:

> "This cleansing of our culture must be extended to nearly all fields. Theater, art, literature, cinema, press, posters and window displays must be cleansed.... Public life must be freed from the stifling perfume of our modern eroticism."

All in order to "preserve the race." Then he went out and killed six million Jews, a million leftists, hundreds of thousands of homosexuals and Gypsies, and launched a war on the "Bolshevik Anti-Christ" (read: Russia) that resulted in 20 million Soviet dead.

Drugs and the Ghetto

As always, the current furor over drugs is laced with racism. The witchhunting of sports figures spearheaded by baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth targeted particularly black athletes, as well as being aimed at breaking the players' unions. And it was Len Bias' cocaine death which sparked calls for a crackdown on crack. Nothing could be more obscene than Jesse Jackson at Bias' funeral, telling hundreds of mourning black people that drugs were more dangerous than the Ku Klux Klan because "ropes never killed as many of our young people as the pushers of drugs" (*New York Times*, 24 June). What a disgusting apology for the racist terror which threatens black people today, from nightriding attacks on black homes on Chicago's Southwest Side to the official government bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philly! Will Jesse show up at the next lynching to explain how this is not nearly so bad as crack?

Jackson's capable of just about anything (remember how he embraced Alabama governor George "Mr. Segregation" Wallace in '84, in the name of "unity" of the racist Democratic Party?). But the whole spectrum of black capitalist politicians has jumped on the "crack"down bandwagon, making common cause with the biggest racists in America. Bronx city councilman Wendell Foster held a joint press conference on the steps of City Hall with Senator D'Amato where they enlisted in the war on drugs. Even so-called radicals have lined up behind this campaign to police the ghetto. On July 19, prominent New York Eight member Coltrane Chimurenga and former CORE activist Sonny Carson led a vigilante mob through the streets of Brooklyn, smashing candy store windows, breaking glass vials and crack pipes. In Harlem, vigilante sprees led by Rev. Al Sharpton have been fueled by poisonous chauvinism against Arab storeowners.

Carson/Chimurenga have launched a "Black Men's Movement" seeking to "Close the Crack Houses by Any Means Necessary," with a lot of Panther-type military posturing and chants of "Black Power." But the Black Panthers wanted the cops *out* of the ghetto; these guys are doing their best to keep the cops *in*! The Panthers never found the road to workers power, but they certainly wanted to fight a revolutionary struggle against the racist capitalist state. But here we have self-styled leftists, under the guise of "smashing crack," bringing out shock troops for Reagan and Koch's

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Drug Witchhunt...

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"war on drugs." Their vigilante antics will serve to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the viciously racist capitalist state.

The state of black America is worse than at any time since the Great Depression of the 1930s. And a major reason why is the absence of any black struggle against the deep racial oppression rooted in the bedrock of American capitalism. Today black misleaders are pushing racist theories about "black-on-black violence," "babies having babies," etc., which blame oppression on the oppressed rather than the oppressors. Astronomical rates of school dropouts, teen pregnancy, drug addiction—these are part of the social pathology of an oppressed population that is forcibly ghettoized, lumpenized and terrorized. While sociologists wring their hands over black illiteracy statistics, recall that when World War II opened thousands of industrial jobs for blacks, illiterate people learned to read in a few short weeks. And teen pregnancy will cease to be a "problem" when there is full employment, 24-hour day care and free abortion on demand. It will take revolutionary struggle to break the cycle of despair.

What is the road to black freedom in America? Ever since the Civil War there has been a sharp battle between "self-help" schemes for "survival" and a revolutionary fight for social equality. The call on the black man to "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" was epitomized by Booker T. Washington's peanut capitalism. Black socialist W.E.B. Du Bois, following in the tradition of the great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass, denounced Washington for "shifting the burden for black oppression from the nation as a whole to the shoulders of black people," and "counseling submission to oppression" (Robert Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* [1969]). And in more than a century since the abolition of slavery, the "black capitalist" program has come to naught: the only goober farmer who ever made it big in America is Jimmy Carter.

Today Booker T. Washington's program is embodied by Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan. While Jackson prattles his inane "hope, not dope" rhymes, he's also out there PUSHing coke—Coca-Cola, that is, which pieced him off by signing on a few black distributors. Farrakhan, while proclaiming "Hitler was a great man" and building alliances with the KKK, is building a ghetto base on virulent anti-Semitism and appeals to buy black shampoo. The Black Muslim lider has got his, and he's off to Phoenix, moving into Elijah Muhammad's old mansion. In contrast, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League fight in the tradition of Frederick Douglass, for *revolutionary integrationism* and black liberation through socialist revolution. Speaking at a Harlem community group last August, Spartacist candidate for NYC mayor Marjorie Stamberg responded to questions about the ghetto syndrome of drugs and school dropouts:

> "Our starting point is that we cannot reform, in any kind of piecemeal way, the system—the whole system is set up to exploit and oppress the working people and minorities. We need a socialist revolution that overturns the whole basis of the oppression in this society. You see, you're going to *want* an education if you have a job out there. If you don't have it, and you have no possibility of doing anything, except being drafted into the army and being cannon fodder in some damn war against your class brothers in Nicaragua or Vietnam, what life is there for you? That is what we want to change. That is what we're fighting about."

Bentley/Time

Big Brother at work: U.S. rulers want to regiment workforce through mandatory drug tests.

The Only Solution: Socialist Revolution

At the heart of struggles for democratic rights in this society is always to be found the fundamental contradiction between capital and labor. And predictably the unions are being heavily targeted by the Meese police in the current drug witchhunt. Ironically, tops on the list are air traffic controllers. On August 22, dozens of controllers in the Los Angeles area were removed from their jobs because of suspected drug use. Reagan considered his firing of 13,000 air controllers, in order to break the PATCO union, the high point of the first year of his administration. But now even the scabs of 1981 are again talking union, so great are the job pressures. So the government tries to enforce labor discipline with cocaine busts.

In fact, use of coke by controllers is endemic just as it is in every high-stress industry, where stimulants are widely used to cope with the pounding pressure and need for quick action. College and professional athletes often turn into speed freaks from all the pills they're fed by the trainers. Over-the-road trucking wouldn't exist without drivers popping bennies in order to meet impossible schedules. And Wall Street stock brokers keep as high as the market from the moment the bell rings. Their bosses on the Big Board never complained until they discovered that their yuppies were engaging in insider trading scams to feed their habits!

With millions of government workers facing the threat of random drug testing, a number of public employees unions have mounted legal challenges. In Plainfield, New Jersey, Judge H. Lee Sarokin (who freed Hurricane Carter) ruled that surprise urine tests were an invasion of privacy and raised "serious constitutional questions." In Los Angeles, the Machinists have gone to court over drug testing at General Dynamics. A judge ruled favorably on the baseball players union's suit against Ueberroth's mandatory drug testing plan, holding that it was indeed an illegal attack on the contractual grievance procedure. But what is the upshot? The labor fakers are not objecting to victimization by drug testing per se, but only to its being used without their involvement.

One would-be bureaucrat and renegade, Howard Keylor, in the San Francisco longshore union has called for "union control of drug testing"—that is, union narcs. This should endear Keylor to Stalinist puritans of the Progressive Labor ilk. Declaring that "the U.S. has become the land of drugs and greasy hamburgers" (*Challenge*, 23 July), PL has been stomping around Brooklyn trying to shut down crack houses like junior G-men. In Detroit, they reportedly extended this pernicious vigilantism to smashing the windows and doors of a local resident while shouting "child molester."

Marxists are fighters for scientific socialism, not bluenosed Mrs. Grundys who pawn off prudery as progress. In the industrial revolution in Britain in the 1840s, Karl Marx's associate Frederick Engels wrote about the hullabaloo of those Reaganite bigots of the age, the temperance troops who used to go around attacking pubs:

> "The working-man comes from his work tired, exhausted, finds his home comfortless, damp, dirty, repulsive; he has urgent need of recreation, he *must* have something to make work worth his trouble, to make the prospect of the next day endurable.... His enfeebled frame, weakened by bad air and bad food, violently demands some external stimulus; his social need can be gratified only in the public-house, he has absolutely no other place where he can meet his friends. How can he be expected to resist the temptation?... Drunkenness has here ceased to be a vice, for which the vicious can be held responsible;... They who have degraded the working man to a mere object have the responsibility to bear."
>
> —*Condition of the Working Class*, quoted in Peter Fryer, *Mrs Grundy: Studies in English Prudery* (1963)

Spearheading the drive for global counterrevolution, the Moral Majority and Reaganite New Right target everything from abortion clinics to the legacy of the hippie drug culture, in order to instill in the youth the "traditional values" so necessary to serving as cannon fodder. In the process, they end up targeting just about everybody.

Now they have declared a "war on drugs." It's pure hypocrisy: practically every one of their Third World puppets—Batista, Somoza, Duvalier, Stroessner—is a big-time drug trafficker. The real aim is enforced social conformity in preparation for war. And the battle against the sinister anti-democratic "anti-drug" campaign is intricately bound up with the struggle against imperialism and for socialist revolution. ■

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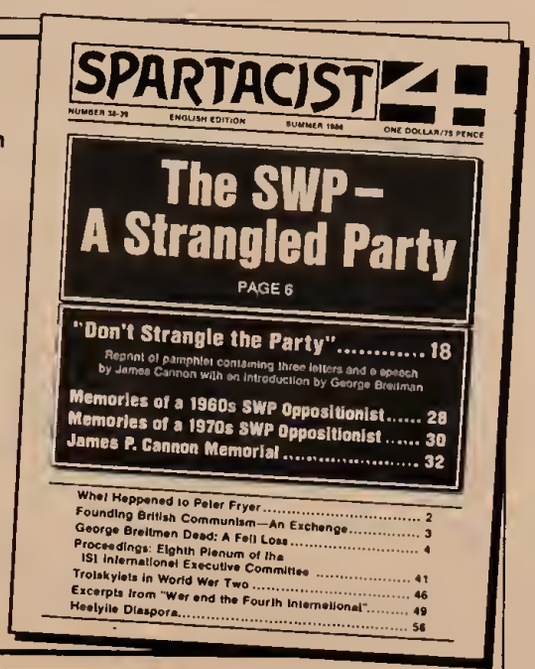

Court Gags Students...

(continued from page 5)

gearing up for a witchhunt on the campus, declared:

> "Just as a fortress under siege does not invite enemy spokesmen to address the troops, so too have campus radicals prevented Jeane Kirkpatrick, Caspar Weinberger and other Administration spokesmen from presenting their point of view to the student body."
>
> —*New York Times*, 15 May

We of the Spartacist League and its youth group are proud to have been among the hundreds who tried to drive Weinberger off Harvard in November 1983, to have initiated a protest this past May against Meese at the Harvard Law School, to have solidarized with those who sent Kirkpatrick packing at Berkeley several years back. Imperialist war criminals will continue to be protested as long as their vile system continues to exist and waste entire generations on the altar of profit (nowadays, the "free world").

Even the stodgy Fred Hechinger pointed out in his column (*New York Times*, 15 July), 15 years ago no one would have raised an eyebrow at Fraser's sexual innuendo and the idea of taking the case to the Supreme Court would have been absurd. Matthew Fraser was caught in the cross hairs of a ruling-class offensive against elementary democratic rights so unrestrained that the one-minute speech of a high school student is seized upon to further their reactionary crackdown. But even in Reagan's America, newspapers across the country printed Fraser's entire speech—more than can be said for the pronouncements of Richard ("Expletive Deleted") Nixon. Even some members of the Supreme Court found nothing to blush about in the speech. One of the two dissenting justices, John Paul Stevens, wondered whether "a group of judges who are at least two generations and 3,000 miles away from the scene of the crime" were qualified to define what was "offensive."

Burger found himself perfectly qualified. Borrowing a leaf from the Moral Majority feminists, he wrote that by "glorifying male sexuality, and in its verbal content, the speech was acutely insulting to teen-age girl students" and "could well be seriously damaging to its less mature audience, many of whom were only 14 years old and on the threshold of awareness of human sexuality." Who elected Burger—or for that matter the government as a whole—to decide what might be "good" for teenagers? We have long opposed draconian "age of adulthood" laws which oppress youth. With this court ruling this takes on even greater significance. The decision against Fraser accompanies the attempt to legislate "morality" and the most intimate personal relations by the state—with the additional aim to "get 'em while they're young." The powers that be are seeking to impose a profound social/sexual counterrevolution on America (see the SL/Partisan Defense Committee "friend of the court" brief against creationism in the classroom, page 6). Down with Reagan/Supreme Court gag rules! ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

already paying the price in blood and terror for the fact that the Klan has not been dealt a decisive blow.

Down the street from the Waheeds a Hispanic family faces a campaign of violence and threats from racist neighbors and self-described KKKers who object to the family's black friends coming into the almost all-white neighborhood. On July 19 Raymond Reed, a 24-year-old black man, was attacked by a gang of racists after he left a barbecue at the home of his friend, Jesse Carrizales. After Reed retreated to the Carrizales house, cops arrived on the scene and *arrested Raymond and Jesse for defending themselves against the racist scum!* One cop told Reed, "You don't belong in this neighborhood." Both now face a year in jail for battery. Meanwhile the bigots have repeatedly threatened to firebomb Carrizales' home, forcing the family to stand guard every night.

Looking to black Democrats or the racist cops to stop the KKK/Nazi terrorists is a dead end. The race-terrorists will not disappear if they are ignored; they must be *smashed* through decisive working-class action. PL-style actions of small groups of anti-KKK militants, no matter how courageous, are not enough. Above all the power to stop the fascists lies with Chicago's integrated labor movement. A year ago

Lenahan/Chicago Sun-Times

Shirley Waheed and children, target of repeated firebomb attacks on their Chicago home by nightriding racists.

some 700 black and white transit workers displayed some of that power when they defied their union leaders and successfully staged a mass protest at police headquarters demanding freedom for David Johnson, the victim of a racist frame-up growing out of a tragic accident. On Gay Pride Day in 1982, a substantial labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League brought out 3,000 trade unionists, minorities, leftists and gays who spiked a Nazi provocation in Lincoln Park.

Militant Chicago transit workers, members of predominantly black Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 and 308, are fighting to mobilize these key unions for such labor/black defense. At an August 4 meeting of Local 241, union militant Kevin Quirk raised a motion stating: "This ATU Local commends the [PL/InCAR] anti-fascist demonstrators. We demand that all charges against the anti-KKK demonstrators be dropped and that we donate $500 to their defense." This motion was seconded by black bus driver and InCAR supporter Danny Bishop.

But PL wouldn't dream of trying to mobilize the union to defend their own supporters, since they consider all unions (not to mention the Soviet Union) "pro-boss organizations [that] must be smashed" (*Challenge*, 28 June 1983). PL believes strongly in *anti-solidarity* even when it comes to defending their own people (although they did accept a $100 donation made by the Partisan Defense Committee for the legal defense of the Chicago anti-Klan protesters).

The leaders of ATU Locals 241 and 308 are closely tied in with Democratic mayor Washington, who is facing re-election in the spring. Militant struggle is a curse to these bureaucrats, who want blacks, Hispanics and all working people to keep their heads down so as not to upset Harold Washington's political apple cart. But the racists' drive in Chicago targets all minorities and organized labor. The struggle for labor/black defense must be part of a fight for a militant leadership to break the unions from the racist Democratic Party and build a multiracial, class-struggle workers party.

Defense of victimized anti-fascist militants is necessarily linked to mobilizing the unions to smash the fascist threat in the streets. Speaking at his Local 308 union meeting August 12, militant Damon Lewis put the issue squarely: "How long must we wait before we mobilize to crush these racist attacks.... Do we wait until they are knocking in that door with the power to kill us, destroy our unions, put Jews, blacks, Catholics in concentration camps? It has happened before. Now is the time to stop these hooded killers. Now is the time to mobilize the power of labor and minorities to crush the fascist threat."

Donations to defend the PL/InCAR supporters arrested on June 28 may be sent to: InCAR Legal Defense Fund, GPO Box 904, Brooklyn, NY 11202. ■

Steel Strike...

(continued from page 12)

administration building, Jackson hustled votes for the Democrats. He called for "protecting" American industry, which means defense of steel bosses' profits while steel workers' jobs go to hell. Anti-Japanese, chauvinist protectionism of the Democratic Party and the labor fakers is the cutting edge of their support to U.S. imperialism's war drive, and feeds racist terror against blacks and other minorities.

While the capitalists' labor lieutenants preside over the decimation of one of the key industrial unions, phony leftists have their own bailout scheme for decaying American capitalism. After the steel barons have squeezed the mills dry and left the blast furnaces to rot, the reformist Communist Party and the dubious Workers League come to the rescue of American "national interest" with the demand to "nationalize" steel. This has nothing in common with the revolutionary program of *expropriation* of the bourgeoisie, under a workers government that can achieve the socialist reindustrialization of America. These pseudo-socialists are trying to divert the hard class struggle necessary to defend steel workers into pleas to Democrats in Congress. Their call for nationalization under a capitalist state is a call for the working class to pay for the collapse of the American steel industry.

In "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky answered those who rush to bail out the bosses:

> "The workers answer that they are not interested in the bookkeeping of individual bankrupts or semi-bankrupts but in the account ledgers of all exploiters as a whole. The workers cannot and do not wish to accommodate the level of their living conditions to the exigencies of individual capitalists, themselves victims of their own regime. The task is one of reorganizing the whole system of production and distribution on a more dignified and workable basis....
>
> "The difference between these demands [expropriation] and the muddled-headed reformist slogan of 'nationalization' lies in the following: ...we link up the question of expropriation with that of seizure of power by the workers and farmers."

Steel workers desperately need a fighting class-struggle leadership to oust the flag-waving, pro-capitalist union tops. From Mon Valley in Pennsylvania to the "rust bowl" of the Midwest, hundreds of thousands of steel workers have no chance of a union job, or any job, under capitalism. If the steel bosses try to liquidate the plants they have run into the ground, there had better be union sitdowns holding those assets hostage. Some hard class struggle, against the steel bosses, Reagan *and* the strikebreaking Democrats, is the only way USWA members can defend their jobs and forge a revolutionary workers party which will fight for a socialist future for the working people. ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

However, in the name of anti-Communism the Democratic-controlled House lined up behind Reagan on contra aid.

Florida Democrat Claude Pepper declared: "We will not tolerate communism to be the dominant character of any state in any part of the Western Hemisphere." It is a telling indication of this bipartisanship that the Senate vote on contra aid was a trade-off for sanctions against South Africa. Thus, while the liberal Democrats seek to bolster the "moral mission" of U.S. imperialism by posturing against apartheid, the Pentagon war machine is gearing up to invade Nicaragua.

The contras are losers and everyone knows it. The Sandinistas, armed with Soviet-supplied helicopter gunships, have driven these defeated terrorists into the U.S. base of Honduras. The additional $100 million they're getting will end up like the previous millions in Miami condos and Swiss bank accounts. The real meaning of the contra aid vote is a big step toward a direct U.S. attack on Nicaragua. As Nicaraguan president Ortega told the UN last month, Reagan "is promoting another Vietnam in Central America." Vietnam was a humiliating defeat for imperialist aggression as the Vietnamese toilers fought for and won independence and social revolution.

But as Nicaragua prepares to resist Yankee aggression, the petty-bourgeois FSLN continues to preach and practice "national unity" with the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, the internal contra front. Sixty percent of the economy remains in private hands. And despite the long overdue closure of the CIA organ *La Prensa* and some stepped-up actions against the Catholic church hierarchy, the Sandinistas allow Reagan's capitalist "fifth column" to continue to operate in Nicaragua, sabotaging the economy and preparing to welcome an American invasion. To defend the Nicaraguan Revolution it is necessary to complete it by expropriating the bourgeoisie.

However, Nicaragua—a poor, largely peasant country of three million—cannot in isolation defeat the Pentagon war machine. The revolutionary struggle must be extended beyond the borders of Nicaragua. This means not only driving the contras from their lairs in Honduras and Costa Rica but also linking up with the Salvadoran workers and peasants in their civil war against the death squad regime and Reagan's bought-and-paid-for president Duarte. A revolutionary conflagration throughout Central America could well spark the powerful industrial proletariat of Mexico, now hit by a severe economic crisis of falling oil prices and massive debt to foreign bankers.

However, the *decisive factor* which can stop U.S. aggression against Nicaragua is class struggle in *this* country. Despite all of Reagan's anti-Soviet ravings over Central America, polls show that an overwhelming majority of the American people still oppose support to the contras. Fear of another Vietnam—a long, bloody, dirty and losing colonial war—is very much alive. Only the Trotskyist program of international socialist revolution can give direction to the workers movement, black and Hispanic poor and radical student-youth in opposing the Pentagon war machine.

Material aid to Sandinista Nicaragua; "hot-cargoing" military goods bound for U.S. puppet regimes and mercenaries; labor political strikes against escalation of American intervention in Central America; militant mass mobilization against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive—these are the urgent tasks of the American working class. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Chicago: Labor, Blacks Must Crush Racist Terror

Defend PL Anti-Fascists

WNYW-TV

Challenge

Chicago, June 28: Cops protect KKK terrorists (on truck), beat and arrest PL/InCAR anti-Klan protesters.

CHICAGO—The courts and cops are framing up two anti-racist militants here on outrageous charges of "attempted murder." They were among several dozen supporters of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR) who on June 28 courageously sought to stop the Ku Klux Klan at the staging area for its motorcade to Marquette Park, where the KKK fascists staged an obscene "white power" rally. Defending the hooded Klansmen, cops attacked the anti-racists, beating and arresting eleven PL/InCAR supporters. Nine face misdemeanor charges, with fines totaling $4,500, while two have had felony assault charges *upped* to attempted murder of a police officer! They now face massive jail terms—and potentially worse at the hands of the racist trigger-happy cops and prison authorities. Drop all charges against the PL/InCAR militants!

PL's *Challenge* (20 August) reports:

> "The three cops claiming that we made an attempt on their lives are Thomas Caughlin, Bruce Johnson and Robert Griecus. They were among the most vocally racist cops of those protecting the KKK on June 28. After we were arrested, Johnson was walking around the police station quoting Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Caughlin called one of the anti-racists charged with attempted murder a *yid* (a derogative term for Jewish)...."

The Marquette Park rally was the spearhead of an ominous and escalating fascist conspiracy targeting Chicago. The KKK and other paramilitary ultra-rightist groups have chosen this city as the focus of a national campaign. With the administration of black Democratic mayor Harold Washington holding a bare majority on the city council of this deeply polarized "Segregation City," the fascists are posing themselves as a lightning rod for the racist opposition. While Washington and his cronies are themselves targets of the race-terrorists, they have no intention of lifting a finger to stop the marauding racist scum. The intended legal lynching of PL/InCAR is meant to underscore this point: the fascists are protected, while those who seek to stop the KKK are framed up and victimized by the courts and cops.

On Saturday, August 23, Rev. C.H. Turner of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement led a protest march to Marquette Park. The march drew few participants and an army of cops, while a crowd of white racist punks organized by the fascists assembled with signs bearing Nazi swastikas and "white power" slogans. Later that evening the recently elected black alderman for the Marquette Park district, Marlene Carter, a Harold Washington supporter, issued a disgusting statement blaming the racist mobilization on Turner! Carter, who had initially called for an integrated picnic in Marquette Park and later backed down, declared that Turner strove to "stir up the community that has almost settled down.... This community has a right to be upset" *at Turner!* The black Democrats say, ignore the Klan—but *the Klan has been ignored too damn long in Chicago!* This policy is suicide: it has emboldened the racists to extend their murderous assaults, firebombings and victimizations.

Early the next morning, August 24, nightriding racist firebombers struck at the home of Aleem and Shirley Waheed in Chicago's Gage Park area, adjacent to the Marquette Park district, for the second time in two months. Shortly after Mr. Waheed had left for work, their house was doused with gasoline and set afire. Fortunately, the family was able to put out the blaze. In the earlier attack on July 6, following the KKK provocation in Marquette Park, eight people including four small children narrowly escaped death when two firebombs were hurled simultaneously at the front and back of the Waheed house. The oppressed of Chicago are

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Get Steel Union Off Its Knees!

Zajakowski/Daily Calumet

USX Gary Works, August 12: Democratic Party hustler Jesse Jackson, USWA bureaucrats kneel before capitalist state.

On August 1, 45,000 steel workers struck USX against management demands for massive givebacks. The company refused the pleadings of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) tops to work without a contract and shut the gate on those steel workers not already locked out. After taking billions in steel profits to move into lucrative oil and gas companies, USX (formerly U.S. Steel) is out to make USWA members pay in blood for the bankruptcy of the American steel industry, and the strike promises to be long and bitter.

Strikers have reacted angrily to the company's demands for a $3.50 cut in wages and benefits, the slashing of overtime premium and the collapse of 33 different job classifications into nine, which *alone* will slash the workforce by 30 percent. At the USX Chicago South Works and Lorain, Ohio plants, pickets attempted to halt the shipment of stockpiled steel. South Works and Gary, Indiana workers have tried to shut down scab "subcontracting" operations which have been set up *within* USX plants to replace USWA members with low wage, non-union workers. *Picket lines mean don't cross! That is scab steel—stop the shipments!*

Since 1980, some 76,000 USX workers have been thrown on the slag heap, as the company closed 91 plants. USWA president Lynn Williams and his loyal henchmen forked over almost $2 billion in givebacks to the steel industry in 1983 to "save jobs," but tens of thousands more USWA members were thrown on the street.

This year the USWA tops ripped up the industrywide contract, ramming separate concessions contracts down the throats of workers at LTV, Inland, Bethlehem and National Steel. Before the ink was dry on the LTV givebacks, the company filed for bankruptcy, cutting off benefits for 78,000 retirees and threatening to wipe out pensions. Retirees forced a brief strike at LTV's East Chicago plant; the company backed off, agreeing to continue medical benefits for six months. Workers *aren't* always on their knees—what's needed is a class-struggle leadership that's not afraid to fight to win. *Rip up the givebacks—for an industrywide steel strike!*

The labor traitors are trying to sell steel workers on a wage freeze, racist protectionism and faith in the bosses' Democratic Party. And at an August 12 rally at USWA Local 1014 (Gary Works), the union tops got some help from Jesse Jackson. Leading strikers to pray on their knees in front of the USX

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 411

12 September 1986

Hands Off Libya! Defend the Soviet Union!

Reuters AP

Carnage in wake of U.S. terror bombing of Libya, April 1986 (left); CIA blows up oil depots in Corinto, Nicaragua, October 1983.

Bloody U.S. Cops of the World

SEPTEMBER 8—Once again the White House and Pentagon are acting like global policemen running roughshod over the peoples of the world, literally "from the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli." And they're not just sending in the Marines: the U.S. Sixth Fleet holds provocative "exercises" off the coast of Libya, getting ready for a repeat of last spring's mass terror/murder raid on Tripoli; in the guise of "drug-busters," U.S. special forces are sent to Bolivia and Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) narcs maraud around Mexico; Congress votes $100 million to support the CIA's Nicaraguan contra terrorists. Now a murky hijacking of innocent airline passengers in Karachi and a botched "rescue" by Washington's ally General Zia has Reagan spokesmen licking their chops and promising new military attacks on Tripoli. From Libya to Nicaragua, from the Gulf of Sidra to the Sea of Okhotsk, U.S. rulers claim a god-given right to strike anywhere on the planet in the crusade against what Reagan calls the Soviet "Evil Empire."

The Cold Warriors have targeted Moscow with nuclear first-strike plans, repeated incursions into Soviet waters and airspace, and arming of cutthroat mullahs fighting the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. But the Russians are getting tired of being played for patsies. Not long after the FBI picked up a low-level Soviet UN employee for spying in a sting operation, Nicholas Daniloff, a correspondent for *U.S. News & World Report*, was arrested in Moscow, caught *in flagrante* accepting a package with top secret photographs and maps from an alleged Soviet "dissident." When Reagan tried to stick it to Gorbachev, demanding Daniloff be handed over unconditionally, the Kremlin leader said *"nyet,"* and the Soviets are trying Daniloff on espionage charges. Now the entire American establishment is treating Daniloff as if he were a kidnap victim: a *New York Times* (9 September) editorial compared the Soviet government to "outlaw hijackers and hostage-takers," demanding retaliation "even at a significant cost to diplomacy."

U.S. Navy

Pentagon "aircraft carrier diplomacy" targets the Soviet Union.

Reagan & Co. want blood, but instead of going after the Russians directly there are "softer" military options—like Libya. Since the U.S. attempt to assassinate Qaddafi in April failed, now they're threatening to invade the country in order to bring down the Arab nationalist strongman who has been a bugbear for the Reagan administration since it came to office. On August 24, some 25,000 U.S. and Egyptian air and naval personnel commenced military maneuvers a stone's throw from Libyan territorial waters. By the time Operation Sea Wind concluded, the U.S. had a naval armada in the southern Mediterranean including three aircraft carrier groups, with hundreds of fighter jets, while 18 F-118 Air Force bombers flew into Britain. Last spring, after American warships in the Med blasted Libyan antiaircraft sites, a squadron of Britain-based U.S. F-118s rained terror on Tripoli, murdering Qaddafi's adopted baby daughter and more than 100 civilians. Now, at the height of the Karachi hijacking, the Pentagon ordered the *Forrestal* to stand by off the Libyan coast for "reconnaissance missions."

Washington officials started the latest round of Qaddafi-bashing saying this time they might launch a pre-emptive strike; "conclusive evidence that the Libyans have hatched new terrorist plots could be enough to trigger a new U.S. raid" (*Wall Street Journal*, 25 August). Reagan's special envoy, superspy Vernon Walters, made the rounds of NATO governments to convince them to tighten the screws of the economic blockade decreed by Washington to strangle Tripoli. So Washington officials were practically salivating when the Karachi Pan Am hijacking came in right on cue, with initial reports that some "Libyan Revolutionary Cells" claimed responsibility. And then the hideous mass murder of Jewish worshipers in an Istanbul synagogue Saturday provided the excuse for the Israelis to stage a reprisal raid against "the Arabs."

With U.S. warmasters poised to strike again, Libya has once more become a focal point of the anti-Soviet war drive aimed at restoring U.S. imperialist

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The Contra Connection

It's "Ronald Reagan's war on drugs," proclaim the media, from the jungles of South America to the streets of New York. In April, the president signed a secret directive declaring narcotics a threat to national security. In Operation Blast Furnace, in July he ordered U.S. troops into Bolivia allegedly to crack down on cocaine traffickers. And Reagan's top cop Meese vows this is only the first step: the United States will act as gendarme of the world, in hot pursuit of "narco-terrorists" everywhere. At the same time, by mid-August both the Senate and the House of Representatives had approved the administration's $100 million "aid" package to the CIA's counterrevolutionary Nicaraguan mercenaries. Yet these "freedom fighters" on the American dole are up to their noses in big-time drug smuggling.

Reagan calls them "brothers." The Nicaraguan people call the gang of cutthroat ex-Somozaist National Guardsmen that the U.S. has unleashed "contras." Their specialty is murderous attacks on unarmed civilians, schools and medical centers. Lately, they've been planting U.S.-issue Claymore mines along the isolated rural roads traveled by peasants, and reaping the grisly harvest of death. Ronald ("I'm a contra too") Reagan says they're the "moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers." (More like the moral equivalent of the Mafia.) Democrats and Republicans join hands to vote them military and "humanitarian" aid. But from Central America to Afghanistan to Indochina, the key to the guns-for-drugs trafficking is...the Contra Connection.

General John Singlaub, cashiered from the U.S. Army for trying to be a second MacArthur in Korea and

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

For International Class-Struggle Defense!

During heroic Salvadoran phone strike, women workers brave death threats and military repression.

The need for international class-struggle defense has been increasingly posed as U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive has inspired its butchers to intensify attacks on workers and oppressed minorities throughout the world.

In a July 22 telegram to President Napoleón Duarte, the PDC protested the brutal repression of the combative workers of El Salvador, stating: "Continued imprisonment and disappearance of more than 500 Salvadoran trade unionists puts the lie to democratic pretensions of your regime of death squad terror."

The Association of Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers (ASTTEL) has waged a courageous struggle against the vicious union-busting of the phone company (ANTEL) and its government henchmen. We translate below the following letter we received from a union delegate of the ASTTEL technical workers:

San Salvador, 18 July 1986

Miss Deborah Mackson
Partisan Defense Committee

Dear Compañera Deborah:

To begin, I want to convey fraternal and combative greetings to the committed women of the U.S. from our combative compañeras who fought for 51 days, and especially from Maria Julia Aguirre, in charge of finances and six months pregnant, who in spite of the repression and death threats has continued to be active in our struggle. For our part, we salute the North American people who raise their voice to put a stop to the sending of arms to our country by Reagan's government of destruction.

I want to thank you also for your combative message of solidarity sent July 1 and your financial aid, contributions which have raised the morale and will to struggle of our compañeros, who have reaffirmed that they will continue the fight until we obtain a favorable solution to our just demands.

As well, fraternal greetings from all the workers of ANTEL.

For a peaceful outcome to the labor problems,

Technical Workers of ANTEL on Battle Footing—ASTTEL

Carlos Bernal
Technical Delegate

* * *

Sri Lanka's Tamil minority continues to be plagued by state terror and government-inspired Sinhalese pogromist attacks. In a telegram to the Sri Lankan embassy sent August 7, the PDC demanded the immediate release of three members of the small Revolutionary Communist League (formerly part of Gerry Healy's tendency, and now evidently politically associated with the Workers League in the U.S.) and all leftist and Tamil nationalist political prisoners.

* * *

Chris Tazey, one of the five British miners to whom the PDC has been sending monthly stipends, was finally released in July after spending 18 months in prison for defending his picket line during Britain's bitter year-long miners strike. The PDC continues to provide stipends to the remaining four class-war prisoners framed up by Thatcher's union-busting courts.

* * *

In a truly medieval ruling highlighting the fundamental necessity of separating church and state, the High Court of Dublin denied the validity of a Muslim marriage ceremony due to Islamic law's sanction of polygamous marriage. The court's endorsement of the Pope as the sole authority constitutes a bludgeon to be used against Ireland's Protestant and other minorities, whose laws and customs do not prohibit divorce and are therefore also in conflict with Ireland's clerical laws. The PDC protested this additional and potentially bloody wedge between Ireland's bitterly divided Catholic and Protestant peoples in a letter to the court: "How do you ever expect to have a united Ireland if you do not respect the religions of all peoples?... The separation of church and state, as part of a profound social as well as political transformation, is a necessary condition for a truly united Ireland."

* * *

The PDC is proud to have joined the SL in filing an *amicus curiae* brief in the U.S. Supreme Court opposing Louisiana's "Balanced-Treatment Act" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 410, 29 August). Defending the separation of church and state from the viewpoint of a Marxist defense organization, the brief places the Moral Majorityite legislation in the context of the tidal wave of enforced intolerance sweeping America, which can only fuel increased racist terror. To give fullest exposure to our unique contribution to the defense of scientific evolution, which definitively destroys the myth of racial superiority, the PDC has distributed copies of the brief to the Nobel laureate scientists, scientific, educational, religious and civil rights organizations who have also submitted *amicus* briefs, as well as to numerous individuals noted for their defense of First Amendment rights.

* * *

To obtain more information about the PDC program of stipends to class-war prisoners and copies of the regular newsletter of the PDC, "Class-Struggle Defense Notes," or to send sustaining contributions or donations, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Marxism and Culture

Decaying American capitalism has spawned a resurgence of religious bigotry, from attacks on teaching evolution in the schools to demands for regimenting everyone's sex life. Thus today it is the communists who most vigilantly defend the historic gains of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In defining the attitude of the victorious Bolshevik Revolution toward education and culture, Lenin insisted that Marxism rests upon the progressive attainments—political, scientific, artistic—of the past.

1) All educational work in the Soviet Republic of workers and peasants, in the field of political education in general and in the field of art in particular, should be imbued with the spirit of the class struggle being waged by the proletariat for the successful achievement of the aims of its dictatorship, i.e., the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of classes, and the elimination of all forms of exploitation of man by man....

4) Marxism has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has, on the contrary, assimilated and refashioned everything of value in the more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this direction, inspired by the practical experience of the proletarian dictatorship as the final stage in the struggle against every form of exploitation, can be recognised as the development of a genuine proletarian culture.

—V.I. Lenin, "On Proletarian Culture" (October 1920)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 411 **12 September 1986**

Letters

Hitler's Children

August 18, 1986

Workers Vanguard

Dear Editor:

As a father, I am horrified to learn that a 13-year-old has turned in her own parents for their private use of marijuana. And Nancy Reagan has added insult to injury with her obscene claim that this little snitch "must have loved her parents very much" to have them locked up for totally nonviolent, merely nonconforming behavior. If the parents had been put to death for marijuana use, would the child have been praised for an even greater act of "love"?

It is bad enough that the government has outlawed the use of a benign medicinal herb. It is far worse that "authorities"—churches, schools, media and government-sponsored "anti-drug" groups—are enforcing this abrogation of personal freedom by convincing children to inform on their parents. This totalitarian tactic recalls Hitler's use of children as informants in Nazi Germany.

If President Reagan believes in "traditional American values," whatever happened to the traditional American emphasis on the family? Now that the "war on drugs" has become a war on the family, every thinking person must fear for the future of this nation.

For family unity,
Aron Kay
Brooklyn, N.Y.

"Dear J. Edgar Hoover"

Dear J. Edgar Hoover, Head of FBI

I have an evil rotten no good stepfather. Sometimes he tells me to go to sleep when I have to go to school the next morning. Last night he brought a 13-year-old girl over to the house, and I think they did something. I think so because he gave another guy's name and claimed he was one floor on top of where we live. He does this a lot.

Put him in jail. San Quentin is a California State facility, maybe he could be put in Atlanta, Ft. Leavenworth or Wormwood Scrubs which I hear are really rotten prisons.

With total sincerity, I love Ronald Reagan and Nancy too.

Signed,
A Fink

P.S. I think I changed my mind. If he's in jail, what about my birthday present?

Tear Gas Grenade Attack at Lincoln Center

JDL Zionists Terrorize Soviet Dance Performance

Handschuh/NY Post

Victim of fascistic JDL attack.

It was supposed to be the opening night performance of the universally acclaimed Soviet dance company, the Moiseyev. The Metropolitan Opera House was filled with a standing-room-only audience of 4,000. Minutes into the opening number a tear gas grenade exploded in the audience and marbles were thrown on the floor to sow panic. Simultaneously, the news media received phone calls from the fascistic Jewish Defense League taking responsibility for this vicious terror strike and warning, "These actions will continue and escalate. Never again!" The virulent, right-wing anti-Soviet political climate emanating from Washington and Wall Street is breeding fascist terror across the country. On September 2, the JDL Zionist stormtroopers for Cold War II bombed Lincoln Center.

In the audience that night were the Soviet ambassador to the U.S., Yuri Dubinin, and the dance company's 81-year-old founder and leader Igor Moiseyev. After the JDL thugs had done their dirty work Moiseyev said through an interpreter: "I don't think that anything like this could happen in the Soviet Union. But at the same time it is not the fault of the American public." Indeed, the audience that night, many in black tie and gown, expressed their solidarity with the dance company and their outrage at JDL terror. After the grenade exploded, even though the orchestra filed out, the dance company continued to perform while substantial sections of the audience remained in their seats, defying the effects of the gas and applauding. The courage and discipline of the dancers helped arrest panic. And as they poured, sneezing and coughing, out of the opera house, the crowd went after a scruffy bunch of "Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry" as perpetrators of the terror attack. To shouts of "Nazi scum!" the anti-Soviet protesters were taken away in police custody.

Meanwhile, Mayor Koch was rushed to the scene in his limousine to compare the JDL to the Palestine Liberation Organization as the "scum of the earth." But the racist pig mayor's real attitude toward Zionist terror was demonstrated by his parading through the streets of Queens with General Ariel Sharon after that butcher presided over the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians in a Nazi-like holocaust at the Sabra/Shatila refugee camps outside Beirut. Koch orders his killer cops to treat turnstile jumpers as if they were PLO terrorists and residents of black and Latin ghettos as if they were living under the Zionist jackboot in the West Bank. But the crowd that frequents Lincoln Center is not used to being treated as if they were in Ramalleh or Bedford-Stuyvesant.

2 September

Embassy of the USSR
Washington, D.C.

Moiseyev Dance Company
New York, NY

We express outrage over tear gas explosion by fascistic JDL at Moiseyev Dance Co. opening night. Reagan salutes SS graves at Bitburg—Koch fetes butcher of Sabra-Shatila General Sharon—Zionist thugs bomb Lincoln Center. We bitterly denounce "free world" terror fueled by anti-Soviet war hysteria.

Spartacist League

The JDL was founded by Brooklyn-born rabbi Meir Kahane (aka Michael King in the days when he tried to pass himself off as a gentile). Since Kahane went off to be the führer of an Israeli Reich, his American followers have splintered. The pro-Zionist *New York Times* leapt on the disclaimer of one JDL *Gauleiter* Irv Rubin. However another, Chaim Ben Yosef, in a news conference on the following day, "applauded" the action, ascribing it to one of his "Russian Jewish supporters," and warned prospective ticket buyers of further attack. And to make the position of his "movement" unambiguously clear, the would-be Hitler of Zion himself, Rabbi Kahane, hailed the terrorist strike at Lincoln Center.

What particularly drives genocidal maniacs like Kahane and his fascist ilk is a burning hatred not only of the Soviet Union and communism, but of culture itself, especially art forms like dance which have a universal appeal. As with any major cultural presentation of this kind in New York City, the audience for the Moiseyev troupe contained a large number of Jews, an expression of enlightened cosmopolitanism, the best side of Jewish tradition, the side which the Kahanes as well as the *Commentary* gaggle—and indeed all anti-Semites—revile.

Igor Moiseyev and his dance company are very much a product of the intellectual and cultural ferment stimulated by the Russian Revolution. As a young dancer and later choreographer for the Bolshoi Ballet in the 1920s, Moiseyev struggled to break with the rigid classicism of traditional Russian ballet and introduce the rich folk cultures and traditions of the Soviet Union's diverse peoples. His 155-member dance company, officially called the State Academic Ensemble of Popular Music of the USSR, will celebrate its 50th anniversary next February. Over the years Moiseyev has reached outside the Soviet Union, to Latin America, for example, to enrich his company's repertoire.

It was 12 years since the Moiseyev was last in the U.S. and the present tour is part of the "cultural exchange" that is the only concrete result of the Gorbachev-Reagan summit. The Russian bureaucracy hailed the "summit" as a triumph of "détente." But Reagan's anti-Soviet provocations and military buildup continue unabated, and the JDL terror strike is but the advance guard of that war drive. "Détente" with crisis-wracked and war-frenzied imperialism is a dangerous illusion. If human civilization is to be spared the nightmare of renewed fascist barbarism or nuclear annihilation, the Soviet Union must return to the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky. And the proletariat of the West must bury once and for all the hideous imperialist system which will stop at nothing to wipe out the legacy of the October Revolution. Only then can the brotherhood of peoples, expressed artistically through a group like the Moiseyev, become a social reality for all the world. ■

Drop Charges Against William Depperman!

Koch Frames the Poster Man

In a police sting personally ordered by vindictive New York mayor Edward I. Koch, undercover cops from the elite "Major Case Squad" set up, entrapped and on August 18 busted William Depperman for the "crime" of postering up his famous "CIA conspiracy" wall posters. He was held in detention for 40 hours at 1 Police Plaza, and incredibly charged with felonious criminal mischief, punishable by up to four years in prison! On August 26, the cops busted into Depperman's place, breaking down the door, confiscating his posters and other "subversive literature."

Depperman and his wall posters, alleging a CIA plot behind the Kennedy assassination, and his current campaign that "AIDS is Germ Warfare by the U.S. Government," are a fixture on the New York scene. But racist pig Koch, whose cops bludgeon, stun-gun and shoot black people in this city with impunity, doesn't like seeing the posters when he drives around town. According to the *New York Times* (21 August):

> "City officials said the police were called in on the investigation in mid-July after Mayor Koch, riding uptown in his car, spotted some of Mr. Depperman's handiwork and asked an aide what the Sanitation Department could do about it."

Whereupon the city's *major case unit* (used on the Brinks job and against the nebulous Black Liberation Army) was assigned to track Depperman, infiltrate his tiny group, enlist in postering in order to arrest him on the spot! Normally, postering is not even a criminal offense, but akin to a traffic violation. But in this case they are trying to crank it up to a Class E felony, and are even planning to convene a grand jury!

Depperman told *WV* that he became a personal thorn in the mayor's side years ago when, he claims, his posters spiked Koch's gubernatorial bid. He also believes, of course, that Koch is acting under the direction of the CIA. Further, he says, there is the "aspect of scapegoating," to get the heat off City Hall, for the rampant corruption and crime "which extends from the mayor's office on down."

WV Photo

A Depperman poster.

This is a clear free speech case. Depperman was vindictively singled out, but the target could be anyone who looks cross-eyed at the mayor—any leftist, or even a little theater group, which posters to advertise events. We call to abolish all these laws against postering and political protest. The bourgeoisie has the *New York Times* plus the gutter press to spread its propaganda. McDonald's even has a blimp! So hands off William Depperman! Drop all the charges! The Partisan Defense Committee has sent protest telegrams to Mayor Koch and D.A. Morgenthau, and a contribution to Depperman to defray his legal expenses. ■

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

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Rehire Fired PATCO Controllers– Down with Drug Witchhunt!

Reagan Roulette At L.A. Airport

Francis/Sygma

Aeroméxico DC-9, after colliding with private plane, crashes near Cerritos, California August 31.

In late August the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) implemented Reagan's drug witchhunt by suddenly removing 34 air traffic controllers from their jobs at the regional Palmdale, California control center because some anonymous person had made allegations about off-duty use of drugs at a private party. Under Attorney General Meese's system of justice, you are guilty until proven innocent, so the FAA had instantly ousted more than *one-fifth* of the fully-qualified Palmdale air traffic controllers. "Transfer of Controllers Said Not to Hurt Safety" was the *New York Times* (24 August) headline summary of the FAA action.

Not quite two weeks later an Aeroméxico DC-9 jetliner approaching Los Angeles International Airport collided in midair with a small Piper Cherokee plane, killing all 67 passengers and crew members in the air and releasing a flaming aluminum shower into the L.A. suburb of Cerritos, where about ten homes were destroyed and perhaps another two dozen people killed. The DC-9 had just come under the control of the LAX airport tower "near a point where control...is ordinarily transferred from the F.A.A. control center at Palmdale" (*New York Times*, 1 September). In fact the collision point marks the intersection of Reaganite union-busting, deregulated "free enterprise" and the drug witchhunt.

Since the media don't want to indict Reagan, they are reporting this "accident" as if fate had pre-ordained it: "because of the high density of traffic," noted one typical comment in the *Times* two days later, "it was only a matter of time before more accidents occurred." Investigators and journalists are focusing narrowly on whether the pilot of the private Piper plane had had a heart attack, whether he had entered the controlled airspace without getting permission from L.A. airport controllers, and whether the Piper's electronic transponder was transmitting a signal which would register on the controller's radar screen. It appears the Piper pilot had not gotten permission, and his transponder was of the kind that does not transmit critical altitude information. One possibility is that the airport controller missed the unauthorized blip on his radar screen because of the distraction caused by yet another private plane reported to be in the area.

But the endless battle with "general aviation" or private aircraft owners, who rebel against imposition of the tighter safety regulations which allegedly apply to commercial airlines, is a side point. The central fact is that air safety has been shot to hell across the board in the last five years directly as a result of Reagan administration policy:

- The air traffic control workforce has been cut to pieces. When the PATCO air traffic controllers struck in 1981, the total workforce was about 16,250. Reagan fired all 11,400 striking union members. Today there are only 14,000 controllers, and the percentage of those fully "qualified" has dropped from 82 to 61 percent, while airplane traffic in busy cities like New York is up an average of 19 percent.

With 100,000 flights a day at American airports, even the government's General Accounting Office felt compelled to warn in a report last March that the controller workforce was "stretched too thin." Many of today's controllers were scabs in the 1981 strike, but now are talking about bringing in a union because of the degeneration of working conditions.

- The skilled maintenance force for FAA radars and other airport equipment has been *cut in half*, from 12,400 in 1978 to 6,350 today. Meanwhile the facilities they tend have expanded by over 15 percent.
- The number of FAA inspectors has dropped drastically as a result of budget cuts, from some 2,000 in 1979 to 1,300 five years later. During the same period, the number of commercial airlines practically *doubled* as a result of deregulation.
- From 1980 to 1984 the number of mechanics employed by airlines decreased by at least 3,000. Meanwhile, the nation's commercial air fleets have reached the midpoint of their economic lives, when the airframes develop many more cracks from metal fatigue, normally requiring laborious methods to find and fix.

The result is a deadly breakdown of air safety at every level. In 1985 the FAA fined American Airlines $1.5 million for accumulated safety violations, and more recently has been trying to collect a $9.5 million fine from Eastern Airlines for *8,000* documented violations. And now the Reaganite wonders of "free enterprise" bootstrap operations are hitting the rocks of bankruptcy—e.g., dollar-hungry People Express takeover-shutdown of Frontier Airlines, World Airways' cancellation of scheduled passenger service—while the older, experienced airlines are cutting down through the bone. Eastern just announced the layoff of over 1,500 heavily centered in the maintenance department.

Coupled with this is a vicious union-busting campaign, from Continental Airlines to TWA's recent smashing of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants. And now the Reaganites add a drug witchhunt, part of the general offensive against civil liberties which accompanies the regimentation of the population for the rulers' drive toward war. So the stress-ridden controllers can't even unwind at a Saturday night party for fear of the Meese police bursting through the door.

UPI

Cerritos: Victims of union-busting and drug-scare witchhunt against air traffic controllers.

It's all the end result of the mad capitalist scramble for profits, a *bipartisan* program: recall that the game plan to destroy PATCO was drawn up by the Democratic Carter administration, and the original Airline Deregulation Act of 1978 was sponsored by Democratic Senators Edward Kennedy and Howard Cannon. Today Democratic Congressmen spend their time competing with the White House in proposing even harsher penalties for "drug abuse." As one frustrated Transamerica pilot, Dave Lithgow, pointed out in a recent exposé:

> "Community interest, public safety—you just can't turn that over to laissez-faire market forces and say, 'Oh well, after we kill a few thousand people, insurance rates will go up and force airplanes to be safer.' But that's the way the Reagan administration views it. That just drives me bananas."
>
> —"Out of Control" by Sheryl Fragin, *Village Voice*, 10 June

We have pointed out (in "1985: Year of the Air Disaster," *WV* No. 394, 3 January) that last year 2,000 people worldwide died in air crashes, many traceable to declining safety standards in the U.S. This is far more than the 84 killed in terrorist actions in airplanes and airports, but for the Reaganites it's just the "normal" product of "market forces." Clearly many pilots, air controllers, mechanics and other airline workers see what's going on and don't like it one bit—indeed, it was safety issues, notably understaffing, which led to the 1981 PATCO strike. As we wrote in "Reagan's Deadly Skies" (*WV* No. 383, 12 July 1985), "union rights and passenger safety go hand in hand." It will take a planned, socialist economy run by the working class to put an end to the capitalist anarchy in the skies. Rehire fired PATCO air controllers! Down with the drug witchhunt! ■

Spartacist Forums

U.S./South Africa: "Free World" Butchers

Smash KKK/Nazi Terror! • Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

Speaker: Ed Kartsen, Spartacist League Central Committee

Tuesday, September 23, 7:30 p.m.
Undergraduate Library Lecture Room
Howard University
For more information (202) 636-3537
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Friday, September 26, 7:30 p.m.
Borough of Manhattan
Community College, Room N402
For more information (212) 267-1025
NEW YORK

"We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution"

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee

Friday, September 19, 7:30 p.m.
145 Dwinelle, UC Berkeley
For more information (415) 835-1535
BERKELEY

Saturday, September 20, 7:30 p.m.
Unitarian Church
1187 Franklin St. at Geary
For more information (415) 863-6963
SAN FRANCISCO

Trotskyist League of Canada Forum

From Sri Lanka to Germany to Canada: Defend Tamil Rights!

Fight Cold War Racism!

- **Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign-Born Workers!**
- **Labor/Minority Mobilizations to Stop Fascist Terror!**

Speaker: Jane Clancy,
Trotskyist League of Canada

Saturday, September 20, 7:30 p.m.
International Students Centre
33 St. George St (North of College)
University of Toronto
For more information (416) 593-4138
TORONTO

Labor, Blacks Must Crush Racist Terror in Chicago!

Speaker: Ed Clarkson
SL Central Committee

Guest Speaker: Kevin Quirk
member, ATU Local 241

Saturday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
Hyde Park Hilton
4900 South Lake Shore Drive
For more information (312) 663-0715
CHICAGO

Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. War Moves!

Eyewitness Account: Michele Lewis

Thursday, September 25, 7:00 p.m.
YM Lounge, Wilder Hall
Oberlin College
Sponsored by Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club
For more information (216) 621-5138
or write Wilder Box 58
OBERLIN

Young Spartacus

Protests Hit Harvard's Filthy Fête

Spartacist youth militants joined a protest September 5 against Secretary of State George Shultz, keynote speaker at Harvard's filthy 350th anniversary fête, as a Cambridge police SWAT team guarded the ivied walls. The night before, '69 alumni including many veterans of the Harvard student strike against U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam joined student demonstrators and successfully forced the cancellation of Harvard President Bok's alumni dinner, sending tuxedo-clad luminaries packing to find dinner elsewhere. One such notable was Peter J. Solomon, former deputy mayor of NYC who snapped: "They should have hauled those people away.... That's what Ed Koch would have done."

Harvard "celebrated" the British monarchy on November 4 with an address by that self-proclaimed "anachronism," Prince Charles. Obscenely, Harvard also raised the Confederate flag—banner of the slave South—to mark its 350th anniversary as a bastion of race and class privilege. Harvard's orgy of reaction has not gone unprotested, despite the fact that the "festivities" were consciously scheduled before the opening of classes. We communist youth look forward to leading Harvard students in the fight against the imperialist filth in which ruling-class "Hahvard" revels. We're looking for a few good class traitors like John Reed ('10) who turned his back on this elite imperialist thinktank and dedicated his life to the struggle for world socialist revolution. Join us!

Young Spartacus

"Year of Fire, Year of Ash"

Soweto Youth Rebellion, 1976

This article was principally written by Alan Roux, who was an activist in the National Union of South African Students at the time of the 1976-77 Soweto rebellion.

Last June 16 South Africa experienced the biggest general strike in its history. That strike was carried out in defiance of the white rulers' "state of emergency," declared four days earlier expressly to suppress the planned action. What was the significance of June 16? It was the tenth anniversary of the beginning of the Soweto rebellion in which over a thousand black student youth were murdered by the racist police state.

The Soweto rebellion is universally recognized as a turning point in recent South African history. The courage and sacrifice of that struggle continue to inspire the far greater black revolt which has shaken the apartheid state in the past two years. And the militancy of South Africa's black youth has in turn inspired the oppressed around the world, especially in America's hellish ghettos. However, in the clashes of South Africa's black youth with the security forces we see the agonizing impasse of the South African revolution: on the one hand the mass heroism which testifies that apartheid is inevitably doomed; on the other, the gross military inequality which shows that it is far from defeated.

We do not share the facile triumphalism of so much of the left which seems to believe that every black martyred in the struggle against apartheid brings the South African revolution that much closer. In a sense we do share the sentiments of South African black militant Oupa Mthimkulu, who after the Soweto uprising wrote a poem called *Nineteen Seventy-Six*:

Go nineteen seventy-six
We need you no more
Never come again
We ache inside.
Good friends we have
Lost.
Nineteen seventy-six
You stand accused
of deaths
Imprisonments
Exiles
And detentions.
You lost the battle
You were not revolutionary
Enough
We do not boast about you
Year of fire, year of ash.

—reprinted in Baruch Hirson, *Year of Fire, Year of Ash* (1979)

The 1976 Soweto rebellion was "not revolutionary enough" centrally because it did not link the struggle against apartheid to the fight for workers power. And this fundamental weakness continues to beset the last two "years of fire, years of ash."

Peter Magubane

Thousands of unarmed youth rose up against racist South African police state.

Education for Slavery

For township youth growing up in the shadow of the cities, education has always been nonexistent or lousy. In 1945 an Afrikaner member of the whites-only parliament declared frankly:

> "We should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this... who is going to do the manual labour in the country?"
>
> —quoted in *Year of Fire...*

Like their American counterparts, South Africa's white rulers see no need to provide a decent education for black youth, whose future is unemployment or menial work. But in education as in so many ways, racial oppression in South Africa is qualitatively more extreme. Apartheid educational policy resembles that of the Southern slaveholders, who forbade slaves being taught to read, for a literate slave is harder to control. It was once he understood as a young slave how enforced ignorance gave the white man power over the black that the great abolitionist Frederick Douglass became determined to teach himself to read. Similarly, Nelson Mandela and many of South Africa's other black leaders, expelled from colleges or in jail, have had to educate themselves, studying by correspondence.

In the 1950s, the Afrikaner Nationalist regime began to implement a conscious policy of "Bantu Education." Private black schools were taken over by the state; the one black university was replaced by tribal colleges and blacks prohibited from attending white universities; thousands of children from the townships were forced to get their schooling in "their" respective tribal bantustans; tribal languages were emphasized as the medium of instruction.

Naturally, separate does not mean equal. Per capita state spending on white schoolchildren was *15 times* as much as on black children in 1975-76. A quarter of Soweto's schools had no buildings of their own, but used church halls, tents and other buildings, sometimes with two classes in the same room. Black parents had to pay for their children's textbooks, while white children got theirs free.

It was the growing stratum of students near the end of high school, many in their early twenties, who tasted the full bitterness of Bantu Education. If they graduated, they found themselves in a bind: poorly equipped for further study, often barred from skilled jobs, though there was a growing shortage of whites to fill them; and, if they got jobs, earning a fraction of what their white

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Soweto Youth Rebellion...

(continued from page 5)

counterparts were paid.

Yet the Bantu Education planners were not done. In 1975-76 they began to impose a new insult, the requirement that half of all black high school classes not taught in an African tongue be taught in Afrikaans, the language of the hated "Boere," the Afrikaner cops and their government. Up until then, most courses had been taught in English, which for South African blacks is the doorway to world culture. On 16 June 1976, police fired on a demonstration in Soweto against the imposition of Afrikaans. On that day the "class of '76"—one of the first to spend its entire schooling under Bantu Education—"graduated," shattering forever the schemes of education for slavery.

Behind the Youth Revolt

The education crisis reflected the central contradiction of apartheid: the whole economy was becoming ever more dependent on the black proletariat, yet the preservation of white supremacy required totalitarian measures to repress all social consequences of that development. For example, just as there were more high school students with nowhere to go, relatively skilled workers whose incomes were rising found themselves living in ever more crowded conditions, because the government virtually prohibited more housing being built in the townships. In the face of increasing urbanization, the regime pressed ahead with its grand design of consigning all blacks to the impoverished bantustans many blacks had never seen.

ANC

Student rebellion was triggered by forced imposition of Afrikaans, language of the hated Boer baas (master).

But as Pretoria kept tightening the screws, apartheid was being successfully challenged for the first time in over a decade. Black workers were stirring inside the country. The massive Durban strikes in 1973 heralded strike waves in other regions over the next two years, and the first steps in the formation of new independent unions. The strike waves, directly involving many thousands, showed that resistance was possible under apartheid. Repeatedly strikers caught the bosses and cops off guard in spontaneous actions that spread from factory to factory. Even when they did not win their demands, they proved that their power to stop production could avert the savage repression that normally meets black protest.

In 1974, Portuguese colonialism collapsed in Mozambique and Angola, bled by guerrilla wars. In 1975-76, a Cuban expeditionary force supplied by the Soviet Union turned the tide for the anti-colonial MPLA in Angola, forcing CIA-backed South African troops to withdraw. The Cuban intervention in Angola shattered the myth of white South African invincibility, inspiring the black masses. "Viva MPLA!" was a popular chant in the Soweto uprising.

Why was it that in this climate black student youth attained such political prominence? The answer lies in the bloody defeat of resistance to apartheid almost a generation before, at the beginning of the 1960s. That defeat flowed from the reformism of the anti-apartheid formations, chiefly the African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP), which followed a strategy of "nonviolent" resistance to pressure the apartheid state into granting blacks democratic rights. Not only was this strategy futile—the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 showed it to be suicidal. The ANC and SACP were driven underground and forced into exile.

In the wake of Sharpeville, a generation of black South Africans were beaten into submission. Meanwhile, apartheid capitalism was destroying black family life, forcing husband and wife, parent and child to live hundreds of miles apart in the cities and bantustans, while simultaneously seeking to bolster the authoritarianism of traditional relations. When the youth revolt came, it was tinged with resentment over the widespread passivity of the parents. Intergenerational hostility was a factor in some of the campaigns the youth waged in the townships, such as the effort physically to stamp out alcohol consumption, and in the occasional violent clashes between students and workers.

Despite these negative features of the Soweto rebellion, the black student youth fought heroically and in many ways effectively against apartheid rule. Practically unarmed, they destroyed hundreds of facilities of the apartheid bureaucracy, such as the "pass" offices. Student councils, particularly the ones in Soweto, called consumer, bus and school boycotts and forced the regime's puppet black municipal councils to resign. In 1977, they called a rent strike in Soweto which succeeded in getting a rent increase indefinitely postponed.

Black Consciousness and the Soweto Rebellion

During the early 1970s the ANC was a rather moribund organization within South Africa, effectively suppressed by the totalitarian police state. The reviving workers movement of the '70s had no clear political voice. For the first few years it expressed itself largely in terms of industrial demands. It was in this near-vacuum of black political organization that the youth of 1976 came to be inspired by the viewpoint of Black Consciousness.

The Black Consciousness Movement originated among black college and seminary students in the late 1960s in a break with the paternalism of liberal whites in the impotent multiracial organizations of that time. The movement was to a large extent organized and shaped by Steve Biko, whose courageous voice was silenced when South African cops beat him to death in 1977. As in the early stages of the "Black Power" movement in the U.S., the ferment that surrounded the repudiation by these young black leaders of the liberal mainstream held the possibility that they would move in a genuinely anti-capitalist direction. But there was no communist party which could intervene effectively to promote that development: in the U.S., the Spartacist League was too small to break through; in South Africa no such party even existed.

The emphasis of Black Consciousness was on "psychological liberation," the instilling of black pride. Its watchword was "Black man, you are on your own." Whites were to be excluded from "black" politics. Black Consciousness had no place for the white anti-apartheid activists who were beginning to play an important role in the establishment of the new black unions. Thoroughly petty-bourgeois, the movement toyed with utopian schemes for black "economic self-reliance" such as the establishment of black banks and factories. While espousing a vague "black communalism" it included outspoken anti-communists in its ranks.

The Black Consciousness organizations were overwhelmingly black students, clergymen and other professionals. The organization of black workers was never central to their activities. But then, it had little to offer them. While Black Consciousness-inspired students thought it radical to refuse to take a job in the "white man's economy," black workers had no such option.

Nonetheless these militant student youth did grope toward a recognition of the power of black workers. They called four mass work "stayaways" in Soweto in 1976. The first was in significant measure a youth initiative which they sought to enforce by blocking transport out of Soweto. The second gained widespread support among Soweto residents, but the failure of the students to involve the migrant workers living in their separate hostels triggered a bloody rampage by the migrants. In the third, a large section of the migrants had been won over, but the fourth, an attempt at a five-day stayaway, the longest so far, failed as the community was hard-pressed to survive yet another stayaway and the bosses' associations clamped down, threatening to fire all who took part.

The Road to Workers Power

The main lesson that has been drawn from the Soweto stayaways is that youth must seek to work more closely with workers, not try to impose labor actions on them. But the problems of 1976 go deeper, to the nature of the stayaway tactic itself. In 1976-77, few blacks were unionized. The students could pull off mass actions, but they had no perspective of building worker organizations that would have power not just in the segregated townships but at the point of production, in the "white man's economy." While some student leaders imagined that spreading stayaways could make the government fall by paralyzing the economy, the stayaways, being called for a limited time set in advance, were more labor demonstrations than strikes. Mobilizing workers by township rather than by factory and industry, the stayaways left workers vulnerable to scabbing and dismissal. Thus during 1977 the Soweto rebellion died out having failed to find the road to workers power.

Nonetheless, following the year of fire and ash there emerged, at first slowly and then explosively, a young, combative and potentially powerful black and coloured (mixed-race) movement from the docks of Cape Town and Durban to the auto plants of the Eastern Cape and the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. Many former Black Consciousness radicals were drawn into the black union movement, and indeed became leaders of it—for example, Cyril Ramaphosa, head of the powerful National Union of Mineworkers. And in general graduates of the class of '76 play major roles in the present anti-apartheid struggles: for example, Patrick Lekota, a principal spokesman for the ANC-backed United Democratic Front.

While most of the young radicals of '76 have since abandoned student-youth vanguardism and Black Consciousness in its pure form, they remain imbued with a nationalist outlook that is counterposed to proletarian revolution and to building a communist vanguard party. Thus it is in good measure due to the influence of former Black Consciousness activists that South Africa's powerful black workers movement remains politically shackled to petty-bourgeois nationalism, principally the ANC with its program for building a "democratic, nonracial" South Africa in collaboration with "progressive" white capitalists like Anglo American head Gavin Relly. To break the chains of apartheid slavery, the black workers movement, leading behind it all the oppressed, must fight for its own class power. Key to the South African revolution is forging a Bolshevik party which will unite black African, coloured, Indian and white communists in the struggle for a black-centered workers government. ■

ANC

Workers unite with students in Johannesburg march to protest Soweto massacre.

Funds for Nicaragua Urgently Needed!

Embattled Nicaragua needs dollars for everything from military defense to spare parts to medicine. Last spring, after the U.S. decreed a trade embargo against Nicaragua, the Spartacus Youth League collected over $25,000 from students, workers and leftists in this country. We now appeal again for donations to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution. Reagan's "contra congress" has approved $100 million in aid to the anti-Sandinista terrorists; the U.S. plans to use Green Berets to train contra commanders in their counter-revolutionary campaign of assassination, torture and sabotage against the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. We say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Make checks payable to: Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua. Mail to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Your dollars can help crush the contras.

Popular "Nicabutton" raised $$$ to defend Nicaraguan Revolution.

Who Killed the Hormel Strike

A year after Austin, Minnesota meatpackers went on strike against union-busting "takebacks," the scabherding labor tops of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) have "settled" with Hormel: 900 members of Local P-9 lost their jobs to the hundreds of scabs who were escorted into the plant under the guns of the National Guard.

The strike was knifed in March, when the UFCW traitors withdrew sanction and the local leadership consolidated around a program of defeat. Then the International moved in to finish off the job they started when the strike began—the smashing of the militant P-9. This scab contract is a victory for Hormel, the scabs, the UFCW International and the capitalist state. And now with an upcoming National Labor Relations Board representation election at Hormel, there may be *no union* in Austin.

For months the Hormel strike was a beacon to hundreds of thousands of workers across the country who were inspired by P-9's roving pickets and their fight against the AFL-CIO labor traitors. After years of having concessions rammed down their throats by the labor bureaucracy in exchange for a seat on the company board, after seeing PATCO isolated and abandoned to Reagan's ax, finally someone was calling the labor tops like UFCW president William Wynn by their right name—scab!

The Wynn gang smashed the militant P-9 local to enforce their wage-slashing givebacks in the meatpacking industry. They collaborated openly with Hormel and the bosses' government, even sending scab UFCW "organizers" into the Austin plant as soon as the National Guard troops sent in by Democratic Party "friend of labor" governor Rudy Perpich opened up the plant in late January.

The striking meatpackers and all workers who were rooting for P-9 to win are asking themselves: who killed the Hormel strike? The courageous P-9ers were up against a solid front of the bosses, the capitalist state and their own union tops, but they had the guts to fight. What they didn't have was a *leadership with the program to win*. The local P-9 leadership, under President James Guyette, put their faith in the liberal pressure tactics, civil disobedience and consumer boycott of Ray Rogers' Corporate Campaign Inc. and

AFL-CIO News

UFCW International president William Wynn.

the National Rank and File Against Concessions (NRFAC), who betrayed the militant Hormel strikers.

Unlike the host of fake socialists who tailed NRFAC, the Spartacist League fought for the program to *win*. At the moment when the fate of the strike hung in the balance, we wrote:

> "But the call for a consumer boycott against Spam and Dinty Moore Stew is a diversion from the crucial struggle to *shut down Hormel*. Twin Cities auto workers, Iowa meatpackers, Chicago newspaper strikers—labor organizations from all over the Upper Midwest must mobilize to flood Austin with thousands of unionists who can send the scabs scurrying! There must be political strike action to beat back the National Guard strikebreaking!"
> —*WV* No. 396, 31 January

Faced with the mobilization of the National Guard, NRFAC, Guyette and Rogers *retreated* from any attempts to shut down the Austin plant, where the future of the strike lay. Increasingly, "Support P-9" became a traveling road show, instead of hard class struggle *in Austin*. NRFAC leaders like Dave Foster, a leader of a Steelworkers local in Minneapolis, refused to mobilize the ranks of their own union locals for fear of angering the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

WV Photos

Levison/Minneapolis Star and Tribune

For months militant Hormel meatpackers battled bosses, scabs, National Guard and strikebreaking union tops.

The strike came to a head in March, when the UFCW International removed the strike's sanction and began its takeover of the local. The P-9 leadership then decisively rejected labor struggle, turning instead to *suing the union in the bosses' courts*, which will only *increase* government control of the unions. And while NRFAC leaders, following the political program of the reformist Communist Labor Party, channeled "P-9 support" work into harmless consumer boycotts and "moral witness" civil disobedience, Hormel, the cops and the UFCW were not appeased. At an April 11-12 protest and march in Austin, P-9ers were beaten and arrested by scores of riot cops. On May 8 the UFCW International moved to put P-9 in trusteeship, and under a judge's order the Wynn gang occupied the Austin Labor Center on June 2. The response of Guyette/NRFAC? To file an NLRB petition for the *decertification of the UFCW* and its replacement with "Original P-9" (since renamed the North American Meat Packers Union, NAMPU). The ballot will include a choice of *no union*, a serious danger in a plant with 1,100 scabs.

Fake-Lefts Cover for Hormel Betrayal

We told the truth to the Hormel strikers: that to win required mobilization of Midwest labor to take the plant and drive out the National Guard, not calling on housewives to "cram your Spam"; that the strike was defeated in March, when it was knifed by the UFCW traitors and the P-9 leadership consolidated around a program of defeat; and dragging the labor movement into the bosses' courts and labor boards can only help the capitalist class to smash working-class struggle. In contrast, a host of fake socialists, either through their *open* support to the UFCW strikebreakers, or tailing behind Corporate Campaign/NRFAC's reliance on liberal pressure and the capitalist state instead of mobilizing the power of the working class, betrayed the Hormel strikers.

The most slavish of Wynn's "socialist" supporters has been the reformist Communist Party. The CP was, and remains, "left-wing" apologists for the scabherding UFCW tops, attacking the P-9 strikers for months as "divisive" and "anti-union," while calling for "unity" with the strikebreaking Perpich! In a particularly obscene piece, CP labor reporter Bill Dennison praised Wynn & Co. in signing up the 600 *scabs* who entered the plant beginning in January, while P-9 strikers were being beaten and arrested on the picket line (*People's Daily World*, 26 July). In fact, the UFCW's organizers are scabs Wynn sent into the plant in February to break the strike!

In what must be close to an all-time record in reformist cynicism the CP, which sided with the scabherding UFCW International and the strikebreaking National Guard, turned around and attacked P-9 for...taking the UFCW to court! "Honest differences over strategy between trade unionists are not carried this far by anyone who has workers' interests at heart" (*Political Affairs*, April 1986). Marxists oppose the reformist practice of dragging the labor movement into the bosses' courts, thereby shackling the unions to the capitalist state. But for years the CP has backed reformist hustlers who have appealed to the bourgeois courts and the U.S. Department of Labor against (to name only a few) the United Mine Workers, the National Maritime Union and the Steelworkers union. The only "principle" working here for the CP is their unswerving loyalty to the labor bureaucracy and their masters in the Democratic Party, the party of Taft-Hartley, the Vietnam War and the MOVE massacre.

The now virulently anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party has tailed Guyette all the way to the labor board and the federal courthouse. The SWP is aggressively promoting NAMPU's decertification drive, both in Austin and throughout the industry. These reformists, who began "supporting" the Hormel strike by censoring P-9's criticisms of the UFCW traitors, continue to flee from the hard fight against the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. The SWP's *Militant* of 29 August headlines, "Hormel workers continue the struggle," glorifying the decertification drive and the consumer boycott, while covering up for Guyette/NRFAC's betrayals.

Each in their own way, the CP and SWP have been *consistently* reformist. Not so for the political liars and bandits of the Workers League, whose "program" is not even consistent opportunism—but rather a series of lies and zigzags. David North's WL felt sure they were going to hit the reformist big time by hitching their star to the P-9 leadership's wagon. When Guyette consolidated around the consumer boycott and suing the union after the UFCW withdrew its strike sanction in March, the WL hailed this as "a great step forward for the entire labor movement." They told workers to look to the bureaucracy and away from labor struggle, demanding "the AFL-CIO and UFCW sanction and organize the nationwide boycott of Hormel products launched by the Austin strikers last month." Then they bombastically proclaimed: "The Hormel strike is the forerunner of the mass movement of the American working class against the capitalist system" (*Bulletin*, 18 March).

And when we told the *truth* about the P-9 leadership's betrayal, North & Co. went berserk. They claimed *Workers Vanguard* "totally distorted and slandered as a surrender" P-9's strategy of continuing the strike "through sit-in demonstrations in front of the plant and corporate offices, through the consumer boycott, and through a court suit filed against the International" (*Bulletin*, 1 April). For David North, P-9's "great step forward" lasted all of two weeks. The WL made an about-face and "discovered" that NRFAC leaders

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WV Photo

P-9 leader James Guyette.

Contra Connection...

(continued from page 1)

today as head of the World Anti-Communist League the chief "private" fund-raiser for the contras, calls the uproar a "smokescreen" to obscure the "real issue"—what Reagan calls "Sandino-Communism." In fact, Democratic Party liberals have tried to get around the charge of being "soft on communism" by pointing to the contras' drug trafficking, gunrunning and money laundering. It's all true, of course, though hardly a Republican monopoly. Large-scale drug dealing by U.S. puppets goes back to the Vietnam War and beyond. From LBJ's Meo "general" Vang Pao and Saigon Marshal Ky to the Afghan mujaheddin leaders Reagan receives in the White House, opium is the religion of these people.

But the M.O. of the present gang in Washington, which claims the Soviet Union is an "evil empire," is to charge everyone on its "enemies list" with its own crimes. For Reagan, no lie is too big. Appealing for contra aid in March, in addition to claiming the Sandinistas were trying to "export revolution" to Brazil and had firebombed Jewish synagogues in Nicaragua, he charged that "top Nicaraguan government officials are deeply involved in drug trafficking." Brasilia expressed annoyance at this Reaganite fantasy, it turned out Managua's only synagogue was destroyed under Somoza, and the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) reported that "no evidence was developed to implicate the minister of the interior or other Nicaraguan officials." Later the administration conceded that drug traffickers "have tried to establish connections" with the contras and that some "may have engaged in such activity" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 April).

So what's behind the government smokescreen? In his March appeal Reagan held up a photo allegedly showing a Sandinista official present at a transshipment of Colombian drugs at a Nicaraguan airport. This "proof" first surfaced in July 1984 when the White House leaked it to the Moonies' *Washington Times*. The DEA named Frederico Vaughan, allegedly Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomás Borge's "right-hand man," as the Sandinista mystery man. The photographer was one Barry Seal, whose career was detailed in a lengthy article in the *Village Voice* (1 July). In 1972, this former Special Forces pilot was discharged by TWA after being indicted for plotting to ship explosives to anti-Castro terrorists in Mexico. From 1977 to 1982 Seal smuggled marijuana from Ecuador and Colombia to Louisiana. Facing a drug rap, he offered his services to the DEA and flew cocaine from Colombia to Las Vegas, having arranged for the feds to seize both plane and cargo. Barry Seal was a flying narc, a dangerous occupation.

Seal was scheduled to testify against Colombian drug kingpins, who reportedly put a $500,000 price on his head, but last February 19 he was gunned down in Baton Rouge. One of the weapons used reportedly came from a Miami gun shop and contra meeting place owned by a suspected drug dealer and member of "Brigade 2506," the surviving *gusanos* from the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. As for Frederico Vaughan, the U.S. never made any effort to extradite him from Nicaragua. The Sandinistas, meanwhile, deny that Vaughan was ever a "top official" or has even worked for the Nicaraguan government at all since 1982.

Taylor/Black Star

Wohl/Sygma

Contra leaders (from left) Arturo Cruz, Alfonso Robelo and Adolfo Calero raise blood money in Miami. Inset: contra slits throat of Nicaraguan prisoner.

Reagan's Contra Band

In fact, there are plenty of Nicaraguans involved in drug running, but they're connected with the contras' UNO (United Nicaraguan Opposition), as in "looking out for Numero..." Late last year it was reported that "Nicaraguan rebels operating in northern Costa Rica have engaged in cocaine trafficking, in part to help finance their war against Nicaragua's leftist government." According to the *Washington Post* (27 December 1985), "the smuggling involves individuals from the largest of the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary, or contra, groups, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE), as well as a splinter group known as M3." FDN and ARDE are both part of UNO, the umbrella group designated to receive Reagan's $100 million in contra aid.

Hosefros/NY Times

June 16: Reagan welcomes counter-revolutionary Afghan mullahs to White House.

This spring the *San Francisco Examiner* (16 March) broke open the spectacular "Frogman Case." In 1983, federal agents seized 430 pounds of cocaine as divers tried to unload it from a Colombian freighter at San Francisco's Pier 96. Subsequently, Carlos Cabezas and Julio Zavala were convicted for smuggling in federal court, but the records were sealed because they involved "classified operations." Cabezas, a former Somoza air force man, testified that the profits from the cocaine deals "belonged to...the contra revolution." Zavala actually produced letters from contra leaders saying $36,020 in drug money seized by the government was for "the reinstatement of democracy in Nicaragua." The money was returned.

Zavala's lawyer claimed that "agents of the United States government" had "either sanctioned use of cocaine trafficking to raise funds for contra revolutionary activity" or led him to believe it was approved. A CIA spokesman in response issued a classic "non-denial denial": "I would find it difficult to believe the United States would sanction anything like that." Zavala was working with Horacio Pereira in Costa Rica, and claims he delivered $500,000 to the treasurer for the UDN-FARN contra organization of Fernando "El Negro" Chamorro. In June, Costa Rican courts sentenced Pereira to 12 years for drug trafficking. Earlier, in April, Adolfo Chamorro of ARDE was arrested as he illegally entered Costa Rica and was being "investigated for drug trafficking" (*Daily News*, 25 April). He was later sent back to the U.S.

U.S. deputy secretary of state Elliot Abrams testified to Congress in March that, after checking with the DEA, "there is absolutely no evidence...of any involvement with drugs by the FDN," the leading contra group, while admitting "there was an accusation involving another group." However, the *San Francisco Examiner* (23 June) reported that Norwin Meneses Cantero, the brother of the former Managua chief of police under Somoza, admittedly trafficked in cocaine while acting as a host for FDN fundraising parties in the Bay Area and Los Angeles. Among his drug runners were three FDN members, including its SF representative Renato Pena-Cabrera, convicted on cocaine charges in 1985.

In May, National Public Radio journalist Tony Avirgan and his wife, journalist Martha Honey, filed a $23.8 million suit against 30 individuals charging that they had smuggled weapons and drugs on behalf of the contras and were involved in the bungled plot to assassinate rival contra leader Edén Pastora, on the outs with the CIA. Avirgan and Honey were injured (eight were killed) by a bomb planted at a Pastora press conference in 1984. Named in the suit are Adolfo Calero, leader of UNO and the FDN; WACL head General Singlauh; former CIA training director of clandestine operations Thomas Clines; and Tom Posey, head of the Alabama-based Civilian Military Assistance group. The suit alleges that John Hull, an American who has been identified in the press as CIA representative to the contras, and others received money from Colombian drug dealers who refueled their planes on the airstrip on Hull's ranch in northern Costa Rica.

And the list goes on...

"Free World" Narco-Terrorism

"I can't imagine members of Congress wanting to commit the United States to providing an additional $100 million over a period of a year and a half to groups that are alleged to be involved in drug smuggling and gun running and other criminal activity," said Democratic Congressman Michael Barnes (UPI, 11 April). This proves only that Barnes doesn't have much imagination. For the liberals, exposés about contra theft, drug and gunrunning by Reagan's "brothers," are more indications that the contras are a gang of corrupt losers who haven't got a prayer of winning against the Sandinista militia or army troops. But the Democrats as well see Central America as the front line of the anti-Soviet war drive. They regularly authorized Reagan's contra aid until it became too embarrassing with an electurate that still remembers Vietnam, and then supported "humanitarian" aid for this gang of murderers and rapists. Now the Democratic-controlled House and Republican-controlled Senate have joined hands in supporting "free world" terrorism in Central America.

The Democrats don't think *all* drug smuggling is bad, of course. Consider Afghanistan. In February a State Department report to Congress described the "Golden Crescent" of Afghanistan and bordering areas of Pakistan as "the world's leading source of illicit heroin exports to the United States and Europe." And the producers and traffickers are none other than the Islamic guerrillas who are fighting a *jihad* (holy war) against Soviet troops and the Moscow-backed Kabul government. The CIA's feudalist reactionaries oppose land reform and shoot teachers as communists for instructing little girls how to read. A *New York Times* (18 June) article on a trip through rebel areas of Afghanistan reported extensive opium growing "in every village and town.""We must grow and sell opium to fight our holy war against the Russian nonbelievers," said a mujaheddin leader.

Don't hold your breath for any Congressional hearings on drug running by the Afghan contras, however. Already under Jimmy Carter, the Democrats were backing the mullah-led rebels, who reportedly receive more than $250 million annually from the CIA. Washington routinely rejects reports of mujaheddin trafficking as Soviet "disinformation." When pound bars of hashish showed up in the Bay Area with a gold stamp saying, "Smoke Russia Away," this was dismissed as a "marketing gimmick" by California growers. They had more trouble explaining it away when DEA agents in Karachi, Pakistan seized a shipment of 17 tons of Afghan hash stamped "Freedom for Afghanistan" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 June). But it's all part of the anti-Soviet "fight for freedom," you see.

This is nothing new. During the Vietnam War, the CIA organized some 30,000 Laotian Meo (Hmong) tribesmen in a "secret army" headed by General Vang Pao to "fight communism." The U.S. "in effect subsidized and facilitated the marketing of the Meo's traditional crop...the CIA subsidized Vietnam Air Transport, whose pilots, including Nguyen Cao Ky, 'took advantage of this situation to fly opium from Laos to Saigon'" (James Pinckney Harrison, *The Endless War: Vietnam's Struggle for Independence* [1982]). Other CIA outfits involved in this drug trafficking from the Lao-Thai-Burmese border area were Civil Air Transport, Air Asia, Southern Air Transport, Bird Air and Air America, widely known as "Air Opium." Ky's defense: "every [one was]...involved in it in Vietnam during the war, the soldiers, the air force, the marines, the navy, the government."

Ky certainly isn't alone: the Duvaliers in Haiti, General Stroessner in Paraguay, Somoza in Nicaragua, Batista in Cuba, the Kuomintang in China—scratch an American puppet and you'll find a big-time drug trafficker. Talk about a truly "evil empire"—in Reagan's America, "right to life" means bombing abortion clinics, "right to work" means union-busting. The Reagan/Meese "war on drugs" is equally Orwellian. The biggest drug pushers in the world are the *allies* of U.S. imperialism in an insane but very real drive toward war with the Soviet Union. It took a revolution to smash the drug traffickers and pimps who once ran cities like Shanghai, Havana and Saigon. It will take no less here. ■

Stop INS McCarthyite Deportation!

Residency for Margaret Randall!

The Reagan/Meese thought police have struck again. On August 28 in El Paso, Texas, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) judge Martin F. Spiegel ruled that leftist author Margaret Randall is to be deported from the country of her birth because her writings "advocate the doctrines of world communism." This sinister government witchhunt, based on the McCarthyite 1952 McCarren-Walter Act, is part of a drive to regiment the U.S. population in the anti-Soviet war drive. The labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights must demand residency for Margaret Randall.

Randall, a professor at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, is the author of more than 40 books, many dealing with the struggles of women and Third World social revolutions against imperialism. She left the United States in 1961 and moved to Mexico City, marrying the poet Sergio Mondragón. In order to work, Randall acquired Mexican citizenship through her husband. When she advised the U.S. embassy of this fact, she says, "they literally renounced my American citizenship."

With Mondragón, Randall founded the bilingual literary magazine *El Corno Emplumado* (The Plumed Horn), which denounced the government slaughter of hundreds of protesters at Mexico City's Plaza de Tlatelolco in 1968. She was harassed by the police, and when paramilitary cops broke into her house, taking her passport at gunpoint, the government refused to issue her another. Randall went into hiding, sent her children to Cuba, and then joined them several months later, living there until 1981. After Somoza was overthrown, she was invited to Nicaragua where she conducted the interviews with women which are the basis of her book, *Sandino's Daughters*.

In 1984, Randall returned to Albuquerque on a visitor's visa. She is now married to an American citizen and one of her daughters is likewise a U.S. citizen, but her own application for resident alien status was denied last October by the INS. This ruling has now been upheld in court, and December 1 has been set as the deadline for Randall to leave the country, after which she will be subject to deportation. Randall's lawyers at the Center for Constitutional Rights are appealing the decision.

The INS ruling last October 2 cited the McCarthy-era McCarran-Walter Act. This witchhunting legislation is used by the government to exclude people on the grounds of association with whatever it defines as "communism." A doctoral candidate at the State University of New York (Stony Brook), Choichiro Yatani, once went to an antiwar demonstration in Japan *20 years ago*, so his name went on the blacklist. After a visit home this summer, he was nabbed by the INS and imprisoned for almost two months in a holding pen pending deportation, until a public outcry won his release.

In Randall's case, INS judge Spiegel based his decision on her alleged advocacy of "communism" in *Spirit of the People* (a book about the Vietnam War), *Cuban Women Now* and other books. Randall says, "I do not believe that I've advocated the doctrines of world communism in my writings," but adds, "what if I had?" (During a four-day hearing in March, the INS also wanted to know about Randall's once working in a gay bar, and posing as an artist's model some 25 years ago.) As Randall put it in an interview:

> "I'm to be deported for having spelled America with three K's in the 1960s, for having called the Attica prisoners 'my brothers' during that prison uprising, for being against U.S. policy in Southeast Asia and against U.S. policy in Central America today. These are the kind of things mentioned in the INS decision."
>
> —*The North Star*, Spring 1986

The Center for Constitutional Rights and the ACLU filed a complaint in federal district court last October challenging the INS' refusal to grant Randall's resident visa. Other plaintiffs in the suit include PEN America Center and prominent liberal writers. In a telegram to the INS in April, the Partisan Defense Committee stated, "Vindictive apartheid-like exclusion from land of birth for opposition to U.S. imperialism evinces government assault on democratic and human rights. PDC demands permanent residency for writer Margaret Randall."

In Reagan's America there's plenty of room for anti-communist scum like the Nicaraguan contras, but none for those fleeing death squad terror in "free world" countries like El Salvador. If you're a former Batista cop and gusano like the Cuban "wheelchair poet" Armando Valladares, the door's open wide. But if you are a friend of Fidel Castro like Nobel laureate Gabriel Garcia Márquez, or the widow of Chilean president Salvador Allende assassinated in a U.S.-backed coup, it's slammed shut. Even among the world's many reactionary regimes, Reagan's America stands almost alone with Pinochet's Chile as a land where the native-born can be *stripped of their birthright* and deported for political opinions. Stop the witchhunt against Margaret Randall!

Protests should be sent to Alan C. Nelson, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Room 7100 Chester Arthur Building, 425 I Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20536. To contribute to the defense, send checks made out to "CCR-Randall Case" to the Center for Constitutional Rights, 666 Broadway, New York, NY 10012. ■

Marilyn Humphries

Margaret Randall

Amicus Briefs On Sale

Taking its cue from the White House pulpit and the fundamentalist Christian right, the government is waging war on basic First Amendment rights of separation of church and state, freedom of religious worship and right of political association. As Marxist organizations, the SL and PDC have sought to intervene in the legal arena in defense of these fundamental rights of vital importance to the workers movement and all defenders of democratic rights.

In 1982 Sun Myung Moon, head of the "Unification Church," was convicted of tax evasion and fraud, through the use of a legal device by which the government declared that assets held by Moon for his group were taxable personal property. Moon is a Korean who says he's god, thereby deeply offending white Christian America. So the government denied the Moonies the protections afforded religious organizations, despite Moon's credentials as a right-wing ideologue and financier of counterrevolutionary terror around the world.

Though the Moonies are among our most hitter political enemies, the SL submitted an *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court") brief to the U.S. Supreme Court, opposing the ugly spectre of government intrusion into constitutionally protected activities. The Supreme Court refused to hear the case. Reflected in the Moon case is the government's arrogant declaration of sole authority to determine the legitimacy of a religious organization. The government's treatment of unincorporated associations as legal nonentities presents a grave threat to established rights of voluntary groups organized for every kind of noncommercial purpose from the religious to the political to the recreational.

Currently before the Supreme Court is an appeal of Louisiana's "Balanced-Treatment Act" which mandates the teaching of biblical "creationism" in public schools. The Louisiana law is a prototype of similar legislation under consideration in numerous states, and is a direct threat to the separation of church and state. Along with a wide range of organizations and individuals, the SL and PDC have submitted an *amicus* brief opposing this anti-science, anti-humanist, bible-thumping crusade against "atheistic evolution"—a stalking horse for a political and social agenda shared with reactionaries from the White House to the resurgent Klan and racist murderers across the country. At issue is the preservation of the separation of church and state, a historic demand of the working class and prerequisite for even a modicum of fairness; the gains of the Enlightenment; and the education of future generations.

This legal document discusses the methodology by which the creationists peddle their pseudo-science to wage war on the gains of the American bourgeois revolution of 1776 and the defeat of slavery in the Civil War, and explores the development of these constitutional rights through social struggle.

Now you can get copies of these legal briefs filed by the SL and PDC with the Supreme Court. These should be of interest to legal defense professionals, defenders of science and the First Amendment, and all those concerned with civil liberties in America today. Get your copies. Send $4.00 per copy to Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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A Fair Trial for Daniloff

The case of Nicholas Daniloff has become a major *cause célèbre* of Cold War II. The Moscow correspondent for *U.S. News & World Report*, he was picked up by the KGB on August 30 after meeting secretly with an alleged Soviet "dissident" and accepting a package which turned out to contain photographs and maps marked "TOP SECRET." Now Reagan has cranked up the hysteria machine, baldly asserting that Daniloff is "innocent" and his arrest is an "outrage." The *New York Times* screamed that he is an American citizen taken "hostage" by the Russians and demanded the U.S. retaliate.

If Daniloff didn't at least provide "tips" to the local CIA station chief or U.S. intermediaries, he'd be a rare bird among American correspondents in Moscow. And if he thinks the rules governing journalists are different in the West, he'd do well to have a chat with Samuel Loring Morison, the civilian naval analyst and American editor of the authoritative British journal, *Jane's Defence Weekly*. Morison was prosecuted by the U.S. government and convicted of espionage for leaking a harmless Western satellite photo of a Soviet naval shipyard which was published in *Jane's*, a prime resource for Western military analysts. Now Morison is being treated as if he'd smuggled photos of American military installations to the Russians.

Is Daniloff a spy? Well, if we believe what we read in the *New York Times* ("The Bolsheviks' Prisoner," 9 September), the man is so convoluted and conflicted that he could be working for *anybody*.

Daniloff is the grandson of a Russian tsarist general, and anti-Bolshevism is in his blood so to speak. He remembers stories of the Russian civil war, heard from his family—tales of "terror" and of "neighbors who buried their jewels but forgot where they had hidden them" (!). Yet among his ancestors is also a member of the Decembrists, early 19th century revolutionary democrats who organized a celebrated conspiracy against the tsar. Daniloff was reportedly planning to write a book about his Decembrist forebear, a man also honored by the present Soviet government.

The Americans are claiming Daniloff was set up and are demanding his unconditional release without a trial. A Soviet foreign ministry official told Western reporters: "If you think he's innocent, we can learn pretty soon because there's going to be a trial." So let's find out if he's guilty with a fair trial: an open, public trial with a defense counsel of his choice and strictly according to Soviet jurisprudence.

There's a precedent in the 1922 trial of the populist Social Revolutionaries in Lenin's Russia. The SRs had engaged in countless counterrevolutionary conspiracies and carried out an assassination campaign against Soviet leaders in which Lenin was wounded. Yet they were tried in the full light of the international community. Indeed prominent Western social democrats were among their defense counsels, a concession which at the time Lenin felt was unwarranted. Alfred Rosmer in his book *Lenin's Moscow* reported: "The accused defended themselves energetically throughout the trial and were given complete freedom to do so." The treatment of the SRs in 1922 contrasted sharply with the 1931 trial of the Mensheviks, the first of the infamous Stalinist frame-ups.

Whether Daniloff is guilty or not, U.S. imperialism is using the case to fuel its war drive against the Soviet Union. Pentagon chief Weinberger "considers the arrest of Mr. Daniloff so outrageous that he says the Soviet Union should be punished now" (*New York Times*, 7 September). But Weinberger and his boss Reagan will find that the Russians are not defenseless little boys. The last man who tried to "punish" the Soviet Union was Hitler, and we all know what happened to him. ■

Bloody U.S. Cops...

(continued from page 1)

hegemony. Hands off Libya! Defend the Soviet Union!

Reagan/Zia's Bloody Massacre in Karachi

With the U.S. already busily fabricating new charges of "Libyan terrorism," the Pan Am hijacking came as a virtual godsend to Reagan. We have repeatedly pointed out that such senseless and criminal acts of indiscriminate terror play into the hands of the Israelis and the biggest terrorists of all—the American imperialists. But this case may have involved more than the delusions of desperate Palestinians mistakenly believing they are striking a blow at the Zionist state that has turned them into people without a land. Hijackers dressed in uniforms like Pakistani airport security personnel drove up in what looked like a police van. And what of the reports in the Indian press that passengers heard them speaking Urdu (a Pakistani language)? To put it mildly, this hijacking was oh-so-convenient for the Reaganauts. Libya accused U.S. and Israeli intelligence agencies of orchestrating it. In any event, those who had the *least* to gain were Qaddafi and the Libyans.

But if the circumstances surrounding the Pan Am hijacking are dubious, the bloody "rescue" effort had the fingerprints of the Reagan administration all over it. After the slaughter, the White House issued a grotesque statement hailing the Pakistanis for acting "boldly and courageously"! The "rescue" was supposed to be modeled after the U.S.-supervised storming of an airliner by Egyptian commandos in Malta last December, in which 57 people were killed. The Karachi hijackers were obviously heavily armed and prepared to kill: early on they shot to death an Indian American from Kenya. Demanding passage to Cyprus where several Arab guerrillas are imprisoned, they pushed back their "final deadline" several times. But in Israeli-style "counterterrorist" operations, there are no negotiations. The Reagan gang runs according to the mercenary slogan, "Kill 'em all and let god sort them out."

AP/Sipa

Medical workers rescue victim of Karachi airline hijacking.

Karachi airport security knew that the Boeing 747's auxiliary power unit was due to fail after 16 hours on the ground. According to the scenario, the lights in the plane would dim and a team of Pakistani commandos would rush the plane. The power unit failed and at about the same time authorities turned off the runway lights—but no commandos! Their commander was reportedly "taking tea" at the time. Kurshid Anwar Mirza, head of the Pakistan Civil Aviation Authority, told reporters that he was about 150 yards from the plane when "suddenly we saw a stream of people coming out" screaming, "They're killing everyone! For God's sake, do something!" Mirza said commandos "'were not in the vicinity' of the plane and that it took 10 to 15 minutes for them to arrive" (*New York Times*, 7 September).

Afterward the Pakistani government complained it wasn't prepared to carry out the operation. So who egged them on? Pan Am and U.S. officials maintained contact with the spokesman of the hijackers through an Arabic-speaking employee: two DEA agents coached the Saudi "interpreter" throughout the day. White House spokesman Larry Speakes said Reagan "had made several specific decisions in response to the hijacking." As usual, they said the U.S.' professional "counterterrorists," the Delta Force, were "on the way." In short, while the Americans are now claiming that it was solely a Pakistani operation, the Pakistanis were clearly taking orders from Washington and the Western White House. One might think that even they would be embarrassed by a commando operation in which the commandos didn't show up. But Reagan got what he wanted: a bloody massacre which he can now "avenge" at the Libyans' expense.

Certainly the Reaganites are hardly concerned about the butchery of civilians here. The Americans on board were overwhelmingly of Indian origin, as were the rest of the passengers, and the lives of brown people weigh very little in Reagan's crusade against communism. So they entrusted the job to Pakistan's General Zia, whose soldiers apparently saw no point in risking their asses to liberate a planeload of mainly Indian Hindus and Sikhs.

The stark fact is the passengers *saved themselves*. Survivors described the scene as a "holocaust," with hijackers firing wildly, children crying and blood spattered everywhere. Still incomplete casualties total 18 dead and at least 100 wounded, and the figures would have been even higher if some quick-thinking individuals hadn't inflated evacuation slides when the gunmen started shooting. Even more than fear of being hijacked, these days air travelers are justifiably scared stiff of being "rescued." (Maybe that's why the Pan Am cockpit crew flew the coop. Whatever happened to the captain staying with the ship?) From civilian Korean Air Lines Flight 007, sent on a spy mission over strategic Soviet military installations, to Pan Am Flight 73 in Karachi, the rulers of the "Free World" consider airline passengers pawns in their Cold War.

Reagan's Terror, Inc. Targets Qaddafi

For the "crime" of defying American imperialism and for being a military client of the Soviet Union, Libya's Qaddafi was chosen by Reagan early on to take the rap for all the world's terrorist incidents. For over five years the U.S. has conducted a vendetta against this small desert country with a

Pinochet Almost Gets His

SEPTEMBER 8—Hated Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet almost got it yesterday, and socialists and class-conscious workers the world over exclaimed, "Oh shit, they just missed the bastard." Guerrillas of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (MRPF), linked to the Chilean Communist Party, attacked the dictator's motorcade with rockets and grenades, killing five bodyguards and wounding ten more. Pinochet responded by declaring a 90-day state of siege, while a spokesman for the MRPF vowed, "We failed, but we won't fail next time."

With the prodding and aid of U.S. imperialism under Nixon and Kissinger, Pinochet rode to power over mountains of corpses, killing at least 30,000 leftists, workers and peasants. The dictatorship sent 100,000 to the hellish concentration camps, and forced ten times that number into exile. Today in the impoverished shantytowns surrounding Santiago, hundreds of thousands of workers are enduring the long nightmare of terror, roundups and mass starvation.

While the assassination of Pinochet would doubtless open up the Chilean political situation, Marxists point out that individual terrorism is no program to free the masses from this brutal capitalist dictatorship, and will be used as an excuse for savage reprisals against the Chilean workers. If the Russian Narodniks who wanted to liberate the peasants by assassinating the tsar were "liberals with bombs," as Lenin called them, the Chilean MRPF are "popular frontists with AKs." Behind their action is the strategy of getting rid of Pinochet, the better to unite with the rest of the general staff, enforcers of the Pinochet dictatorship for the last 13 years!

No to *pinochetismo* without Pinochet! It was the class-collaborationist Allende popular front, with its faith in the "constitutionalist officer corps," which politically and militarily disarmed the workers movement and paved the way to the bloody coup. The goose-stepping generals must be removed by a mass workers struggle for socialist revolution, embodied in our slogan: "Pinochet to the wall—Workers to power!" And if the world's No. 1 bloody dictator and mass murderer dies in bed like Franco, or ends up on Spain's Costa del Sol like some other U.S.-backed despots, the workers movement in Chile and around the world will be bitterly disappointed.

population of under 4 million. The American provocations have been drawn up well in advance—the pretexts fabricated later. The military assaults on Libya earlier this spring were agreed to at top-level meetings attended by Pentagon, White House and intelligence officials in July and December of 1985—*before* the Rome/Vienna airport hijackings and the bombing of the La Belle disco in Berlin that were later cited as pretexts. The Berlin disco was a hangout for American black GIs and foreign (particularly Arab) workers—scarcely a target for Qaddafi.

The current buildup against Qaddafi followed the familiar Reagan M.O.: again according to the *Washington Post*, a series of meetings of the "highly secret Crisis Pre-Planning Group" and National Security Planning Group drew up the scenario. A few weeks later, timed to coincide with Operation Sea Wind, a report is "leaked" to the *Wall Street Journal* (25 August) that "the Pentagon is completing plans" for a "quick, punishing" strike that would "rubble-ize" Libya. The three-pronged program included readying a massive naval strike force prepared to attack Libyan oil terminals; approaching France for a joint military campaign to drive Libyan troops out of neighboring Chad; and payrolling dissident military officers to foment a coup.

When Reagan's UN ambassador Vernon Walters recently toured European capitals, he produced so little "evidence" of Libyan "terrorism" that a German official concluded: "Beating up on Libya is something that's popular with the American electorate" (*New York Times*, 6 September). No doubt Don Regan and the rest of the White House "crisis pre-planners" are eyeing the November elections, but that doesn't mean it's just talk. Picking on what's regarded as a "soft option," the Reaganites are desperate for a cheap victory to restore American military prestige and gear up the U.S. population to "roll back communism" worldwide. While some Congressmen, remembering the 50,000 American GIs shipped home in body bags from Vietnam, flinch at a Central American invasion *right now*, state terrorism against Libya is universally popular among Democrats and Republicans.

Last March, in the aftermath of the first U.S. bombing of Libya, the international Spartacist tendency sent a journalistic team to Tripoli to underline our proletarian solidarity with the victims of imperialist aggression. Today again, defense of Libya against U.S. imperialism is an urgent responsibility for the international workers movement, as supposed "Soviet surrogates" are targeted as stepping stones toward anti-Soviet nuclear war.

Yesterday's Ronbo: Imperialist bully Teddy Roosevelt swaggers through Caribbean.

Reaganite "Aircraft Carrier Diplomacy"

Noting the massive U.S. naval intervention in the Gulf of Sidra last spring, the foreword to the 1986-87 edition of *Jane's Fighting Ships* (the authoritative reference book on the world's navies) commented that "modern gunboat diplomacy" is taking on increasing global importance. Back in March, a Soviet foreign ministry spokesman condemned the U.S.' "act of piracy," declaring that "the United States has turned to so-called aircraft-carrier diplomacy" to blackmail Libya into toeing the "Free World" line (UPI, 25 March). The Sixth Fleet's "warm-up" for its invasion of the Gulf of Sidra was a brazen penetration of Soviet territorial waters near the major Black Sea naval installation of Sevastopol. *Izvestia* (23 March) quoted Red Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin noting that "this time, we showed patience and restraint." The Soviets would have been entirely within their rights to have blown those Navy warships out of the water.

This fall, while three American aircraft carrier battle groups are menacing Libya, the U.S. Navy is staging provocative military maneuvers even closer to Soviet home. The carrier *Vinson* was part of a battle group off the Soviet Far East conducting "the largest U.S. Navy exercise in the Bering Sea since World War II" (*Washington Post*, 30 August), not far from a key Soviet submarine base at Petropavlovsk on the Kamchatka Peninsula. Meanwhile, NATO exercises are being held off the coast of Norway, near key Soviet naval/air installations on the Kola Peninsula. And this month the battleship *New Jersey* is reported to be part of a U.S. battle group scheduled for more "exercises" in the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk, the region where KAL Flight 007 intruded into Soviet airspace in 1983.

In the classic style of Cold War brinkmanship, Washington is engaged in a deadly game of "nuclear chicken," hoping to terrorize the Russians into abject capitulation. Meanwhile, in the "back yard" of the American Empire, Reagan is going around proclaiming U.S. "super-sovereignty" like he was back in the days of Teddy Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, when the Great White Fleet cruised around the Caribbean establishing American protectorates and installing the Batistas and Somozas who tyrannized workers and peasants for decades. Now in the name of "drug wars" American soldiers are once again slashing and burning their way through Latin America. On April 8, Reagan signed a National Security Decision Directive ordering the Pentagon to work with other U.S. agencies and foreign governments in dragnets and airborne assaults by American troops.

In mid-July, "Operation Blast Furnace" was launched in Bolivia, as a task force of U.S. Special Forces moved in supposedly to root out the drug traffickers. The *Navy Times* (1 September) commented: "For some of the American aircrews, Bolivia is the ninth country to which they have been deployed since they got the UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters two years ago." And on August 14, Vice President Bush and Attorney General Meese unveiled "Operation Alliance," entailing hundreds of additional cops, aircraft, and other weaponry to police the Mexican border. The U.S. interventions in Bolivia and Mexico are clearly designed to "soften up" the American public for direct intervention against Sandinista Nicaragua. Even in Peoria, everyone knows that the contras are a bunch of losers who are only good for murdering teachers and destroying day-care centers. From Libya to Grenada, the Pentagon planners want an "easy win." But as one of the main architects of the Vietnam War, McGeorge Bundy, noted, Nicaragua is to Grenada as a hand grenade to a marshmallow.

Emerging victorious from World War II after A-bombing defenseless Japanese civilians, U.S. imperialism proclaimed the coming of the "American century." However, the drive to run the world according to the dictates of Washington and Wall Street was checked by the extension of deformed workers states into Eastern Europe, the development of Soviet nuclear weapons and the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Still, the U.S. was able to act as a gendarme policing the "Free World"—e.g., the 1954 CIA coup against the nationalist Arbenz government in Guatemala, the CIA's 1961 assassination of Patrice Lumumba, leader of the independence struggle in the Congo. Then came Vietnam. This was supposed to be the big victory over Communist insurgency. Instead the "American century" was buried in the swamps of Indochina, as the American people lost any stomach for Third World military adventures (the "Vietnam syndrome").

Now Reagan wants to reassert America's role as cops of the world. No pretext is too flimsy, no provocation too dangerous for the Reagan gang flexing its military muscle around the globe. The U.S. imperialists are tugging on the trip wires for a thermonuclear World War III. They can only be answered by revolutionary class struggle. The working people of America, united with their class brothers around the world, must rise to their historic mission and disarm the bloody imperialists through proletarian revolution. ■

Hormel...

(continued from page 7)

"offered the Hormel boycott campaign as a substitute for any real struggle" (*Bulletin*, 18 April). Within two months the WL, having denounced us for our opposition to suing the union, was now attacking Guyette for the "disastrous mistake" of appealing to the union-busting NLRB to decertify the UFCW (*Bulletin*, 10 June)!

The Workers League doesn't expect to convince serious militants with these kinds of wild gyrations—on the contrary, their lies and zigzags are designed to weed out anyone with anything resembling a backbone. Having last year dumped their deeply corrupt and morally bankrupt godfather, Gerry Healy, North & Co. continue the famous Healyite "method" based on conscious cynicism—about the working class and their own membership.

The bosses, the National Guard, the Democratic Party machine and the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy can be beaten. But to win it takes the kind of struggle waged by the Minneapolis Teamsters in 1934, under a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership. They defeated the backstabbing Teamsters International tops and the bosses, troops and courts by mobilizing labor under a class-struggle program—not by relying on, but by warning *against* trust in the capitalist state. The key to victory in that battle was its Trotskyist leadership, which the government finally jailed under the anti-communist Smith Act as the U.S. entered the second imperialist world war. That is the heritage taken up by the Spartacist League: the fight to forge a revolutionary workers party, committed to the emancipation of the working class and all the oppressed through socialist revolution. ■

Soweto Massacre...

(continued from page 12)

South Africa's oppressed blacks lies not in the townships but as workers in the white-owned factories and mines. And the enforced ghettoization of the black majority must be fought as a strategic part of the struggle for workers power. It is very important for revolution in South Africa that the racist butchers *not* be able to unleash their bombs and cordon off entire cities without affecting any whites.

The call by the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the ANC to "make the country ungovernable" is *not* aimed to overthrow the apartheid state. Rather it is a means of pressure for a "power-sharing" deal with the "progressive" section of the white capitalist class such as Gavin Relly, head of the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing conglomerate. This is linked internationally with the ANC's campaign for economic sanctions by South Africa's main imperialist allies, Reagan's America and Thatcher's Britain. Of course, a "power-sharing" government which includes Nelson Mandela and Gavin Relly, the biggest super-exploiter of black labor on the African continent, will *never* come about. But this utopian program of class collaboration dangerously diverts the black toilers from revolutionary struggle against apartheid capitalism.

It is not just that the black proletariat has the strategic power to cripple the economy as was demonstrated dramatically by general strikes this May Day and again on June 16. Only the program of socialist revolution leading to a black-centered workers government, ensuring a decent life for all the toilers in southern Africa, can weld together the oppressed black African, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian masses, and can neutralize and win over a section of the privileged white caste. To achieve this the black and coloured working class must be broken from all forms of petty-bourgeois nationalism and organized to lead all of the oppressed in the struggle against apartheid. This in turn requires the forging of a Bolshevik party in South Africa—modeled on the party Lenin built in tsarist Russia—uniting black African, coloured, Indian and white communists. Under the banner of South African Bolshevism the black masses will avenge the martyred dead of the Soweto massacres. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Khumalo/Johannesburg Star

Magubane/Time

Soweto, August 27—Victims of racist police state lie dead in streets strewn with debris from barricades erected to defend rent strike.

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

Soweto Massacre 1986

Soweto 1976—South African police kill hundreds of protesting black student youth. Soweto, August 1986—Police open fire on protesters trying to prevent the eviction of rent strikers: "The police are shooting left and right. They just shot an old man. They are shooting at everyone, everything," was the anguished cry heard by a reporter over the phone.

The 1976 Soweto massacre became a symbol of racist atrocity the world over. At the same time, the mass protests and "stayaway" strike of that year opened up a decade of anti-apartheid struggle. Most important was the emergence of a young, combative and potentially powerful black workers movement. Today, after two years of continuous black revolt, South Africa stands on the razor's edge. The white supremacist rulers are preparing to crush the black revolt in a massive bloodbath. They must be smashed by the superexploited and oppressed toilers.

The Soweto massacre of 1986 points to the terrible danger of a South African holocaust. When on August 26 the puppet township officials—known as "blackjacks"—tried to evict rent strikers in the White City section, militants barricaded the area using junked cars, garbage containers, burning tires and tree trunks. Then the police moved in with armored cars and shotguns, and the killing began. It lasted for hours. "We hardly slept last night as police moved from yard to yard shooting," one White City resident told reporters. Courageously Soweto blacks fought back, hurling stones at the cops. The death toll for blacks was at least 24, over 70 were wounded. It was by far the worst bloodletting in Soweto since 1976.

The next morning reporters touring White City saw dead lying in streets patrolled by armored vehicles rolling over the burned-out debris of the barricades. They encountered the relatives of the victims, numbed and devastated by the sudden loss of their loved ones. One man thought his brother was safe with friends only to find his corpse in the street. "Godfrey was the last of my family left. Now, I am all alone." So fearful of black anger were the racist butchers that they *banned* any public funeral for the victims. But black Soweto remained defiant in the face of police attacks on the mourners. When they tried to bury their martyrs two weeks later, the *New York Times* (5 September) reported, "witnesses from the township of more than two million near Johannesburg told of daylong turmoil as blacks tried to congregate at a stadium, at churches and at cemeteries to hold funerals for victims of the violence last week." Tens of thousands honored the call for a stayaway strike.

Botha's "Emergency" Doesn't Quell Black Revolt

On June 12 South Africa's white racist rulers declared a "state of emergency" to head off "radical and revolutionary elements." They've since arrested 12,000 anti-apartheid fighters, including many trade-union leaders. Just get the scenes of turmoil in the townships off American TV screens, Pretoria's spokesmen claimed, and the black unrest would die out. The Western media have cooperated with the apartheid state by self-censoring the news from South Africa.

Yet the black revolt has continued with full force. Just a few days after the "emergency" the economy was crippled by the biggest stayaway strike in South African history to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising of June 16. The economically vital mining industry was hit by strikes and slowdowns demanding the release of the imprisoned union leaders. Mass student strikes and demonstrations, including by white university students, have defied the racist police state. And millions of blacks are engaged in rent strikes.

The raw material certainly exists for a prerevolutionary situation. What is desperately and urgently needed in South Africa is a communist vanguard party which can channel the many-sided upsurge against apartheid into the struggle for workers power. But in the absence of such a struggle, the white supremacists could restore the social peace of the graveyard.

The White City massacre, for example, was carried out to break a rent strike. Such rent strikes have been at the very heart of the two-year-long black revolt. What is involved is not simply the refusal of blacks to pay anymore for squalid, unlivable hovels in places like White City. This housing is state-owned, and rents are the *main source of revenue* for the white racist regime's puppet township councils. Thus rent strikes are a weapon against the apartheid state, the financial counterpart to direct attacks on its black agents symbolized by the feared "necklace"—the burning tire used to terminate police spies and other collaborators.

Striking unionists demand release of metal workers leader Moses Mayekiso, imprisoned under Botha's "state of emergency."

Every day the township puppets lose half a million dollars from rent strikes carried out by three million blacks across South Africa. Roughly half the households in Soweto—the largest city in southern Africa—are refusing in this way to pay for Botha's "blackjacks." An American journalist writing from Soweto observed: "For the government, the rent strike is both a challenge to its authority and one of the black activists' most effective steps yet to make the country ungovernable in their fight against apartheid" (*Los Angeles Times*, 28 August).

However, as long as the awesome military power of the white-supremacist state remains intact, the isolated and segregated black townships cannot be made "ungovernable" for very long. The Botha regime has been moving to break the rent strikes through mass evictions. In Crossroads, a squatter community near Cape Town, Botha's black "vigilantes" burned out whole neighborhoods, leaving some 80-100,000 people homeless. With the black townships designed for civil war, laid out like giant concentration camps encircled by highways and "free-fire zones," what happened in White City on the night of August 26-27 could happen again and again, and on a far larger scale. After touring this area, Winnie Mandela, a spokesman for the nationalist African National Congress (ANC) and wife of its long-imprisoned and heroic leader, Nelson Mandela, exclaimed: "It's an ominous sign of times ahead and the beginning of what we fear."

However, the ANC's call to "make the country ungovernable" and for "people's power" in the townships *politically disarms* the black masses before the regime's preparations for a bloodbath. Apartheid cannot be overthrown from bases deliberately designed to protect white-supremacist rule by the residential isolation and segregation of the black population. The power of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 412 | 26 September 1986

Apartheid Capitalism Murders Black Miners

Reininger/Contact

One mile deep into the bowels of the earth where temperatures frequently exceed 120 degrees Fahrenheit, in the Kinross gold mine 60 miles east of Johannesburg, a fire broke out on the morning of September 16, trapping more than 2,000 black miners in the No. 2 shaft. According to civil defense officials, the mine's owners, the General Mining Union Corporation (Gencor), refused to cooperate in rescue efforts. The next day the final toll was 177 miners dead, 172 of whom were black, and 235 injured from the poisonous gases that filled the shaft. It was the worst disaster in the history of South Africa's gold mining industry in whose racist hellholes disease, dismemberment and death of black miners are the handmaiden of apartheid superprofits.

In gold, capitalism finds "the glittering incarnation of the very principle of its own life" (Karl Marx, *Capital*). In the extraction of South Africa's mineral riches one finds the motor force of apartheid and the most brutal expression of its social relations, in which the masses of the world see an intensified reflection of

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Daniloff Case: Reagan's Spy Flop

Reagan Goes Closer to Brink

SEPTEMBER 22—Every year, as the fall diplomatic season approaches, the Reagan gang predictably launches another round of Soviet-bashing. Currently the focus is on a Reagan-Gorbachev summit, and the U.S. bullies figure that if they just slam the Kremlin up against the wall hard enough and often enough, the Russkies will "cry uncle." So last week the U.S. summarily expelled 25 members of the Soviet mission to the United Nations, declaring them *persona non grata* (unwelcome persons) and ordering them to leave the country by October 1. This blatantly illegal action was Washington's petulant backlash for agreeing to release Soviet scientist Gennadi Zakharov, a UN employee arrested on espionage charges in late August, to the custody of the Soviet ambassador in exchange for similar treatment for *U.S. News & World Report* correspondent Nicholas Daniloff, arrested by Moscow on spying charges a week later.

The White House line, immediately echoed by the servile media from the *New York Times* on down, was that Daniloff was a "hostage" who should be immediately released without trial, whereas Zakharov was allegedly a "genuine" spy. "No Daniloff, no summit!" thundered the Oval Office, and above all "no trade." Reagan sent a letter to the Soviet leader alibiing Daniloff, but Gorbachev answered that the correspondent was indeed "a spy caught red-handed." After a few days of dithering by Washington, the two were turned over to their respective embassies, though they still face trials. Suddenly everyone from conservatives

TASS

U.S. heats up Cold War over Daniloff spy case, as Secretary of State Shultz meets with Soviet foreign minister Shevardnadze (right).

William Safire and Evans and Novak to former Carter adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski was complaining that Reagan went "eyeball-to-eyeball" with Gorbachev...and Reagan blinked. "Ronbo" limply replied, "I didn't blink." And to prove it he's going to beat up on some Soviet diplomats.

Even as the Reagan administration heats up Cold War II over the Daniloff case, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is pursing the will o' the wisp of "arms control." At the Stockholm conference on "confidence building measures" the Soviet delegation tentatively agreed to a deal which would raise the hackles on any World War II Hero of the Soviet Union. The agreement would require NATO and the Warsaw Pact to give advance notice of all major land exercises, invite observers to all maneuvers of more than 17,000 troops, and permit signatories to carry out unscheduled "snap inspections." The agreement is limited to Europe, so the Soviets won't get to "inspect" U.S. forces elsewhere; furthermore, it excludes air and sea exercises, allowing the Americans to continue unhindered their frequent provocative maneuvers off the Kola Peninsula and in the Sea of Okhotsk.

Already drooling, the *New York Times* (22 September) noted that such "snap inspections" would have allowed NATO to stage a provocation during the fall 1981 Soviet maneuvers along the Polish frontier aimed at sending a warning against a power grab by Solidarność, the yellow "union" of the Vatican, the CIA and Wall Street bankers. Whatever their practical impact such "détente" measures, far from lessening the risk of war, only embolden the imperialists, who see them as a sign of weakness. The Soviet Union will not be defended through treacherous "disarmament" negotiations with the imperialists, who are seeking a nuclear first strike against the homeland of the October Revolution, but through a return to the internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky, of mobilizing the world proletariat for socialist revolution.

"Nests of Spies"

The arrogance of the Reagan gang reflects the delusions of a mortally wounded imperialism, which still thinks it's master of the world even as it lives on borrowed billions from Japan, and wants to recover from its humiliating defeat in Vietnam by "bloodying" Soviet "surrogates" from Nicaragua to Libya to Angola to directly killing Russians in Afghanistan. Washington's order to the Soviet mission violated agreements going back to the founding of the United Nations in 1945, as UN General Secretary Javier Pérez de Cuéllar insisted. But the U.S. thinks it's the "Leader of the Free World," and everybody else is just supposed to follow orders or else get the Grenada treatment. When American troops stormed the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada in late 1983 they outrageously subjected Soviet-bloc diplomats and their families to demeaning body searches, herding them into a hot box where they were kept for hours under the guns of the 82nd Airborne, and ransacked the Soviet and Cuban embassies and residences.

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North's Workers League Cult Attacks Marxist Spartacists

Lord of the Fleas....8

ET/BT: A Calculated Provocation

Bloodbath Averted

On September 19 at the University of California Berkeley campus, the self-styled "Bolshevik Tendency" carried out a violent provocation against a Spartacist League forum. It was obvious that this provocation was premeditated and carefully orchestrated beforehand. It was no coincidence that this calculated anti-communist assault was aimed at a forum entitled "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!" Raising the BT's obsessive Stalinophobia to a new pitch of shrillness, one of their spokesmen called on during the forum discussion period charged that the SL is "more like the party of Thermidor that came up with the Moscow Trials."

In the same vein, a young woman evidently associated with the semi/ex-Morenoite milieu read from a typewritten sheet to defend the BT against Spartacist "distortions," charging that our recognition of the Soviet Union's right and duty to defend itself militarily, including through constructing a modern nuclear arsenal and making clear its preparedness to use it in response to an imperialist first strike, amounts to "calling for bombing the workers of Detroit." This anti-Soviet diatribe was heartily applauded by the BT. The BT's frenzied anti-communism was translated into the language of physical violence and sinister provocation when the meeting ended.

We print below, in edited form, a statement by Spartacist League Central Committee member Al Nelson at the beginning of the forum held in San Francisco on the night following the BT provocation in Berkeley. In addition to a 25-strong disciplined workers defense guard mobilized to ensure that the meeting would proceed in an orderly and democratic manner, the forum was attended by a satisfying number of widely known leftists and defenders of democratic rights, who responded to our appeal to turn out in answer to the previous night's provocation. Among them were Professor Sam Wellhaum, recently of San Francisco State University; and San Francisco attorney Colleen Butler.

As is traditional at Spartacist forums, lively debate took place during the discussion period. Paul Kangas, a Peace and Freedom Party representative, raised the question of electoralism and SL comrades explained the Marxist fight for the political independence of the working class in response to questions on the current Republican drive to unseat liberal California judge Rose Bird. While 120 people attended the event, the section of chairs reserved for the BT remained empty. In attendance, spirit and political content, the forum was a powerful answer to the previous night's despicable BT provocation, and a reaffirmation that—as SL spokesman Joseph Seymour said in his presentation—"We are the party of the Russian Revolution because we intend to be the party of the American revolution."

* * * * *

My name is Al Nelson, and I'll be chairing the meeting. Before introducing the speaker I would like to take a few minutes to explain the rather extraordinary measures that were taken tonight, and especially to thank all those comrades and friends who have responded to our call for defense of this meeting; it's very important.

The reason we have taken these measures—all these people looking menacing with armbands—is that we were expecting that a group that calls itself the "Bolshevik Tendency" would show up here. Last night eleven members and supporters of this group carried out a staged, violent provocation against the Spartacist League. Last night at our Cal Berkeley forum the BTers in attendance listened to the speaker and took part in subsequent discussion. When the meeting adjourned, as is our policy with this group, the BTers were asked to leave the room. At the door they resisted leaving and precipitated a fight, suddenly punching and kicking the comrades ushering them out.

Some of our comrades assaulted by the BT required medical treatment at a hospital emergency room. One is here with a cast on his arm. Immediately after the BT assault—I would say about two minutes after we had gotten everybody back in the room and the BTs were out in the lobby outside the meeting—about ten Berkeley campus police came barreling into the lobby looking for the fight. This was, I believe, the intent of the provocation carried out by the "Bolshevik Tendency."

Our policy of asking the BTs to leave the room at the conclusion of our public meetings is several years old. We instituted it following an incident in which the BTs, who then called themselves the External Tendency (an odd name), seized on a very common thing in politics, a heated debate between individuals, and transformed it into a very widely circulated campaign of slander against the Spartacist League. The ET/BT falsely claimed that what occurred was that two SLers beat up one of their members. They had a petition to this effect that was circulated in this country, Canada and Germany. These people, who are all ex-members by the way, never worked so hard when they were members.

So in order to protect ourselves and those who come to our public events from a repeat of this kind of sinister provocation, we adopted a policy of

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Al Nelson speaking (left) at Spartacist forum in San Francisco, September 20.

WV Photos

Defense guard ensures workers democracy at SF meeting, following ET/BT provocation the day before.

The Road to Peace

TROTSKY

LENIN

At the height of the Korean War, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon warned that the Cold War between U.S. capitalism and the Soviet Union is rooted in irreconcilable class differences. Polemicizing against the "détente" illusions of his day, Cannon wrote that genuine peace will not be achieved through diplomatic double-talk, arms agreements or "summits," but through international proletarian revolution.

The ultimate aim [of American foreign policy] is nothing less than the overthrow of the Soviet Union, its dismemberment, and the re-establishment of the private property and landlord system, overthrown by the Revolution in 1917. The United States is driven, as the price of its own existence as the leading imperialist power of the world, to include all these aims in its program. That is what its diplomacy works for and that is what they are arming for.

Pacifist sermons will not deflect them from their course. Pseudo-serious chatter about the "necessity and desirability of peaceful co-existence" can deceive and disarm workers and sincere but impractical people who think the boon of peace can be bought with shibboleths. But peace cannot be secured that way....

The class struggle of the workers, merging with the colonial revolutions in a common struggle against imperialism, is the only genuine fight against war. The Stalinists who preach otherwise are liars and deceivers. The workers and colonial peoples will have peace when they have the power and use their power to take it and make it for themselves. That is the road of Lenin. There is no other road to peace.

—James P. Cannon, "The Road to Peace" (November 1951)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 412 **26 September 1986**

Spartacist Events

U.S./South Africa: "Free World" Butchers

Smash KKK/Nazi Terror! • Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

Speaker: Ed Kartsen, Spartacist League Central Committee

Friday, September 26, 7:30 p.m.
Borough of Manhattan
Community College, Room N402

For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK

Thursday, October 9, 7:30 p.m.
Sever Hall, Second Floor
Harvard University

Sponsored by Spartacus Youth Club

For more information: (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

Labor, Blacks Must Crush Racist Terror in Chicago!

Speaker: Ed Clarkson
SL Central Committee

Guest Speaker: Kevin Quirk
member, ATU Local 241

Saturday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
Hyde Park Hilton, Ontario Room
4900 South Lake Shore Drive

For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Tuesdays, 8:30 p.m.
Wilder Hall, room to be announced
Oberlin College

Tuesday, September 30:
"State and Revolution"

For more information: (216) 621-5138

OBERLIN

Young Spartacus Club Class Series

ABCs of Communism

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:00 p.m.
S F. State University
Room to be announced

Tuesday, October 7
"Reform or Revolution"

For more information: (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

NYC Transit Workers:

Defend Austin Weekes, Anti-Racist Hero!

Austin Weekes WV Photo

We reprint below a 22 September leaflet of the Committee for a Fighting TWU demanding reinstatement of black New York subway conductor Austin Weekes. In dredging up a six-year-old incident in which Weekes defended himself against a racist killer, the Brooklyn district attorney and Transit Authority sought to undercut a major victory for the right of armed self-defense won in the case of NYC subway clerk James Grimes. The need to defend that right is underlined in Koch's NYC by the rise of marauding racist gangs—in 1982 a racist mob beat to death black transit worker Willie Turks in South Brooklyn and just this past July in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn another gang of racist thugs viciously beat black bus driver Phil Patten. At the same time the transit bosses are engaged in a massive Reaganite drug witchhunt. Last year over 12,000 TA employees were tested for drugs and alcohol, and 60 workers have been effectively fired "pending arbitration."

Reinstate Brother Weekes! Anti-Racist Hero! TWU Must Fight TA Victimizations!

Black transit worker Austin Weekes must be defended by our union and the rest of the organized workers movement! For an act of armed self-defense against an attack by known racist killers six years ago, Brother Weekes was arrested Sept. 11 at Transit Authority's Jay St. headquarters. By all accounts, Austin Weekes deserves a medal for his actions six years ago. He actually protected the other passengers from these two punks, attracting their attention with his cool demeanor, and telling other riders to move to the next car. He shot in self-defense after warning the two racists not to come any closer. At the time, these two punks were on the run from a racist baseball bat killing of an Hispanic man in south Brooklyn only three months earlier.

In a clear DA/TA conspiracy, Weekes was set up to be fired before being arrested. No sooner were the last suspension papers signed and stamped than the handcuffs went on and Weekes was thrown in the Brooklyn House of Detention with no bail. This summary suspension was a central part of the conspiracy to railroad Weekes. With the labor mobilizations for Brother James Grimes fresh in their minds, the DA/TA plotters wanted Weekes cut off and isolated from the organized labor movement.

But within days this legal assault on Brother Weekes and the right of armed self-defense against racist attack began to crumble. Over 100 of his neighbors signed a petition demanding that he be released on his own recognizance, refuting the DA's claim that he was a "threat to the community." Blacks know the real threat in Kochtown: *the racist killers in blue uniforms*—remember Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs and Dennis Groce; *the gangs of racist punks inspired by Koch's cops*—remember Willie Turks and Phil Patten; *and the paramilitary fascist groups*—remember Greensboro and the Klan in Connecticut!

A real slap to the TA and DA Holtzman's plan to railroad Brother Weekes came on Sept. 17 when the Grand Jury refused to return any indictment in this case. The next day, all charges were dismissed and Weekes was freed. This victory reaffirms the strength of the James Grimes victory, won through the independent political mobilization of transit workers, demonstrating on the streets of downtown Brooklyn, in defense of the right of armed self-defense.

But the vindictive Transit Authority does not care what the jury says. On Sept. 19, the day after all charges were dismissed, Brother Weekes was called to Labor Relations for a so-called hearing and summarily "terminated." What is behind this "bad work record" line the TA has fed the press about Weekes' firing? First, his young daughter is epileptic and Weekes had to take some time off to attend to her medical needs. Second, after injuring his foot on the job, he filed a claim for workers compensation. Since Weekes is a former workers compensation claims clerk for the state, no doubt he is extremely capable of fighting on this case. So for the "bad record" of trying to be a good father, fighting for what's due him even under lousy workers compensation, and above all, for his courageous act of armed self-defense against a racist attack, the TA set him up to be arrested and fired.

Labor Must Smash the Drug Witch Hunt Blackmail!

The racist victimization of Austin Weekes comes in the context of a massive attack by management on union rights. Seniority rights, job descriptions, and safety rules are all being thrown out the window. The constant threat of discipline and suspension for standing up for your rights is being reinforced by a drug witch hunt. At the 207th St. Shop a worker was blackmailed into dropping a simple contract grievance with the threat of a drug test! TA honchos are talking about across the board drug testing, but for *any* worker who dares to stand up for his rights, there is the constant threat of drug-test blackmail and trumped-up results. The workplace is becoming a labor camp!

The official union "leadership" of Sonny Hall *by their actions* have endorsed the drug witch hunt, union busting and racist victimization. In the Weekes case, just hours after the charges were dropped on Sept. 18, a supporter of the Committee for a Fighting TWU raised the need for a union defense of Weekes' job at the United Motormen's Division meeting. Vice-President for Transportation Jim Jefferson screamed, "this has no place here; out of order!" and stormed out of the hall. The next day, when he was fired, Weekes said two union officials sat there and looked at him as if he didn't exist. Last month, Sonny Hall denounced the Committee for a Fighting TWU for calling the cops what they are: racist killers. Several days later, two drunk TA cops, spitting race hatred, shot and wounded a black man, Ancil Joefield, on 14th St. These cops come from the same gang of killers at Union Square station that beat Michael Stewart to death.

Race terror and union busting, the attack on the right of armed self-defense and the drug witch hunting blackmail are the cutting edge in the U.S. capitalists' drive to crush domestic opposition to the "rollback" war drive against the Soviet Union. In this they have plenty of help from labor agents like Sonny Hall. To prepare this union to fight, we must abolish the class-collaborationist dues checkoff; we must break all ties with the racist, union-busting Democratic Party. And we must forge a workers party, politically armed with the class-struggle strategy and tactics leading to the mobilization of labor to fight for our class interests and against the growing racist terror that divides and weakens us.

For the Right of Armed Self-Defense!
For Labor/Black Mobilization
Against Racist Terror!
TWU Must Fight TA Victimizations!
Reinstate Brother Weekes!
Anti-Racist Hero!

COMMITTEE FOR
A FIGHTING TWU

James Grimes Thanks Supporters

We reprint below a letter from the courageous black subway clerk James Grimes in response to an emergency fund drive launched by the NYC Labor Black League for Social Defense. The League was founded at a July 18 victory party in Brooklyn for Grimes and his family celebrating the dismissal of gun charges from his act of armed self-defense against muggers last January. The fund drive helped the Grimes family replace possessions stolen from their home the night of the party. More than 900 New York City transit and other workers contributed $2,480.

MTA Co-workers and Friends,

I take out a moment, often, to dwell upon all of the support and donations rendered, in my behalf, by all of you.

I've always read about people extending themselves, in times of need, to the less fortunate, for one reason or another. Never did I ever contemplate being in need of supporters and donations from strangers, to get through another day.

Well, all of you are no longer strangers...you are all my friends... and if I never knew or understood the true meaning of such, I know now.

I've never been a man of many words, but allow me to humbly express my most sincerest thanks to all. Allow me to give you all a standing ovation, for without your support and donations, things may have been different.

Thank you and God bless each and every one.

Sincerely,
James Grimes

WV Photos

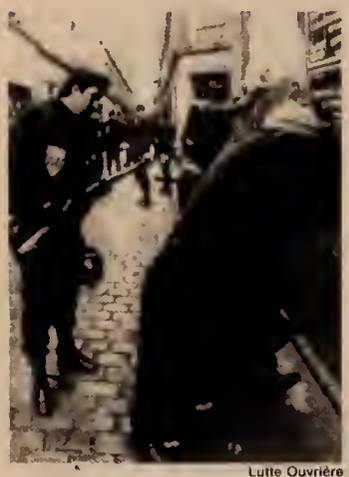
Stop Koch's Killer Cops!

On September 12, the Spartacist League and New York Labor Black League for Social Defense joined in a protest called by the Justice for Dennis Groce Coalition and the Lefferts Place Block Association at the office of the Brooklyn D.A. The demonstration was called over the racist police killing of 81-year-old Groce by two Transit Authority detectives last July 22. The elderly black man was gunned down in the vestibule of his apartment building in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn where he had lived for 45 years. A retired security guard and World War II veteran, Groce was the victim of five muggings and carried a gun to protect himself. The cops used this as an excuse for shooting him in cold blood. At the Brooklyn protest SL and LBL signs called "For the Right of Armed Self-Defense" and "Smash Racist Terror—From Brooklyn to Soweto," which was picked up by the entire demonstration as a chant.

Criminal Terror Bombings in Paris

PARIS, September 21—Since the start of this month, five bomb attacks have bloodied the French capital. All were perpetrated in public places at peak hours, reaping the highest number of victims among the civilian population. Carried out in the heart of the city, often directly under the government's nose, the attacks were clearly intended to mock the regime's claim to maintain "order." Is this a deliberate strategy to destabilize the shaky "cohabitation" of conservative Gaullist prime minister Chirac and Socialist president Mitterrand, in order to provoke police-state measures? Is it directed at the French government's imperial ambitions in the Levant? The whole affair abounds with suspicious contradictions, and as the secret police fan out their anti-Arab dragnets, this criminal, indiscriminate terrorism can only benefit the most sinister forces of racist and imperialist reaction.

It started when explosives were discovered in the Gare de Lyon RER (regional metro) station September 4. Then bombs exploded on September 8 in the post office facing Paris city hall (one dead, 18 injured), and four days later in a cafeteria in the business district of "La Défense" (41 injured). When on September 15 Chirac vowed "draconian reprisals" against the bombers, they promptly replied with another blast that day inside the Paris police prefecture, killing one and wounding 51. The next day the target was the Renault bar on the elegant Champs-Elysées with a toll



Lutte Ouvrière

The CRS, elite French SWAT team, in early morning terror roundup of immigrants.

of two dead and one seriously injured. Then, on September 17, during prime shopping time at 4:45 p.m., a powerful bomb was thrown at the windows of Tati, sort of a Parisian K-Mart, a cut-rate department store frequented by Arab immigrant workers. With a dense crowd outside the store, the attack killed five, and left 51 injured, one seriously.

Now the government of Mitterrand and Chirac is on the hot seat. The authorities have used the "anti-terrorist" measures to escalate cop repression against immigrants. Paramilitary police units in combat gear (CRS anti-riot squads and mobile gendarmes) are combing the major cities. Entry visas are required for all foreigners from outside the Common Market (including immigrants already residing in France). And citizens are called on to turn in "suspects" for a bounty of up to one million francs ($150,000). *Le Monde* (18 September) obliquely called this "a decision without precedent since the Second World War"—that is, since the time when the Nazis and Vichy regime organized mass denunciations against Jews and resistance fighters.

AFP

Paris, September 17, 4:45 p.m. Bomb attack on Tati, working-class clothing store patronized by Arabs, kills 5, injures 51.

Following the bourgeois parties' victory at the polls over the discredited Mitterrand popular front last March, the police began running wild—and not just against dark-skinned immigrants. The fascists, too, are emboldened: only an accident which blew up the perpetrators prevented a horrendous racist slaughter in Toulon in August. With the country rent by unemployment and anti-Arab racism, as the government plans to sell off state industry wholesale, French rulers need a strong repressive apparatus right now. The secret services are increasingly calling for "counter-terrorist" acts, meaning a carte blanche for assassination. Chirac blusters, "if we catch a terrorist red-handed, he will talk"—the language of the torturers in the French army during the Algerian War.

Meanwhile, the *Journal du Dimanche* (21 September) declares that France is preparing to undertake joint military "retaliation" together with the Israeli army, adding that in two weeks Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres will be meeting in Paris with Mitterrand and Chirac to work out together a secret plan against terrorism. That is one week before the anniversary of the 1973 October War, and a bare two weeks before Peres is scheduled to turn over his office to Likud "leader" Shamir. Is this what all the cryptic remarks about a possible "Syrian connection" are about—joint French-Israeli military action as a prelude to another Near East war, with France returning to its pre-1967 role as a prime Israeli ally and arms supplier?

For months, France has been rocked by random and criminal bomb attacks: eleven dead and 190 wounded since last December. In the eye of this terrorist storm is the enigmatic George Ibrahim Abdallah, imprisoned on charges of being the head of the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction (FARL). Supposedly a Marxist Maronite Christian with a political itinerary allegedly running from the National Syrian Social Party through the Lebanese Communist Party and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, there's no telling what he stands for. The "FARL" claims responsibility for the assassination of a U.S. military attaché and an agent of the Mossad (the Israeli secret service). But in the name of liberating Abdallah, the "Committee for Solidarity with Arab and Near East Political Prisoners" (CSPPA) plants bombs in trains, in the subway and at discount stores patronized by Arab customers! And Abdallah does not repudiate this group.

What's behind the initials CSPPA? There's no way we can know. But quite often, behind this kind of grouplet, one finds the hand of a secret service—and we do not exclude the fascists, the CIA and the Mossad. Allegedly aimed at freeing Abdallah, the attacks come two months before he would be eligible for parole—as if the perpetrators wanted to *prevent* his release. Moreover, the wanton terror against random individuals can only whip up popular frenzy for an "anti-terrorist" crackdown. Elements inside the state apparatus could have very well concluded that time is ripe for putting into practice a "strategy of tension" whose goal is to install a "strong state." Bonapartist tendencies in the state apparatus have been growing as the police, army and secret services pressure the government more and more openly.

As for the reformist workers parties, "Socialists" and "Communists" alike have joined in an obscene "anti-terrorist" unholy alliance with the right-wing parliamentary parties around the Mitterrand-Chirac government. CP general secretary Marchais politely urges Chirac to "take care" not to "exacerbate racism" with all the repressive, racist measures which the CP has approved. The reputedly leftist daily *Libération* (16 September) joined right-wingers in claiming that the attacks were because "all governments since the 1970s negotiated blow for blow with terrorists"! And even "SOS Racisme" got caught up in the "terror" frenzy; its leading spokesman, Harlem Désir, supported the government's "security" measures, only expressing concern over "the temptation in France to take this out on the Arab immigrants."

The rightist daily *Le Figaro* calls openly for a police state, denouncing the "bleeding heart liberalism" of the "leftist intellectuals." Obviously the fascists feel the wind in their sails, but the political crisis has only begun. For the moment Le Pen, leader of the National Front, the strongest fascist force, which got 10 percent of the vote in the March elections, merely castigates Chirac's inability to cope with the situation, calling for a "government of national union" while demanding harsher and more overt anti-immigrant measures. But already a fascist police "union" is denouncing "plutocratic democracy" and proclaims that "only a strong regime, founded on the concept of order and nation, caring nothing about all the humanitarian decadent theories, shall be our salvation" (*Le Monde*, 18 September).

French imperialism patched together present-day Lebanon, laying the basis for this cycle of communalist conflicts where *all* sides carry out their murderous squabbling, always at the expense of the Palestinian people. French soldiers (along with the U.S.) disarmed the PLO in the Beirut camps in 1982, thus allowing the massacre of Shatila and Sabra by the Maronite Christian Phalangist hired guns of the Zionists. French imperialism believed it could manipulate the nationalist and communalist hatreds in the Near East with impunity. But Paris was no more able than Washington to find a solid foothold in the Lebanese quagmire. And now the daily horror of Beirut is being transported to France.

But the few sticks of pentrite found at the Gare de Lyon are small change compared to the terrorists with imperialist state power. Mitterrand's government ordered the bomb attack against the *Rainbow Warrior* in New Zealand, killing one pacifist and attempting to assassinate the entire leadership of Greenpeace, in order to "protect" its nuclear *force de frappe* (strike force). The gigantic arsenal of thermonuclear arms at the disposal of the imperialists is the biggest terrorist threat of all. The American imperialists openly state that their war program aims at "decapitating" the Soviet Union, just as they attempted to do with their murder/terror raid against Libya's Qaddafi last spring. And while U.S. warships were attacking Libya from the north, French troops in Chad were putting pressure on Qaddafi from the south.

Above all, the imperialists *need* "terrorism," and the more irrational the better. The bombings only make sense as a giant provocation whose purposes are the *opposite* of the demands of the shadowy "FARL/CSPPA." They can only strengthen French ties to Israel and the U.S. in the name of "anti-terrorism," the code word for the anti-Soviet war drive in the Mediterranean. Washington was piqued at Paris' refusal to let its F-111s overfly France for its Libya raid in April. The next time around they figure they will get cooperation. The Ligue Trotskyste de France, which demanded "Reagan/Mitterrand Hands Off Libya!" and condemns the indiscriminate Paris terror bombings, insists: Down with the imperialist terror—French troops out of Africa, Lebanon and the Pacific! ■

AP

French troops (along with U.S.) disarmed PLO in Beirut, paving way for Sabra/Shatila massacres.

Tennessee Book-Banners Target Goldilocks

Last July a bizarre trial opened in federal court in Greenville, Tennessee which has become a focus for the nationwide onslaught against the separation of church and state. Seven Protestant fundamentalist families sued a local school board for using "heathen" textbooks that supposedly threaten their children with "eternal damnation." Claiming religious discrimination, the parents want to ban the Holt Readers (standard for 10 million elementary students in 15,000 school districts of all 50 states) as un-Christian and un-American, and to replace them with texts that conform to their ignorant Bible-thumping bigotry. U.S. district judge Thomas Hull directed both sides to prepare for final arguments by September 24.

The trial has been dubbed "Scopes II," referring to the famous "monkey trial" over the teaching of evolution in Tennessee schools six decades ago. If "Scopes I" was tragedy, as Karl Marx suggested about history repeating itself, this latter-day version is certainly farcical. There were the plaintiffs on the stand railing against fairy tales such as *The Wizard of Oz* ("it portrays witches as good"), *Cinderella* (nix the magic wand) and *Goldilocks* (she beat the rap for breaking and entering)! But in Reagan's America, this is no joke. The book-banners are in league with top cop Ed Meese as he calls for Legion of Decency vigilante squads to "clean up America" from the locker room to the bedroom, and from the classroom to the 7-Eleven store.

Cynthia Johnson

Meese and his porn report fan the flames of the book-burners (Warsaw, Indiana, 1981).

Myers/Warsaw Times-Union

Today these backwoods bigots are on the cutting edge of the Moral Majority inquisition against "secular humanism." The fundamentalists' "expert witnesses" denounce carbon dating (undermines the Book of Genesis) and object to study of the Renaissance because its central idea "was belief in the dignity and worth of human beings." Favorable references to other religions are unpardonable ("Christ is the only way to salvation"). Naturally they object to the science of evolution (now referred to as the "E-word"—unmentionable, like the F-word). Even the metric system offends (promotes "one-world government"), and criticism of "free enterprise" is out because "capitalism is ordained by God" (*Newsweek*, 28 July).

They also want to throw out children's readers where "Jim cooks" and "Pat reads to him," promoting the accursed equality of the sexes and male/female role reversal. They're not satisfied with removing *Catcher in the Rye* from school libraries like prudes did in the '50s and are doing again. But blacklisting *Goldilocks*? The Tennessee totalitarians pronounce the innocent babe guilty of "situational ethics" (eating that porridge seemed like a good idea at the time) and invading private property. These loco parents are so worried about the schools turning kids into "deviated preverts," to use the *Dr. Strangelove* lingo, we're surprised they didn't accuse the tyke of bestiality for sleeping in a bear's bed! And what about that transvestite wolf in grandma's clothes in *Little Red Riding Hood*?

In probing the paranoid mindset of these small town inquisitors, columnist Russell Baker (*New York Times*, 10 August) points out that their righteous indignation may have missed the big picture. After all,

> "...these are not ordinary bears lumhering off to fish with their paws or steal the bees' honey, are they? These are porridge-eating bears. These are bears that have chairs and beds custom built.... In short, these are bears that bear watching."

And who was watching? Perhaps it was that old Watergate B&E man, G. Gordon Liddy. Of course, Baker goes on, Liddy would worry that "if caught, he might be sealed in a diplomatic pouch and shipped to Bearland where, imprisoned in deepest Sibearia, he would be powerless to foil whatever the plot might be." Who could miss it—brave little Goldilocks had been sent on a national security mission against the Russkies!

One must have pity for the hapless children denied the delights of fairy tales and the knowledge of dinosaurs, as well as shudder to think of the dreary and dangerously ignorant adults such "education" is designed to produce.

Walter Crane

Who knows what evil lurks in the heart of this seemingly innocent young thing?

Rural Idiocy Goes Mainstream

The Greenville case has become a battleground between the religious right and defenders of secular education. The book-banners' legal case is being financed by Concerned Women for America, a right-wing Washington lobby headed by the wife of TV evangelist Tim LaHaye. On the other side, the liberal People for the American Way has sent prominent New York City attorneys to represent the school board. And it's no isolated incident. In October an Alabama federal court in Mobile will try a case brought by 600 fundamentalist parents aimed at removing any taint of "secular humanism" from school curricula. That case is endorsed by Mr. Segregation himself, George Wallace, and by the self-anointed preacher presidential candidate Pat Robertson.

These cases are not simply obscure Bible Belt lunacy. In 1983 District Judge Hull dismissed the present case as without constitutional merit, only to be directed to try the case by the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati. For their part, the textbook publishing companies are gutting scientific education by cowardly capitulation to the clamor of the fundamentalist zealots. Last year the California Board of Education rejected *all* elementary and junior high school science texts submitted because they failed to discuss evolution. Now U.S. secretary of education William Bennett is using his pulpit to bully schools into stuffing religious values, "respect for property," and flag-waving down the throats of school kids. And he is backed by liberals such as NY governor Cuomo.

The ambush of secular education by the religious right targets blacks especially. Busing to achieve integration has been virtually eliminated, defeated by racist mobs from Boston to Louisville with the aid of Northern Democrats in Congress. When the schools were first ordered integrated, across the South whites fled to newly formed racist private schools, just as the plaintiffs in Greenville are sending their children to lily-white "Christian academies." But with their man in the White House, reactionaries realized that you don't need segregated private schools when you can run "neighborhood" public schools along the same lines. And it's not just who is taught but what.

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee recently filed an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief on behalf of the Louisiana Board of Education's fight against an unconstitutional law mandating the teaching of biblical "creationism" whenever scientific evolution is taught. As the SL/PDC legal brief stated: "Evolution, the science of man's 'descent with modification' is the particular object of the fundamentalist religious attack.... The not so hidden agenda of the proponents of teaching creationism in the schools is to enforce the destructive and dangerous dogma of racial inferiority" (see "In Defense of Science," *WV* No. 410, 29 August).

From Nazi Germany to Reagan's America, trampling scientific education under the jackboot of racist reaction is a key component in the drive for social regimentation. Black people are all too familiar with the violent oppression which lies behind enforced ignorance. Richard Wright wrote in *Black Boy* that the proscribed topics for blacks in talking with Southern white men included:

> "American white women; the Ku Klux Klan, France, and how Negro soldiers fared while there; Frenchwomen; Jack Johnson; the entire northern part of the United States; the Civil War; Abraham Lincoln; U.S. Grant; General Sherman; Catholics; the Pope; Jews; the Republican party; slavery; social equality; Communism; Socialism; the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution; or any topic calling for positive knowledge or manly self-assertion on the part of the Negro."

Now that arch-segregationist Rehnquist is chief justice of the Supreme Court, Meese's deputy Bradford Reynolds has branded Justice William Brennan, an Eisenhower appointee, not merely a "secular humanist" but a "radical egalitarian" to boot for holding that the post-Civil War 14th Amendment (mandating "equal protection of the laws") was an unfulfilled promise of "universal equality, freedom and prosperity."

Book-Banners, Book-Burners and Cross-Burners

Sixty-one years ago, populist warhorse William Jennings Bryan led the reactionary charge against schoolteacher John Scopes in Dayton, Tennessee for teaching Charles Darwin's scientific theory of evolution. The Scopes trial came on the heels of the anti-Communist Palmer raids which threw the country into a "red scare." The year before, as a wave of nativist racism swept the country, Congress passed restrictive immigration laws directed at "inferior" Southern and Eastern Europeans. As KKK lynchings spread racist terror across the South, Bryan himself refused to repudiate the Klan at the Democratic convention. 1925 was also the year thousands of Klansmen marched in Washington, D.C. (It was a "celebration" of this march that was stopped by the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization of 27 November 1982.) The parallels to the present are inescapable.

Where the book-banners are at work, the book-burners are not far behind... and with them the cross-burners as well. Today, as Tennessee bigots try to straitjacket children's minds through the courts, the Meese police descend on shopping malls in search of "smut." A threatening letter from the attorney general's Pornography Commission was enough to get *Playboy* removed from 15,000 outlets. And after prime time preacher Jimmy Swaggart hurled hellfire and brimstone at rock music magazines in a nationally telecast sermon, the Wal-Mart chain removed *Rolling Stone* from its stands across the South and Southwest. When they start going after *Goldilocks*, what's next?

As Bible Belt Reaganites try to keep Darwin out of the schools, Reagan proclaims the bastardized racist doctrine once called "social Darwinism"—the survival of the richest and whitest, and the devil take the hindmost. Meanwhile, mad scientists are supposed to design a Star Wars shield that will protect all white, middle-class Americans while only the "unfit" and what Reagan calls the Soviet "Evil Empire" perish in the nuclear holocaust. In this context mass ignorance has a definite social function in regimenting capitalist society for the war aims of its desperate rulers. But in trying to cloud men's minds with the superstitions of the Middle Ages, they only grease the skids for a return to an irradiated Stone Age.

As the yahoos from the Tennessee hills and hollows to the White House and Pentagon head toward thermonuclear Armageddon, they would take us all down with them. Today defense of the scientific, cultural and social achievements of civilization, from the Renaissance through the great bourgeois-democratic revolutions (including the French Revolution and the American Civil War) to the conquests of the proletarian October Revolution, is one inseparable task as the choice of socialism or barbarism starkly confronts mankind. Under world communism, science will truly be put at the service of human society instead of being the handmaiden of mass destruction. ■

The Istanbul Synagogue Massacre

The September 6 Sabbath massacre of 21 Jewish worshipers in Istanbul's largest synagogue was an act of hideous indiscriminate terrorism whose perpetrators and purpose are as shadowy as its results were grisly. The victims were descendants of the Sephardim, refugees from the Spanish Inquisition who spoke Ladino, a medieval Spanish dialect intermixed with Hebrew. Under the Ottoman sultans this Sephardic community flourished as a center of learning and commerce, growing to number 200,000 by the end of the 19th century. When Kemal Atatürk established a secular republic in 1923, Jews were granted political and religious equality. During World War II, Turkey unlike the imperialist "democracies" opened its doors to Jewish refugees from the Nazi holocaust and many became citizens.

There are plenty of forces in the world that cannot bear the existence in a secular state with a predominantly Muslim population of a 500-year-old Jewish community living in relative peace, a refuge from the ravages of the "enlightened West." Israeli war minister Yitzhak Rabin pointed the finger of blame for the Istanbul massacre at the supposedly omnipresent but ever-elusive Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal, but even the arch-terror-mongers in Washington shrugged their shoulders at that or the alleged "Libya connection." Within Turkey there are far-right Islamic fundamentalists, but even more likely are the Turkish fascist organizations like the "Grey Wolves" with close ties to the brutal dictatorship running the country. But the Western press omitted mentioning them as possible suspects to avoid embarrassing their NATO allies in Ankara.

In Jerusalem, General Ariel Sharon caused another of the interminable flaps in the Zionist coalition government by blaming the Istanbul massacre on Prime Minister Shimon Peres' supposed "appeasement" of the Arabs by his recent visit to Morocco to line up reactionary Arab regimes to help keep the Palestinians under the Israeli jackboot. But it was Sharon's 1982 blitzkrieg into Lebanon, backed by the Zionist-corporatist "Labor" Party, and the Nazi-like holocaust committed under his command at Sabra and Shatila which drove members of a generation of desperate Palestinian refugees, who have known nothing but devastation and death and have nothing to look forward to but fantasies of blood vengeance, to criminal indiscriminate terrorism, from airplane hijackings to synagogue bombings.

Can/Sipa

Bodies were mutilated beyond recognition in hideous anti-Semitic massacre.

The Zionist terrorists demonstrated their own attitude toward "gentile" houses of worship in 1982, when Alan Goodman, an American-born Zionist who went to Israel to realize his bloodthirsty fantasies in an army uniform, shot his way into one of Islam's holiest shrines, the Dome of the Rock mosque in Jerusalem. Goodman sprayed the congregation with machine-gun fire, killing one and wounding 40. Israeli police and riot troops moved in and *attacked the Arabs* who were trying to capture the mass murderer. Only last month, the former Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazim (Jews of East and Central European origin) along with other prominent rabbis issued a *halachic* edict (religious law) complete with map demanding the "Third Temple" be built on the very site occupied by the Dome mosque.

The Istanbul synagogue massacre benefits above all the Zionists, who here find common cause with Islamic fundamentalists, fascists and other anti-Semites. A close friend of Menachem Begin and fellow Zionist-Revisionist, Abba Achimeir, wrote in 1933: "I wish that a million Polish Jews might be slaughtered. Then they might realize that they are living in a ghetto" (quoted in Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* [1983]). And following the bloody birth of Israel, this became the official policy of the new Zionist state. In 1950-51, Israeli army agents set off bombs in Baghdad's ancient Jewish community to sow panic and facilitate "ingathering" to Israel (Uri Avneri's *Haolam Hazeh*, 19 May 1966).

The imperialist dismemberment of the Near East and the Israeli dispossession of the Palestinians have sown a whirlwind of terror. As with the Balkans on the eve of World War I, the imperialists go out of their way to fan the flames of nationalist and religious hatred, for they are a pretext to world war. A socialist federation of the Near East will lay the basis for overcoming these deadly hatreds, dealing out implacable revolutionary justice to the cold-blooded murderers of the Istanbul synagogue massacre and all the genocidal butchers. ■

ET/BT...

(continued from page 2)

requiring them to leave at the conclusion of our meetings. We do not exclude them from our meetings. When they come in they can take part in the meetings. They are called on in proportion to their weight in the meeting. But when the meeting is over, they must leave. And they've been doing that. They can go out and stand in the hallway or the lobby and sell their material and talk to whoever they want—but outside.

Their despicable behavior last night completely justifies our policy. Had the fight the BT started taken place inside the hall in a room full of some 75 people, including children; if this melee had been going on there when those cops came barreling in, then it doesn't take too much imagination to figure out there would have been a number of people beaten by the police, and some arrests would have taken place. Besides, who would resist leaving a meeting after it's over anyhow? Last night's events answered that question clearly: provocateurs seeking to inflict not so much their own violence on our members, but seeking rather to bring the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state into play against our revolutionary organization. And if that's paranoia, there's a lot of evidence for it. We've been dealing with these people now, as an organized group, for about four years, and they've gotten increasingly frenzied.

Most of you who follow our publications know that we've had a number of successful lawsuits against what we call the new McCarthyism with a drawn gun—one against then-attorney general George Deukmejian (now governor of California), against the FBI, the Moonies' *Washington Times*, and the Secret Service. We've won those suits, but it cost us a lot of time and a lot of money. And these provocations and slanders being carried out by these ex-members of ours, the self-styled Bolshevik Tendency, are a new, sinister tactic that cannot help but fit neatly into the campaign by Reagan and Meese and their various ideologues on the campuses like the *National Review* types and "Accuracy in Academia"—right-wingers who monitor left-wing professors on campus to make sure they teach the right values to the impressionable students. Their campaign is to equate political dissent, on the campuses or anywhere, with violence and terrorism. When the BTs started the slanderous petition I told you about we were in the middle of a couple of these suits and did not appreciate it one damn bit, I'm telling you.

Let me say something else: politics is not always simply program and line. We know these people very well. Our organization is known by many of you very well, too. You don't know much about our internal life, but take my word for it, we don't expel people casually; it's a very unusual thing in our organization. One of these people was expelled for cheating the organization financially. Another was expelled when he got arrested after shaking down a small bookstore owner here in San Francisco, pulling a knife and trying to con the merchant out of two dollars on a couple of books. Another abused a party position of high trust, on the Control Commission, for factional reasons. Two of them are known to be wife-beaters.

You may think these are *ad hominem* arguments, but these are true facts. Most of these people simply quit. They *all* are politically hostile ex-members of the Spartacist League, who couldn't take the heat of being revolutionists in the Reagan years. They very much have the smell of the "God That Failed" crowd of the 1950s, only there's a certain quality of frenzy here that I've never seen in 25 years of politics.

Last night, after the BT's provocation, many of our friends said, "Why don't you just keep these creeps out of your forums?" Well, there's a principle involved here. Comrade Trotsky observed that it was the Stalinists who introduced violence and political suppression into the workers movement. We Marxists, in contrast, have always placed the highest value on political consciousness, free and open debate within the labor movement to achieve clarity of purpose. In our whole history going back to 1964 we have never excluded any organization from our public events, and we will not be forced into doing so now. If these people had come here tonight, we were prepared to take them into this meeting. We will also ensure that this meeting and all of our public meetings will take place in an orderly fashion, without disruption. That is our responsibility and obligation, too, to protect ourselves and to protect those who come to hear our views, with critical opinions of their own or otherwise. You have a right to listen to those views without some dubious people disrupting the meeting and trying to pull the police into it.

Therefore our ground rules for the Bolshevik Tendency people remain the same; had they come here tonight we would have told them so. We would also have pointed out that there are 25 people wearing armbands here, and should they have decided to cause a disruption, they would have been politely asked to leave, and escorted out of the meeting. The BT has been pushing toward a provocative physical assault for about the last year, getting increasingly hysterical.

I don't know what Part Two of their campaign is going to be. We'll see. So again I'd like to thank all those who came here tonight, on very short notice, to defend the principle that a workers meeting has the right to take place without disruption and provocation. ■

Free Eleuterio Gutiérrez!

For one year, militant Bolivian miner Eleuterio Gutiérrez has been imprisoned without trial by the rightist regime of president Víctor Paz Estenssoro. Rotting in San Pedro jail in the mining town of Oruro, Gutiérrez, underfed and deprived of adequate medical care, is the victim of a vicious frame-up at the hands of the U.S.-backed regime, which jails union militants and leftists as part of its campaign to throw thousands of miners out of work, close the nationalized mines and break the back of the combative Bolivian workers movement.

The Oruro-based *Guia Obrera* (9 July), published by a group of former members of Guillermo Lora's Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR—Revolutionary Workers Party), reports that Gutiérrez was a skilled worker for more than 12 years at the state-owned Bolívar mine. Several times a delegate to congresses of the miners federation, he was active in the near-insurrectionary March 1985 general strike, as well as in the struggle to nationalize Totoral, one of Bolivia's most important private mines, and stood as a POR candidate in the July 1985 elections.

In the midst of a nationwide general strike against the Paz regime's brutal austerity plan, Gutiérrez was arrested at his home on 18 September 1985. He was framed up on the charge of "stealing technical materials" from the mine—shortly after a notoriously right-wing boss was caught red-handed doing just that! The government's only "witness" is a known criminal who admits being threatened by mine police to incriminate Gutiérrez.

Today this union militant's case takes on new urgency as the government carries out a new crackdown against the miners and the entire labor movement. Free Eleuterio Gutiérrez and all victims of Paz' right-wing repression! Telegrams demanding Gutiérrez' freedom should be sent to: President Victor Paz Estenssoro, Palacio Quemado, La Paz, Bolivia.

Bolivian Workers Strike Against U.S. Troops, IMF Starvation

On August 29, the rightist regime of Victor Paz Estenssoro decreed a state of siege in Bolivia to crush a wave of strikes and mass worker and peasant mobilizations. The Paz government arrested 260 labor and opposition leaders, sending many into internal exile in jungle prison camps. The immediate "subversive threat" cited by Paz was the march "for peace and life" by 7,000 tin miners and their families from the mining town of Oruro to the capital of La Paz. The miners' march could have had explosive consequences, coming after an August 22 demonstration of 20,000 on the second day of a 48-hour general strike called by the powerful Central Obrera Boliviana (Bolivian Workers Federation). The COB struck against the presence of United States troops in the country and the government's starvation economic policies dictated by the bloodsucking bankers of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Six weeks earlier, Ronald Reagan sent a contingent of 160 soldiers and officers from the 193rd U.S. Army brigade plus two dozen Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) agents, allegedly to root out "narco-terrorism" in Bolivia. When the troops arrived with six Black Hawk helicopters aboard a huge C-5 Galaxy transport plane (which the Bolivian interior minister likened to "a UFO landing in someone's backyard"), the drug traffickers had split. While claiming to have destroyed 255 "drug factories" (peasant huts), the Rangers have not seized a single gram of cocaine. But that's hardly the point: the purpose of this deployment of U.S. "rapid deployment" forces, as Southern Command chief General John Galvin told top Chilean officers, was to "back-up local forces and insure a friendly government." The last time American Special Forces were running around the country was in 1967, when the CIA supervised the murder of Che Guevara.

AP

Bolivian army surrounds militant tin miners marching on capital, August 29.

UPI

Bolivian tin miners, brandishing dynamite, resist 1971 military coup.

The U.S. strike force has joined elite Bolivian "Leopard" troops in launching terror raids against peasant communities to stamp out their only profitable crop, coca leaf, which has been cultivated in the Andean highlands for centuries. Now President Paz has announced that the American soldiers will not be leaving after 60 days, as he had originally claimed. But this Yankee invasion—which Paz agreed to without consulting his own parliament, or even the chiefs of the Bolivian armed forces—set off a storm of protest, including mass workers strikes against the presence of imperialist troops. American planes couldn't even land in Santa Cruz until the army broke a strike at a strategic oil refinery. Peasants held mass protest meetings in provincial capitals while union and civic leaders denounced the plan to turn Bolivia into "Honduras South"—a site for permanent American military "exercises" threatening the entire region.

Paz Estenssoro was installed as president a year ago on orders of the U.S. State Department in order to carry out a drastic austerity program designed to pay off the $4.9 billion foreign debt (about $800 per person, in a country where the annual per capita income is $550) by tightening the belts of the workers and peasants. Paz smashed a general strike last September with a state of siege that was applauded by imperialist spokesmen as necessary to break the back of the militant Bolivian proletariat. He reduced the world-record 50,000 percent annual inflation by drastically cutting or eliminating food subsidies, raising the price of gas ten times and overall slashing real incomes by half. Over the past year Bolivia has paid 60 percent of its total foreign exchange earnings to the foreign bankers. The result, in the poorest country of South America, has been mass unemployment and starvation.

Meanwhile, the catastrophic fall of primary commodity prices, which has come crashing down on everyone from OPEC to America's ultrarightist silver kings, the Hunt brothers, has sent the price of tin and oil (Bolivia's other legal export) plummeting through the floor. This economic catastrophe is now being visited on the mining camps of the windswept *altiplano* (high plains). By mid-year, 7,000 miners out of a workforce of 27,000 of the state-owned Bolivian Mining Corporation (Comibol) had been fired. The union struck, demanding "immediate supply of food to company stores, as well as medicine and work supplies" (*Excelsior* [Mexico], 31 July). Jobless miners left the camps by the busload, many heading for the coca regions in search of work. In August the government announced plans to eliminate the jobs of another 8,000 workers, closing seven out of 24 Comibol mines and unloading nine on miners' "cooperatives."

With the miners forced to the wall by this "white massacre," eliminating more than half the workforce in a single year, the march on La Paz was born of desperation. On August 22, a meeting of virtually the entire population of Oruro decided to go on foot the 150 miles to the capital in the dead of winter. The Buenos Aires daily *Clarin* (31 August) reported:

> "After a walk of six days... sleeping in the open along the road, their feet blistered and their lips swollen with thirst, some 7,000 men, women and children made it to within 40 miles of [La Paz] in a 'march for peace and life.' Along the route they found the first signs of solidarity. Peasants gave them shelter and the little food they had."

The marchers planned to begin a hunger strike in the capital's schools and churches. But the government sent tanks instead, and thousands of troops surrounded the marchers in the virtually unpopulated area of Calamarca as air force jets streaked overhead. The leaders were singled out for arrest and the rest sent home on army trucks. In the capital, troops cordoned off the university and occupied COB headquarters. Despite a 24-hour miners strike, there was no serious challenge to the crackdown.

Earlier, in response to Paz' starvation program, the COB responded by calling a *consulta popular* (people's referendum) on government economic policies. Held in late July, the reported turnout of 1.5 million was more than voted in the elections a year ago, attesting to the breadth of opposition to the government's murderous austerity program. Peasants, who were effectively disenfranchised in the parliamentary elections, flocked to the COB's ballot boxes. But for the union bureaucracy under Juan Lechin, the point of the exercise was to pressure Paz to "modify" his policies. Instead of mobilizing the masses for revolutionary struggle to bring down the regime, it atomized them. Instead of a workers counteroffensive aimed at a proletarian fight for power, the reformist union tops called a pitiful hunger march to be followed by an impotent hunger strike. While the Paz government was already starving the Bolivian people into submission, the COB tops offered to do the job for him!

As point man for Reaganomics in South America, Paz Estenssoro's program is to close the mines and burn the coca fields while paying off the imperialist debt. He intends to bust the combative unions by destroying the mining proletariat altogether, eliminating the most class-conscious workers sector in Latin America. It's "The end of the road for Bolivia," noted a columnist in the London *Guardian* (3 September), as the entire country goes bankrupt—dramatically disproving the New York banks' dictum that led to the '70s lending spree and the '80s debt bomb. For the immiserated working people (the highest-paid skilled miners make $1.25 a day) of the altiplano, the "magic of the marketplace" literally means death. It would take a revolutionary struggle occupying the mines and erecting workers soviets to counter this "democratic" counterrevolution.

In 1952, the Bolivian workers overthrew the "*rosca*" (cabal) of tin barons. When Paz Estenssoro's victorious Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) tried to siphon off proletarian discontent by nationalizing the mines, radicalized miners demanded workers control. But while workers militias destroyed the bourgeois army that served as the guard dogs of capital, the COB leadership under Lechin—braintrusted by the fake-Trotskyists of Guillermo Lora's POR (Revolutionary Workers Party)—chained the workers movement to the bourgeois-nationalist MNR through the device of *cogobierno*—"co-government," the Bolivian name for the popular front. The MNR brought in Yankee advisers to rebuild the army, and soon launched a union-busting wage-slashing assault on the labor movement. The MNR regime led to 18 years of brutal military rule. And now the man who nationalized the tin mines is denationalizing Comibol.

In 1982 the militant miners sparked a general strike that toppled the discredited "coca-generals." A "leftist" parliamentary government quickly became a very *un*popular front as it attempted to impose IMF austerity on its base. In March 1985, 12,000 miners commandeered company trucks and trains to descend on La Paz chanting, "Workers to power!" The government was afraid to put troops into the streets for fear they might go over to the workers, the army was unwilling to take over a bankrupt state, bourgeois reaction was disorganized as the proletariat occupied the capital. As we wrote in "Bolivia on the Brink" (*WV* No. 387, 20 September 1985):

> "...the situation cried out for a revolutionary vanguard fighting for power. And as the panicked rulers frothed at the mouth against the spectre of Trotskyism, at a time when the ranks were escaping the control of the COB bureaucracy and thousands of militant miners were meeting daily in strike assemblies, it was the failure of the ostensible Trotskyists to fight for soviets that sealed the fate of this sharp prerevolutionary crisis."

The desperate middle classes, who had greeted the miners as their last hope, turned drastically to the right which overwhelmed the discredited left in July 1985 elections. In August, a servile Bolivian Congress installed Washington's man Paz as president, who then decreed the IMF austerity his predecessor failed to impose.

Today the workers, peasants and urban poor of Bolivia are reaping the results of the March betrayal, as the Paz government's surgical repression succeeds (for the time being) in clamping a lid on mass protest. A terrible vengeance is being exacted for the failure to seize the revolutionary opportunity. The situation is deeply ominous for the Bolivian toilers, veterans of decades of heroic struggles. Their salvation will be under the banner of a reborn Trotskyist Fourth International, so that their combativity can ignite a revolutionary explosion by the big battalions of the proletariat throughout the Americas, from the Southern Cone of Argentina, Brazil and Chile to the United States itself. ■

North's Workers League Cult Attacks Marxist Spartacists

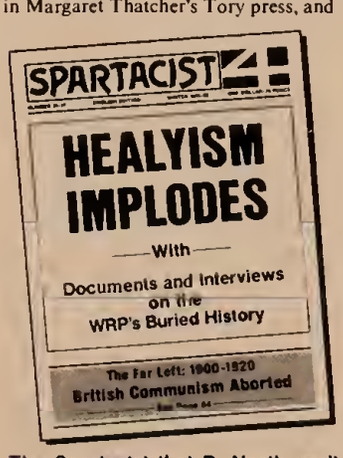
Lord of the Fleas

Our party, the Spartacist League, is currently being subjected to the "polemical" attentions of one David North. In fact, a series on "The Politics of the Spartacist League" appearing in North's *Bulletin* is already in its 13th part and still going. But who or what is David North? He is the little lord of neo-Healyite, anti-Healyite, total Healyism—i.e., of nothing—who heads the American Workers League (WL), a very small and very discredited staphylococcal pimple on the rump of ostensible Trotskyism.

Why North chooses this moment to work us over at such length must have something to do with his having become, at the moment, the top dog in a fragment of what used to be called the "International Committee" (IC), an unpleasant formation once built by Gerry Healy in his own image. When Healy was ousted last year by backstabbing intrigues among his lieutenants, including North, the "IC" broke into at least four pieces, with splits within its sections in several countries.

Only someone who wanted to be "the leader," never mind of what, would rush to claim Healy's mantle. Healy's IC was an appendage of his British organization, the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), which was distinguished by its physically brutal internal regime and by its capacity, unmatched by garden-variety opportunists, for wild swings of political line in pursuit of egregious and often mutually contradictory appetites. To the extent that the Healyites had a coherent political core, they were cringing legalists/Labourite economists, and virulently anti-Soviet in concrete program. Through it all, the hapless denizens of the IC were assured that, small and miserable though their own groups might be, the British WRP led by Healy (who eventually dubbed himself the IC's "founder-leader") was conquering the masses through its daily paper.

In fact, Healy's daily paper was also a fraud which, lacking a sufficient number of members to support it, came to depend on funding from the most unsavory forces. And the WRP's sole significant "contribution" in many years to the British class struggle came when it made itself the "vanguard" of a redbaiting, union-busting attack on the National Union of Mineworkers, on behalf of the right-wing leaders of the Trades Union Congress. Healy's "exposé" of miners' leader Arthur Scargill's minimal criticism of anti-socialist Polish Solidarność was timed for maximum exposure in Margaret Thatcher's Tory press, and became the opening shot of the campaign to isolate the militant miners union on the very eve of their heroic strike.



The Spartacist that D. North can't answer.

Workers Press

David North

WV Photo

Alan Gelfand

Workers News

Martin McLaughlin

When Healy was pushed out of power in the IC last year, the lid came off a real stinking garbage can. We responded by publishing a special issue of our *Spartacist* (No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86) on "Healyism Implodes." There we reviewed Healy's history, which impinged on our own history until about 20 years ago; the next issue of *Spartacist* (No. 38-39, Summer 1986), devoted to the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party, also had some relevant things to say about Healy and his IC. And now we find ourselves being vilified at such great length in the *Bulletin*. We know from experience that this means we've touched the WL where it hurts, and that the Northites have decided it's time for them once again to administer some "education," Healy-style, to their supporters—a refresher course in cynicism and how not to think.

Healyism Implodes

North got involved early on in the whisperings of proffered deals among longtime Healyite henchmen that started when Healy started losing his grip on the WRP/IC. Gerry the tinpot despot had got old, while at the same time evidently becoming more uncontrollable than ever in his habits. When Healy reneged on an earlier promise to retire, Mike Banda, Cliff Slaughter and others in England started playing around with revelations of alleged spectacularly abusive behavior by Healy. At the same moment, a first-rate financial scandal erupted: unpaid bills, some going back two years, came to light and it was estimated that one and a quarter *million* pounds would be required or the WRP would cease to exist. The "revelations" process, begun as blackmail, acquired its own momentum: the leadership was in pieces and the members began to clamor for an explanation for some of the more grotesque atrocities. For example: why were WRP photographers sent to the Iraqi Embassy to photograph Iraqi dissident protesters, the pictures then to be turned over to the Iraqi regime?

North himself became a "leader" in the IC when he was specially chosen by Healy to head the Workers League as his reward for eager services as a mouthpiece for Healy's infamous "Security and the Fourth International" slander campaign against the historic American Trotskyist movement. In the early 1980s, though, North began testing the waters for a revolt against Healy, through timid criticisms—always withdrawn with craven apologies—mainly of Healy's idealist-gobbledygook perversion of dialectics. Now he claims he "fought" Healy. He has to make such a claim, ludicrous though it is. Once Healy the supreme authority of the IC was exposed as the emperor who had no clothes, the members revolted. No longer could they be kept in line with doubletalk "dialectics," endless mindless activism and felt threats. All of Healy's loyal lieutenants scrambled to wash their hands of the IC's more spectacular crimes and organizational "excesses." The contest was on: who has less filth on whose hands? Banda, Slaughter, North, etc. all lacked credibility as virgin crusaders against Healyism (the "new Nixon" had similar problems). Soon the IC house of cards was a pile of rubble.

The departure of Healy and his well-heeled ally, actress Vanessa Redgrave, with a minority of the British WRP was only the beginning. North's demand that the WRP recognize the hegemony of the IC (i.e., him) took another minority out of the WRP, along with most of the WRP youth. Cliff Slaughter leads what's left now sans Banda, who split after writing his ignorant anti-Trotskyist diatribe, "Twenty-Seven Reasons Why the IC Should Be Buried Forthwith and the Fourth International Built." North took the bigger piece of the split in Australia as well as the West German and Sri Lankan groupings. (The Peruvians who went with North have recently departed, allegedly in solidarity with some form of Stalinism/Maoism.)

So North's IC doesn't amount to much. Its record is of a bunch of political bandits who became corrupt press agents for despotic "Arab nationalist" capitalist regimes. Alleged to have received at least a million pounds from 1977 on from Libya, Kuwait, Qatar, Ahu Dhabi and Iraq, among others, Healy's British group and its subservient IC worked to give "anti-imperialist" cover to anti-working-class crimes by their patrons. In 1979 the Healyites hailed the execution of 21 members of the Communist Party of Iraq by the Ba'ath regime. This is North's IC—loathsome, hut at least it's all his. Provided that the American WL (which Slaughter in 1984 said had 74 members) can avoid its fair share of the implosion. North played the "who's dirtier?" game when required to oust Healy and secure the IC label. Once that was accomplished, he began to move to belittle the IC's crimes in the service of oil-rich Near Eastern dictators. Now he's embarked on a crusade to rally his ranks, not least through a hate campaign against the Spartacist League.

Why us? For one thing, we are the acknowledged Trotskyist organization in this country. Our forces are rather larger than North's. We exist today as an *international* tendency, the only one to have fought in a principled political fashion against both the degeneration of the ex-Trotskyist (now explicitly anti-Trotskyist) Socialist Workers Party and, early on, against Healy's fundamental corruption of the IC. This history, covering two decades, is long documented, most lately in the last two issues of our *Spartacist*.

Healyites: Counterfeit Trotskyists

The Workers League's own history begins with its former leader—Tim Wohlforth—acting as Healy's agent to split the left opposition (Revolutionary Tendency, RT) inside the SWP in 1962. The pretext was an ultimatum that all RT members must sign a document affirming they believed that the SWP, which was then centrist and moving rapidly to the right, remained a "revolutionary party." In the hope that the SWP would remain aligned with Healy as part of the International Committee, Healy identified the party leadership's deepening revisionism as solely the property of right-wing elements like Weiss and Swabeck, putting forward the perspective of the RT effecting "a united front where possible with the center elements"—i.e., the Dobbs leadership. Most of the RT, led by Jim Robertson and Geoff White, refused to sign the Wohlforth/Healy *diktat*. Wohlforth's only successful "united front" with the Dobbs regime was in setting the RT majority up for expulsion.

In the present *Bulletin* series, great exception is taken to our remark that Wohlforth in 1964 "engineered his own group's expulsion" from the SWP. Aha, says *Bulletin* editor McLaughlin, or whoever is actually writing the series, the Wohlforthites were expelled for an exemplary fight against the Ceylonese Trotskyists' class-collaborationist betrayal in 1964. No doubt for distant consumption, the *Bulletin* fulminates that Spartacists, "as 100% American radicals...could not understand why someone would risk being thrown out of the party because of a dispute over

events taking place halfway around the world."

What happened in Ceylon didn't drop magically from the skies at the moment Wohlforth decided he wanted out of the SWP. "Trotskyism" in Ceylon was founded very late and by some people of extremely privileged social origins. The Ceylon Trotskyists, the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP), involved themselves in anti-imperialist activism and plebeian social struggles, achieving something of a mass electoral base. When after independence from Britain the main ruling-class political formation split to produce a populist, "national" party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the LSSP was pulled in its wake, led by the LSSP's reformist wing, which had always ultimately called the shots for the party's vacillating "center."

By 1960 it was evident even to a distant American comrade like Jim Robertson that the situation had gone rotten. On 8 August 1960 comrade Robertson wrote a letter (reprinted below) to the SWP Political Committee (PC) urging the SWP to wage an open struggle against the LSSP's course. Robertson's letter was appended to the PC minutes, as were news articles from this period from the *Ceylon News* reporting the LSSP's electoral pact with the SLFP and its withdrawal of opposition to the SLFP's chauvinist "Sinhala Only" language program. The *Ceylon News* quoted longtime LSSP spokesman N.M. Perera: "the only logical tactic was for the LSSP to join hands with the SLFP in a Government and gain control of that Government. This was the only means the LSSP now seemed to have of gaining power."

The SWP, which didn't have much going for it in Ceylon, was proposing to publish a *Militant* article criticizing the LSSP's policy as a classic "Popular Front." But a letter dated 14 August 1960 by Gerry Healy (also reprinted below) urged the SWP to hold up any comment. Healy's implication is clearly that he has people lined up who might be disturbed by criticism of their party. If only the SWP will avoid flying off the handle in such a delicate situation, Gerry will take care of it. What is striking in Healy's letter, as much as his claim that the situation could be saved by maneuvers, is his gratuitous mendacity in suggesting that the reports in the Ceylon bourgeois press were just a pack of lies.

It was a foregone conclusion that the LSSP would decisively capitulate when opportunity presented. In 1964 the SLFP offered the LSSP ministerial portfolios; the LSSP eagerly accepted. Embarrassed, the Pabloite USec hastily expelled the LSSP, as elements of the left wing shook themselves out of the LSSP, finally. Now Wohlforth also discovered betrayal in Ceylon.

Wohlforth's restlessness prior to the emergence of the Ceylon pretext is testified to by Albert Philips, bloc partner of Healy and Wohlforth in splitting the RT. "The Methodology of Frustration," a document by the Philips group dated 23 April 1964, complains that "several months after the 1963 SWP convention," the "frustration" at the SWP's degeneration that had "characterized the Robertsonites" showed up in Wohlforth. "There had been no real changes in the SWP," Philips observes, "yet comrade Wohlforth thought it was time for a reevaluation." At the November 1963 tendency meeting, says Philips, "it was stated that the party was an unfinished centrist organization, and that we had better put ourselves in the best factional position for the time when we would be expelled." After the Kennedy assassination, says Philips, "in terms that the Robertsonites never dared to use, comrade Wohlforth explicitly called for us to split." But under pressure from those like Philips who still wanted to cling to the SWP and its purported "proletarian core," Wohlforth "pulled back," Philips says, from an open split

The way they were (from left): G. Healy, M. Banda, C. Slaughter, 1983.

perspective. Instead, he demanded a discussion on Ceylon, violating internal discussion procedures, knowing this would get his group expelled from the no longer very democratic SWP.

Now, North recasts this deliberate organizational provocation as a supreme political act of internationalism. And no doubt inspired by that paragon of internationalism himself, Gerry Healy, who had intervened so strongly in 1960 to reassure worrywarts like Robertson that he had the Ceylon problem in hand.

Healyism: A Machine for Destroying Cadres

We had refused to accept Healy's 1962 rupture as definitive, given that we and Wohlforth both still claimed to stand on the same anti-revisionist program. Unity negotiations were undertaken in 1965. But at the infamous 1966 IC Conference in London, Healy expelled the Spartacist delegation, ostensibly on the grounds that Robertson had missed a session without "permission." In remarks to the conference, Robertson had sketched out the views of the Spartacist group. His subsequent absence was then used as the excuse for savage attacks by Healy & Co. on the Spartacists for petty-bourgeois arrogance and American chauvinism, and an "apology" (confession) was demanded. As the next two decades of Healy's history amply demonstrated, this method was absolutely characteristic: to try to extract cringing false confessions from comrades, rendering them thereafter subservient instruments, destroyed in their own eyes and before their comrades.

For David North, the Spartacists' refusal to be diverted from a Trotskyist course (they call this "Robertson Breaks from Trotskyism") constitutes "American nationalism and the wounded vanity of an arrogant petty bourgeois." The *Bulletin* series echoes Wohlforth's own 1970 opus, "What Is Spartacist?", which sneers at "Robertson's noble battle for honor, his unbending head." Never mind who that "international" was and what it did for the next 20 years. Robertson should have done like me—I David North always groveled (until I was ready to knife them).

North's own account of how he "fought" Healy is revealing. In an October 1985 speech to the British WRP "Special Congress" North describes how he raised his differences over "dialectics" beginning in late 1982. "We decided," he says (using the royal "we"), "to come and take the first opportunity to raise it with Gerry Healy in an objective manner. Well, the reaction was an explosion. We were told immediately, within a half a minute... he said the alliance is finished." After the Political Committee unanimously supported Healy, North says, he was privately approached by Banda, who "said that in fact he had grave differences.... And I must say that while I was shocked by the depth of the political differences that existed between Comrade Banda and Gerry Healy, I wasn't in a sense surprised." After "lengthy discussions," it was "agreed that there would be a common fight in the International Committee to raise these issues."

North returned for the next IC meeting "fully expecting" to pick up his alliance with Banda. "But instead when I arrived I was immediately confronted [by Banda].... I was immediately told that the notes which I had written constituted a huge attack on Marxism. He said he had been wrong to come to an agreement with me." They then went into a WRP PC meeting "in which we [North] were told that if we pressed ahead with these differences it would mean a split with the Workers League. And I must say under those conditions..." (guess what!) "we thought that given the enormous authority and experience of the British section we should reconsider our position." North "bit our tongue, we said we did withdraw the document, it wasn't really a document it was notes...." And so it went, right up to the end.

But, says North today, Robertson still should have submitted himself to international authority. (Never mind why North thinks it's so natural, and so smart, to grovel and lie; it never occurs to North that in 1966 we thought: we'll say what we believe and see what happens.) But what makes Healy (and the rest of his crew, like Banda and Wohlforth, now shown to have been a bunch of semi-competents and semi-gangsters) synonymous with "international authority"? Gerry was hardly the only person around laying claim to the mantle of the Fourth International.

Healy Flunks

We spent a long time looking at the fragments of the disintegrated Fourth International, i.e., as it emerged from World War II and the Second World Congress in 1948. In 1953-54, "orthodox" Trotskyists put together the International Committee out of national factions which had come out against the revisionism which gained hegemony under Michel Pablo in the early 1950s. With the senior cadres of the American SWP used up, as we had direct reason to know, that left an IC mainly of Healy's forces in England and Pierre Lambert's in France.

Healy claimed to be the IC in the face of the SWP's political defection, and we were prepared to give him some conditional credit based on what looked like impressive work in England and some good documents. We were the majority of the small forces which had opposed the centrist degeneration of the SWP, once a revolutionary party and a close collaborator of Trotsky's struggle for the Fourth International. We had no

continued on page 10

New York, N.Y.
August 8, 1960

To the Political Committee:

Dear Comrades,

I am addressing you on the matter of our party's public silence concerning the recent and continuing betrayal of the Ceylonese working class and of the world Trotskyist movement by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. I refer, of course, to that party's entry into a "Popular Front" electoral pact with the Stalinist party and with the left bourgeois nationalist party represented by the widow Bandaranaike.

In raising this matter privately with several members of your body I was told that letters have been sent the Ceylonese and that your view is that for the present a greater advantage is to be gained by revolutionary Marxists in the LSSP through our remaining publicly silent. I must disagree and urge you to reconsider.

When I read in the New York Times of the electoral pact and then of the election and finally of the continued support by the LSSP to the new capitalist government, my concern over this classically social-democratic capitulation was mitigated by two thoughts: (1) first that the construction of a genuine Trotskyist party for the island could perhaps emerge out of the shambles, and (2) that now the blocks would really be put to Pablo, not over an obscured vote by his English followers in a provincial British Labour Party meeting, but over a clear act of historic proportions by a major party, an act about which the central world organs of the FI would have to take a stand and on the grounds *for* or *against* elementary revolutionary principle.

But the silence in the Militant weakens both these hopes. Within Ceylon our silence while it may temporarily continue our "respectability" in the mouths of the leaders also places a terrible weapon in their hands against any militants they may have to contend with—"Even the Americans are only privately disturbed and are treating this as a matter between comrades." And as for Pablo's stature before the world movement, every day of delay allows him to say in effect: "You're another maneuverer subordinating principle to tactics."

Comrades, that you condemn the Ceylonese ex-Trotskyists, I have no doubt, but your failure to raise this publicly and with great seriousness does the movement internationally a disservice.

With comradely greetings,
James Robertson

SOCIALIST LABOR LEAGUE
186 Clapham High Street
London S.W. 4, England

14th August, 1960

Joe Hansen

Dear Joe,

We discussed at some length on our Organizing Committee (the equivalent of your Political Committee) the proposition concerning the situation in Ceylon.

The opinion here is that the Ceylon News, being a Ceylon Embassy information hand-out, is not reliable and should not be used as the basis of the piece for the Militant. We think that it is necessary to write again asking for the fullest possible information concerning the present situation in the party in Ceylon.

There is no doubt that they are in a severe crisis but if we take their situation and recent events in Europe it is not improbable that there will now be important developments inside the Pablo camp. This is all the more reason for us to proceed with caution—as you have in the past so rightly insisted.

We are going to cable them tomorrow for information and we suggest you do likewise and hold up for the time being publication of anything in the Militant.

Best wishes,
Gerry

Copy to J.P.C.

Workers League...

(continued from page 9)

doubt of the necessity for disciplined subordination of our national group to a programmatically cohesive international movement committed to Trotsky's program. So Healy thought he had us on trial in his "IC" kangaroo court? We had Healy on trial too, and so long as there seemed to be a programmatic basis of agreement, we were very patient about it. In 1962 we evaluated our first close encounter: "if Healy intervenes roughly and using authority to try to shove a puppet regime down our throats, it opens up a lousy vista of the future of the IC" (Jim Robertson, letter to Geoff White, 27 Septemher 1962).

From the time of our inception as an independent tendency in 1964, we sought to work with and examine those who stood to the left among ostensible Trotskyists—e.g., Healy. Lambert in France, Guillermo Lora in Bolivia, the group in Ceylon around Edmund Samarakkody. These tendencies (except for Healy, who was a political bandit) proved to be nationally defined and delimited, and/or used up.

Throughout, we were also aware of the United Secretariat (USec) led by the erudite Belgian Ernest Mandel. The USec was the Pabloists sans Pablo (who we also checked out) and somewhat allied with the SWP of Dobbs and Joseph Hansen. The USec had by far the most groups in the most countries, adhering to them in a semi-accidental way; then they got a big jolt from the international "generation of May '68." It was our observing that the anti-revisionists had not done a very good job of exposing the USec's (and others') claims to be the Fourth International that evidently got us tossed out of Healy's 1966 IC conference. A decade or so later, Healy, North & Co. concocted a devil theory to explain the survival of Pabloite revisionism: the U.S. government, and also Stalinism, had adopted Hansen and then Jack Barnes to do the devil's work.

Healy, though, proved to be a very different sort of character—a political bandit capable of anything. What form the "anything" would take for him and those who through the self-selection process of groveling and lying became his creatures was not predetermined at the time Healy broke with us in 1966. But it quickly ceased to be our problem at all, because by 1967 Healy had broken far away from "orthodox" Trotskyism. His forces emerged as the most vulgar, super-Pabloist cheerleaders for Stalinism (Mao's "Cultural Revolution") and Third World nationalism. The "Arab Revolution" line the Healyites adopted as the excuse to hail the 1967 Arab-Israel conflict proved most fruitful. A transclass, transnational, totally disembodied "Arab Revolution" is elastic enough to embrace any act by any Arab regime, depending perhaps on which monarchy, theocracy or military dictatorship is dispensing patronage. Thus in 1979 Healy hailed the execution of militant Communist workers in Iraq, who were allegedly undermining the glorious "anti-imperialist" Iraqi army. But later, Healy supported Khomeini's Iran in its war with that same Iraqi regime.

News Line, 2 February 1979

> It is true that 21 CP members were executed early last year for illegally forming cells in the armed forces. The purpose of these cells was to fight against the government. There are no prizes for the answer to what would happen to Ba'athists who set up cells in the Soviet army. They would be ruthlessly purged!

News Line, 8 March 1979

> From an historical point of view, the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party of Iraq has played a hundredfold more progressive role in the Middle East than Stalinism

Banda News Line, 20 November 1985

> fore the meeting to confirm the report, and he had. Then another comrade who was a photographer on News Line came to the microphone and told how she was sent by A Mitchell, a Political Committee and Editorial Board member, to photograph supporters of the Iraqi Communist Party demonstrating outside the Iraqi Embassy. (When she realised what was go

WV Photo

NYC 1979: Spartacist protest exposes Healyites' support for murder of Iraqi Communists. After 1985 Healyite implosion, Banda/Slaughter admitted Healy organization had fingered Iraqi CPers to bloody Ba'athist regime.

The alternation of leftist posturing and egregious opportunism—that was Healyism. And the Workers League was a smeared carbon copy of that prototype. Wohlforth himself was dumped in 1975 amidst Healy's slanderous CIA-baiting of Wohlforth's companion, Nancy Fields. That set the stage for North's ascent, but Healy evidently never got much joy out of his U.S. epigones. Indeed he seems to have concluded a decade ago that his loyal American satellite wasn't worth too much. In an article titled "Healy writes off the American working class" (*Workers News*, 27 May) Martin McLaughlin whines:

> "It suffices to say that from 1975 to 1984, a period of nine years, WRP leaders made exactly two trips to the United States for brief discussions with the Workers League, once each by Michael Banda and Cliff Slaughter.
> "Healy never returned to North America after the struggle against the renegacy of Tim Wohlforth in 1974-75."

We know a bit about Healy and we know he never thought much of Wohlforth. Apparently he thought even less of North.

The Big Lie as "Method"

The present *Bulletin* series strings together lies so outlandish and shameless that they are clearly designed to drive away anyone in or around the WL who has the ability to read and think. This use of the Big Lie was perfected by Stalin as a method of control; Healy/North elevated this method to a psychotic principle. It goes like this: here, comrade, are 50 articles in the Spartacist press calling for the smashing of apartheid, the forging of a genuine Bolshevik party to lead a proletarian revolution, for the establishment of a black-centered workers republic in South Africa. Memorize them and then go out and sell the *Bulletin* which says that Spartacist "Opposes Anti-Apartheid Struggle." If you have a problem with this, you don't understand "dialectics." You are supposed to *know* you're lying; then having lied, you are bound to your leaders until you finally slink away—ashamed, destroyed. Such intentional destruction of cadre is a Healyite hallmark, the ugly cult side of Healyism.

In the past, the WL has smeared us as "racists" and "fascists" (see our article, "Smash Fascist Smear of SL," *WV* No. 379, 17 May 1985), and even as "the fingerman for the world capitalists" (*Bulletin*, 2 December 1969). In November 1978 a leaflet of the German Healyites, now with North, called Jim Robertson the "main spokesman for the national interests of the American bourgeoisie"! We note our demotion to the old "middle-class radical" category in the current series, which simultaneously portrays us as black nationalists and white racists, Shachtmanites and Stalinophiles (i.e., anti- and pro-Russian).

The *Bulletin*'s first installment claims that our statement of simple fact—that the Hormel meatpackers strike was knifed—reveals our "virulent hatred of the working class and deep pessimism" (*Bulletin*, 1 April), then quotes from *WV* a citation which proves rather the opposite: "After a hard, bitter fight the heroic Hormel strike has been smashed." Counterposing to us its own prostration before the local P-9 bureaucracy, the WL hails a federal *court suit* against the backstabbing UFCW International and another "major proposal"—"to take the strikers' case to International President William Wynn, even out to his golf course if necessary." The coy parenthetical note, "We will consider the Spartacist position on the use of the capitalist courts in a later article," tops it off.

Did David North Go to Carleton College?

We think the *Bulletin* will be hard put indeed to consider the elementary labor principle that the bosses' courts are not the vehicle for solving disputes in the labor movement. Healy made recourse to the state against opponents a hallmark of his "tactics" 20 years ago against the USec's Ernie Tate. North & Co. have themselves dragged the capitalist courts in to police the left—most notoriously in the case of one Alan Gelfand. WL agent Gelfand was expelled from the SWP and sued that organization in federal court in 1979, citing Healy's notorious slanders that the FBI (along with the Stalinist GPU) controlled the SWP. He demanded the court uphold these slanders and reinstate him as an SWP member. Gelfand was vigorously supported by North and financed by Healy. Since the WRP split, Slaughter and Banda have belatedly disavowed both the Gelfand provocation and the scandalous "Security and the Fourth International" campaign against the SWP. North—a major mouthpiece of "Security..."—is still proud of it.

North's cohort was one Alex Mitchell, formerly the editor of Healy's British paper and now described by his ex-comrades as "ace Healy snoop and his top hand-shaker. Master-minded disgraceful 'Security & FI' with North, justified killing of Iraqi CPers.... Mid-east link man, widely mis-trusted" (*Workers Press*, 7 June). The "Security..." slander campaign was aimed specifically at veteran SWP leader Joseph Hansen, accusing him of being an accomplice of the Stalinist assassination of Leon Trotsky. Mitchell is still with the Healy Healyites.

North was Healy's accomplice in the loathsome assault on Hansen's reputation, and, through that device, they attacked the reputation of the old SWP and Trotsky himself. After Trotsky's murder by the degenerate Stalinist secret police in 1940, the Stalinists tried to put about the disgusting lie that Trotsky was murdered by "his own people." This claim got no credence at the time, and the main effect of its resuscitation in new form by the IC was simply to discredit Healy/North.

Hansen had served as one of Trotsky's secretaries in exile, one of the human links that welded the American party in its revolutionary days to Trotsky in his struggle to reforge an authentic Bolshevik international. Hansen was won in his youth to a revolutionary party; after that party degenerated, he spent long years as a centrist and then a reformist spokesman. In this he was no different from many others, in many countries, whose leftist impulses wore out before they themselves wore out. For Healy, though, such an explanation

Workers Press

"Founder-leader" G. Healy before the fall.

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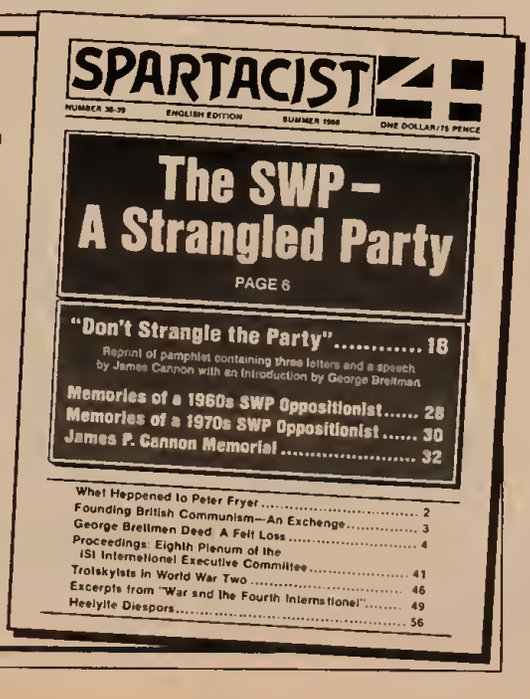
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is not sufficient. No, Hansen has to have been a police agent—indeed, a simultaneous agent for the FBI and the Stalinist GPU. The implicit corollary is: if Hansen, why not SWP founder James Cannon? And why not Trotsky himself?

After Hansen died, the emphasis of Healy's paranoid slander campaign shifted to the present SWP head, Jack Barnes. Hundreds of pages in the Healyite press sought to show that Barnes (who's not one of our favorite people, by the way) was an FBI agent; in fact, they claim, so are all his cronies in the present leadership of the SWP. Why? Because a bunch of them all went to Carleton College, a small school in the American Midwest. For "proof" we are offered, among other things, a 1961 report on a visit to Carleton by...Jim Robertson!

Robertson, then a leader of the SWP's Young Socialist Alliance, went on tour for the YSA in 1961. At Carleton, he met with a loose group of youth, some of whom were SWP supporters. When he arrived he found that these leftist students "had all the party [internal] bulletins on the Cuba discussion and in the presence of a whole group of 18 students, their leader innocently asked me to fill them in on Wohlforth's side in the dispute" (this letter by Robertson is quoted in the WL's 1981 pamphlet, "Security and the Fourth International: The Carleton Twelve"). Robertson, himself in opposition on Cuba, suggested the students should join the SWP if they wanted to be privy to its internal life. For Healy & Co., that these non-members had gotten some interesting documents (from SWP leader Carl Feingold) is "irrefutable" evidence of an FBI conspiracy, carried out by Hansen and Feingold, to groom Jack Barnes and his Carleton cronies to take over the government's SWP operation from Hansen. Those familiar with Healyite doublethink will find nothing unusual about the idea that Robertson—elsewhere portrayed as the most pernicious agent of Hansen—here constitutes an unimpeachable witness to the Carleton College "conspiracy."

But perhaps there's more to it. Is North himself an agent of Robertson? Why else would he use Robertson as an authority, when we all know how Robertson covered up for Hansen the FBI agent? Did David North also go to Carleton College?

As we have noted before, "Security and the Fourth International" was always a supremely cynical device, used along with a deliberately mystified "dialectics" to keep the Healyite membership scared witless and hopelessly confused. Healy was the man with the answers: who is a CIA/FBI/GPU agent and which "opposites" to hold fast to. Healy's little heir, North, doesn't believe his own lies, if there is any truth to the following story. According to Savas Michael (Greek IC section leader still with Healy), North visited Michael in Athens to line him up against Healy when it became clear the WRP was about to blow apart. Michael claims he asked North about "Security and the Fourth International" and North "spoke about a 'personal vendetta' between G. Healy and Joseph Hansen" (*Marxist Review*, May 1986).

Such a vendetta did indeed exist. A conscious revisionist and skilled polemicist, Hansen twisted Healy's tail on more than one occasion—especially in his exposure of Healy's antics at the 1966 London IC Conference. It was for selling Hansen's pamphlet of documents on our exclusion from that conference that Healy had a Canadian USec leader, Ernie Tate, beaten up in London, then sued him when he protested. Then when Wohlforth was purged, his lengthy, lurid account of life in Healy's IC was printed by Hansen in *Intercontinental Press*, the journal he edited. The *Bulletin* produced a reply to Wohlforth in the form of a polemic against our own article "Wohlforth Terminated" (*WV* No. 61, 31 January 1975). Hansen must have enjoyed himself thoroughly when he added the following footnote on the Healyite article:

> "It is not clear why the Workers League Political Committee concludes that Robertson and Wohlforth have consummated 'a political marriage that is pregnant with historical ironies.' Perhaps the WLPC misread the quip in the 'Wohlforth Terminated' article: 'As for Wohlforth, we can say with sincerity: it couldn't happen to a nicer guy'."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, Vol. 13, No. 11, 24 March 1975

Healyism and Racism

When Healy wrote of "D. North's whiter than white socialism" he doubtless didn't know how right he was. For North continues the long tradition of U.S. Healyite "colorblind" economism. Perhaps the most self-indicting piece in the *Bulletin*'s series is the one entitled, "An Obsession With Race." It both proves that nothing in the real world stands in the way of what the *Bulletin* will print and that the WL's profile in this deeply racist country is, on the black question, akin to the old AFL job-trusted white-racist unions. Of the latter, founding American Trotskyist James P. Cannon said: "They also had nothing special to offer the Negroes; nothing at all, in fact" ("The Russian Revolution and The American Negro Movement").

D. North's "whiter than white" Bulletin ridicules Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped KKK in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982 (below).

WV Photo

According to the *Bulletin*'s research:

> "The *Workers Vanguard's* 1985 subject index contains references to at least 60 articles on the 'black struggle,' civil rights, police terror, racial attacks, fascist groups, etc. These included a number of articles on the MOVE bombing which was certainly one of the most important political developments [!] of the year, but dozens of other incidents as well.
>
> "In the same one-year period, according to the index, the Spartacist newspaper managed a single article on auto workers, two on steelworkers and one on (US) coal miners."
>
> —*Bulletin*, 3 June

Talk about perfect Healyite hypocrisy. By rights, their tongues should grow hair and their toes shrivel up and fall off as they utter the word "index." Can you imagine the WL putting out indexed bound volumes of the past years of the *Bulletin* so that advanced workers can study their record?

Now what does the index controversy show? 1) That "only the Workers League" could refer to the hideous racist massacre of Philly MOVE by the state in such bloodless, colorblind terms. 2) That in Reagan's America, racist terror has been unleashed viciously and consciously and often as part of the domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive. 3) That the auto, steel and (U.S.) coal unions probably weren't writing a proud new chapter in the history of the American class struggle last year.

For the *Bulletin*, though, it demonstrates that the Spartacists "counterpose" the "struggle against racism from the struggle of the working class," "making the working class, rather than the capitalist system, responsible for racial discrimination and prejudice." Inexorably, what follows is an example of our work proving precisely the opposite: the successful SL-initiated, union-backed Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. Over 5,000 black workers and youth turned out and placed themselves under our leadership and the threatened KKK march was stopped in its tracks. It was a singular *victory for labor*, and particularly for doubly oppressed black labor, in Reagan's America.

At the time, the *Bulletin* smeared the anti-Klan mobilization as "an adventure which played right into the hands of the police," but this grotesque and cowardly lie is not now repeated. Now, North & Co. sneer that our "reaction" was "seemingly out of all proportion to the significance of the threat posed [by] a handful of KKK scum in a city which is 60% black." Fortunately, black Washington residents and unionists from the Tidewater area docks didn't see it that way.

Belittling the Klan danger, North & Co. pretend not to know that the November 27 display of labor/black power faced down *the Reagan government's determination* to shove the Klan provocation down the throat of that city. Our mobilization was a labor action not only in its program but in the simplest literal sense. Respectful treatment from the cops for the mobilization was wrested not mainly by the size and militancy of the assembly, though that was impressive, but by the black union presidents who made it known in the face of police threats that their memberships would take amiss any interference with this heavily union-endorsed anti-Klan action.

Again, to our statement that the fascists in this country have been able to poll hundreds of thousands of votes, the *Bulletin* snaps: "the Spartacists cannot point to a KKK candidate who has received such a mass vote." Try these for starters: KKKer Tom Metzger received over 32,000 votes in a 1980 Democratic Congressional primary in California; a brown-shirted Nazi, Harold Covington, took 56,000 votes in a North Carolina statewide election for attorney general. The Klan, of course, endorsed Ronald Reagan and took his victory as their own. But this is just social reality and therefore has no place in the Northites' attempt to work us over. Perhaps the most idiotic part of the *Bulletin*'s anti-anti-racist tirade is the denunciation of our slogan "Finish the Civil War!" as "utterly reformist"!

Northite "Internationalism": Little Lords of Nothing

By the mid-1970s, the IC had become unashamed apologists for Near Eastern bourgeois regimes. In 1985 Slaughter admitted:

> "GH [Healy] sought and found relations with bourgeois leaders like Saddam Hussein, Gaddafi, and Nkomo. It is not only that Marxism was distorted in order to mislead on their class nature. This Party, through Healy, sought financial support from these bourgeois, not just for this or that political purpose, but as a system."
>
> —*News Line*, 20 November 1985

But now that these revelations have served their purpose in dumping Healy, North & Co. want to turn the IC's crimes into Healy's personal responsibility. Slaughter says that it was when he "raised the question of Comrade North tackling *his own* responsibility for the IC's past" that North "moved very quickly to propose suspension of the WRP from the IC." He also spills some beans about Nick Beams, North's bloc partner in Australia:

> "Is it only the WRP which received financial assistance from one or other Middle Eastern bourgeois national governments?...
>
> "Is it not a fact that the Australian section did receive a sum of (tens of thousands of dollars) in 1983?...
>
> "Is it not a fact that the receipt of this money by the Australian section [w]as reported to the Central Committee of the SLL (Australia) only in the month before the IC meeting of Dec 16 [1985]?...
>
> "Is it not true that Cde Beams failed to report the matter to the IC or to the WRP delegates, but that he *did* report it to at least some of the delegates who supported the WRP suspension and certainly to Comrade North?"
>
> —Slaughter, Letter to all members, 14 January 1986

According to the Slaughter *Workers Press* (28 June 1986) Beams "was formally censured...for failing to report to the December 17 [1985] meeting of IC leaders, held in London, on the SLL's role in carrying out Healy's betrayals especially in the Middle East.... At a further conference held on March 1 and 2 the [Northite Australian SLL] majority could not even agree on whether a betrayal had occurred when the SLL supported the execution of the 21 Iraqi communists." This article also notes that Beams and North had initially opposed Healy's expulsion.

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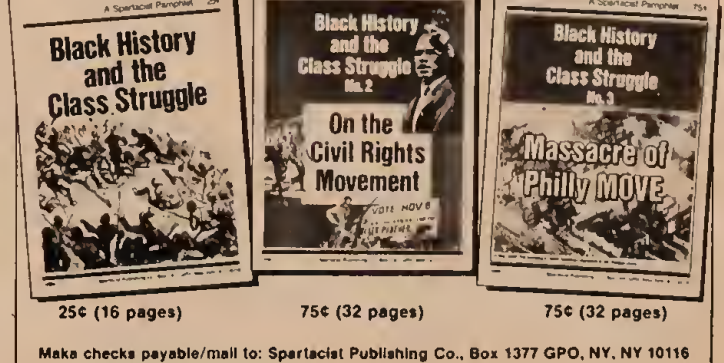

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Workers League...

(continued from page 11)

From virtually all quarters, save North's own, comes the same story: crisis in the WRP, North maneuvering for junior "founder-leader" status—blocking with Slaughter/Banda to dump Healy, banking on the demise of his bloc partners thereafter. Greek Healyite Michael says that when North visited him in September, "he spoke with the utmost contempt for the 'unprincipled, nationalist British' including his present day [now ex-] allies, Slaughter, Banda and Pilling. He called Slaughter 'a physical coward', Banda an opportunist and Pilling 'an alcoholic'." Slaughter supporter Bill Hunter, in his cogent reply to Banda's "Twenty-Seven Reasons...", adds:

> "His [North's] 'authority' is based on the Eighth Congress of the IC.... Every proceeding at that congress, every word which came out of it, is a monument of 'Healyism'."
>
> —*Workers Press*, 15 February

What is North's IC? When you turn over the rock to see what makes them move, you find a dead-end pecking-order invidiousness appropriate to those who aspire to be little lords of nothing. Certainly there is no connection between these fracturing grouplets and the class struggle, the defense of the oppressed. The German Northites—the Bund Sozialistische Arbeiter (BSA)—have adopted a "new" line for electoral support to the German Social Democratic Party, according to the 25 July *Bulletin*. Only three days before, the *Bulletin* had published a BSA statement entitled "Social-Democracy and the 'Trail of Blood'." While the Peruvian regime was massacring hundreds of political prisoners, the SPD and its fellows were meeting at a congress of the Second International "only a few kilometers away." Former SPD chancellor Willy Brandt, we are told, made what amounted to "a complete apology for the blood bath." He is, according to the *Bulletin*, "on the side of imperialism in Latin America.... His political aim differs from Ronald Reagan's only in nuances." Yet it is to this very SPD that the German Northites now extend their electoral support.

Beams' Australian SLL admitted publicly that it had printed an exile organ of the fascistic Vietnamese émigrés, *The Bell of Saigon*. This link with the thugs who have been physically attacking leftist and labor meetings was "explained" by the SLL as part of a turn toward "commercial enterprise." Has the financially beleaguered WL found similar sources of income yet?

David North: A Healyite's Healyite

North and his gang are *worthless people* for the international working-class movement. Separated from their own "continuity"—Healy—their trajectory might lead *anywhere*. With supreme cynicism, the *Bulletin* has begun a series penned by North on "The Heritage We Defend," which obscenely tries to claim connection with Trotsky and Cannon. The heritage North really defends is Healy's at its worst: "Security and the Fourth International"; eager ventures across the class line in pursuit of trivial opportunist advantage or financial support; shameless use of the bosses' courts within the workers movement.

Programmatically, the IC under Healy and now North is a virulently anti-Soviet sect. Beginning with embrace of the Maoist "Cultural Revolution" in 1966, they have moved on to support virtually every hostile force on the borders of the USSR, from Khomeini's Iran to the Afghan mullahs to Polish Solidarność. Their enthusiasm for Solidarność, the Pope's and Wall Street's best hope for plunging Poland into a bloody civil war for the restoration of capitalism, led them into the arms of Margaret Thatcher when they redbaited miners' leader Arthur Scargill on the eve of the heroic miners' strike. "Anti-Stalinism" was their cover for supporting the beheading of the Iraqi proletariat when they applauded the execution of the CP members on the grounds that, after all, "they were only Stalinists."

Sturrock/Network

Class war in Britain's coal fields, 1984. On eve of strike, Healyites' redbaiting attack on miners' leader Scargill was eagerly picked up by Tory press.

In the 3 January *Bulletin*, North denounced Pabloism for overthrowing "Trotsky's characterization of Stalinism as 'counter-revolutionary through and through'." This formulation owes nothing to Trotsky; in fact, it comes from Dave Weiss ("D. Stevens"), who put it forward during the 1953 Cochran-Clarke fight in the SWP. A historical irony here—it was Healy/North's arch-enemy, Joseph Hansen, who defended this one-sided formulation in the debate. (Any curious Northites are referred to SWP *Internal Bulletin*, Vol. 15, Nos. 3 and 4, February 1953.) By Healyite logic, North must be: 1) a hopeless ignoramus or 2) a secret agent of Hansen.

Trotsky in all his writings insisted on the *contradictory* nature of Stalinism, a conservative bureaucratic caste which rests upon the socialized property forms in the deformed workers states; at the same time Stalinism, by seeking accommodation with imperialism, undermines the defense of the workers states, necessitating proletarian *political revolution*. (Denying the dual nature of Stalinism, how can the Healyites explain such occurrences as the overthrow of capitalism in Vietnam? They can't, which explains that characteristic Healyite schizophrenia: slavishly tailing the Vietnamese leadership, while at the same time denying that an anti-capitalist revolution took place in Cuba.)

The WL's "anti-Stalinism" leans heavily on the notion that Washington and the Kremlin are united for counter-revolution in a global conspiracy against, e.g., Solidarność and the national liberation of Third World peoples. A glance at the real world, though, shows that more than 60 years of sincere Stalinist commitment to "peaceful coexistence" hasn't reconciled (and can't) the capitalist rulers to the continued existence of the Soviet Union. Indeed, a frenzied imperialist regime identifies as "Soviet surrogates" every movement for social freedom, from Nicaragua to South Africa. And needless to say the WL, busy denouncing Russian capitulations, never mentions how the Chinese are serving as direct military agents of U.S. imperialism from the Vietnamese border to Angola to Afghanistan.

Anti-Sovietism is a necessary credential for those who seek patronage from the maggoty labor bureaucrats, from those traitors to the working class who serve their "own" imperialism. And it's among those traitors that the Healyites seek to nest. Thus the WL in the New York transit union seeks to entice the union tops to form a "labor party" by mimicking their bureaucrats' hostile indifference to the defense of James Grimes, a black worker prosecuted for a courageous act of self-defense. The WL's racist economism is fundamental. But there is also a chameleon-like quality to the WL's politics. The *Bulletin* series paints us as "obsessed" with black people in America. But over South Africa, for example, they are simultaneously for imperialist "divestment" and for blood and vengeance, People's War, and charge us with being obsessed with...white people. That's because the Healyites/Northites are *whores*, and who they're seeking to please varies from one moment to the next.

The thoroughgoing defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism and capitalist restoration requires revolutionary leadership. It requires the forging of Trotskyist parties in each country welded together as disciplined sections of a reborn Fourth International. The international Spartacist tendency was forged to preserve and build upon the threads of continuity that link the authentic Fourth Internationalists of today to the movement of Trotsky's and Cannon's time. Those threads are slender. We are thinking not only of the murder of Trotsky and the decimation of the European Trotskyist groups by fascism and world war. We recall also the murdered Andrés Nin, the Hanoi Trotskyists who were extinguished, and others about whom we know even less. From our independent inception in 1964, we sought to intersect and test out every kind of grouping that claimed to have something to offer in the way of international leadership. For our American-based grouping, tossed out of the SWP with small forces, the struggle for international collaborators was an uphill battle, and one that still continues.

Gerry Healy and his heirs are a world apart from this. They have a publishing machine, so we have to answer what they say. But what they say means nothing—their words are but applications for some sordid and episodic advantage, bearing no relationship to what they claim to believe. What is Healy, what is North? We have to concur with Trotsky's remark about Stalinism, but in microcosm of course: to the extent the Healyites/Northites are part of the working class, they are its syphilis. ■

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Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

Today Reagan claims the Soviet UN mission is a "nest of spies." But *all* diplomats are more or less legalized spies. Ever since the exchange of emissaries between the Persians and Greeks in ancient times, the diplomatic norms of personal immunity for diplomats and extraterritoriality for embassies have been fundamental to peaceful intercourse among peoples and nation-states. The Reaganites want to do away with this understanding because there are certain nation-states they want to do away with, from Sandinista Nicaragua and Castro's Cuba to the Soviet Union. They express this in the history of gross American abuse of Soviet diplomatic personnel in recent years—e.g., in 1983 (in the midst of the anti-Soviet hysteria over the U.S.' KAL 007 spy flight) Soviet foreign minister Gromyko was denied landing rights in New York for his Aeroflot airliner, thus barring him from attending the UN session; and in January 1980 Soviet ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin's life was jeopardized as anti-Soviet air controllers deliberately blipped his plane from the JFK radar screen.

Reagan's French and British NATO allies have occasionally tried diplomatic bully-boy tactics by ejecting Soviet personnel en masse. But when "Rambo's daughter," British prime minister Maggie Thatcher, tried her "Iron Lady" routine by expelling 25 Soviet diplomatic and other officials last year, she found out to her regret that Gorbachev is no wimp: Moscow responded tit for tat instantly with the expulsion of 25 Britons. Unfortunately, caught up perhaps in summit fever and their illusory quest for "arms control" via paper agreements with the imperialists, the Moscow bureaucrats quietly acceded to the U.S. demands to cut their UN diplomatic personnel. Even before the White House's peremptory order, a spokesman for the U.S. mission to the UN admitted: "the [Soviet] reductions are on schedule." And now they have ordered the 25 to leave as well.

The American ruling class has never gotten used to the idea that most of the world is populated by oppressed peoples of color who don't necessarily think the Great White Father in Washington is their *Führer*. A leading spokesman for racist backlash is NYC Democratic mayor Ed Koch, who did his usual bit for Reagan by browbeating a group of Soviet youth visiting New York as part of "Peace Child Week." During a "welcome" speech he declared he was "not at peace" with the USSR and denounced the Soviet government as "the pits" (*New York Times*, 16 September). Quite a mouthful from the man who has turned New York into pit city. This tantrum led one 14-year-old Soviet boy to defiantly say in broken but dignified English, "I don't want to stay in this house no more minute."

Nests of Hacks

The American media have thrown up a smokescreen of righteous indignation over the arrest of an alleged reporter in Moscow—supposedly U.S. reporters don't spy. Never mind all the post-Watergate revelations, such as the 1976 Senate intelligence committee report that the CIA had around 50 agents working under cover as journalists or employees of American publications, not to mention the hundreds of agency "assets" who had a more "unofficial" connection—namely they passed on hot tips for free. Columnist Joseph Alsop, who bragged that he "helped the CIA from time to time," was typical. We are supposed to believe these relationships were ended in 1977 as the result of a new CIA regulation. But only a fool would take the word of an agency that deals in disinformation. Even *Newsweek* (22 September), which ought to know, reports that "America's 'spooks' and 'hacks' still find ways to keep in touch while staying at arm's length."

Soviet leader Gorbachev meets with warmonger Reagan in Geneva, November 1985.

So, what about Daniloff? He is a grandson of an anti-Bolshevik tsarist general; he's also evidently something of a Russophile. His initial press release of 13 September was a classic non-denial denial, saying "everything that I have done in the U.S.S.R. has been on my own personal initiative or on request of my magazine." At his press conference the next day, Daniloff pointedly remarked, twice, that if he were a "big-time spy" he would have expected "that my arrest would have come much earlier." So what does that make him, a small-fry spy? Charged with being a courier, he openly admitted delivering a letter to the U.S. embassy in January 1985, claiming merely that it had appeared "unsolicited" in his mailbox and he "did not open" it. To charges that he probed for military information, he replied that in writing on Afghanistan and the Soviet Navy he "dug deeply," but only in the sense of "journalistic activity."

Predictably, very few of the specifics of Soviet charges against Daniloff have filtered through the Western news media. But one allegation did leak through which may be a key to the whole case. As reported in *Newsday* (9 September):

> "Izvestia linked Daniloff to Paul Stombaugh, a U.S. diplomat accused of being a CIA agent and expelled from the Soviet Union in June, 1985. As evidence, it cited a note, allegedly given to a Soviet citizen by Stombaugh, that said: 'We would like to assure you that the letter delivered by you to the journalist on Jan. 24 got to the designated person.' Izvestia claimed Daniloff was the journalist mentioned in the letter."

Who is the "Soviet citizen" for whom Daniloff was allegedly passing information to the CIA? No major news media in the U.S. has bothered to pursue this critical question. But the *New York Times* apparently tripped up once in an article (9 September) about Daniloff by mentioning Stombaugh's Soviet contact: "According to a report in Pravda last September, [Stombaugh] was apprehended in the act of taking materials from a man named A.G. Tolkachev, who worked for a Moscow research institute."

The Tolkachev case was no small matter. The *New York Post* (18 October 1985) called Tolkachev the "CIA's Top Mole," and citing the *Wall Street Journal* listed some of his traitorous accomplishments: "Tolkachev for several years had provided the CIA with details of the latest Soviet advances in radar and 'stealth technology'—the most sensitive information in military aviation. He also is believed to have given the U.S. its first tipoff about Soviet plans for the large phased-array radar system under construction in Krasnoyarsk." The Krasnoyarsk radar, actually located at the nearby village of Ahalakova, has been well documented to be the probable prime target of the KAL 007 spy operation (see our article, "Skeletons in the White House Basement," *WV* No. 394, 3 January 1986, as well as R.W. Johnson's recent book, *Shootdown*).

In short, there is considerable evidence that Daniloff may have been the go-between who provided the intelligence which kicked off the Reaganite KAL 007 provocation, a landmark on the road to World War III. One can only say, as we did last issue (*WV* No. 411, 12 September), "let's find out if he's guilty with a fair trial: an open, public trial with a defense counsel of his choice and strictly according to Soviet jurisprudence."

For Communist Unity!

In the wake of the Stockholm "confidence building" East-West accord, the *New York Times* (22 September) declares: "After months of sharp disputes, the United States and the Soviet Union seem suddenly on the road to both a summit meeting and conclusion of a major arms control agreement." While "not blinking" over Daniloff, Soviet leader Gorbachev had set as a condition for a second summit meeting with Reagan that there be a "significant" arms control agreement to sign at the conclusion. He didn't want to come out with empty hands, like the last time around in Geneva when it was all Reagan-style media hype. But sign what? Agreements that limit the number of Soviet missiles and allow NATO to send military spies poking around the Soviet bloc wherever and whenever they want, while hundreds of U.S. missiles targeted for a first strike on the Kremlin are just offshore?

Last spring, in an overview of Reagan policy toward the Soviet Union, *New York Times* "national security" correspondent (and off-and-on top State Department and Pentagon official)

AP

Soviet scientist and UN employee Gennadi Zakharov seized by American authorities.

Leslie Gelb reported that Administration officials believed they had "altered the correlation of overall power with Moscow." The Reaganauts figured that Gorbachev was "trapped" and would be forced to crawl to a summit meeting, like it or not. U.S. military and economic strength had been restored after the Vietnam debacle, they fantasized, while "Moscow has 'overreached' globally," and "would not respond to American military action against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra," nor would there be "a vigorous Soviet reaction" to escalated U.S. arms supplied to contra mercenaries in Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua and Cambodia. In short, in the words of a "high-ranking official," they figure the Russians are "on the run" (*New York Times*, 5 April).

But as soon as the Kremlin took what was seen as a "tough" posture over the Daniloff affair, this registered even with American conservatives. Right-wing columnist and former Nixon flack William Safire tried to explain this, claiming: "In response to the prospect of a visit to Moscow by the leader of China, the Soviet Union has placed world Communist unity ahead of superpower agreement..." (*New York Times*, 22 September). Unfortunately, Sino-Soviet unity is hardly the reality. Ever since 1972, when Mao embraced Nixon while U.S. B-52s were carpet-bombing North Vietnam, China has been a strategic ally of U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. This alliance was sealed by acts of war: the Chinese armed CIA-backed guerrillas in Angola in 1975 and Afghanistan today, and have attacked Soviet-allied Vietnam since 1979. Such treachery is patently self-defeating: if the Soviet Union is destroyed, the Chinese will be next!

In a speech in Vladivostok on July 28, Gorbachev made an overture to Deng to resolve the long-standing dispute over territory along the Amur and Ussuri rivers on the Russian-Chinese border. But Gorbachev's "Vladivostok initiative" also included an approach to the anti-Communist ASEAN states. For its part, Peking is saying that any agreement is conditional on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, where they are holding off the genocidal Pol Pot forces and U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries. Rather than this nationalist appeal, including to imperialist Japan, whose rearmament threatens both China and Russia, what's needed is a *class* program for communist unity against imperialism. As we wrote in "Reagan, Begin & Hitler" (*WV* No. 308, 25 June 1982):

> "What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese, especially since they are annoyed with Reagan now over Taiwan. Rectify the 17th century (and later) treaties between the tsars and the Manchu emperors. A generous gesture explicitly motivated: 'Well, it looks like the U.S. is going to come for us now, and we hardly want you people to hit us from behind. And while you're at it, take the pressure off the Vietnamese so they can finally clean up the Cambodian mess....' That's what sensible defenders of Soviet interests, not to mention proletarian internationalists, would do."

In the name of "détente" or "peaceful coexistence," the revolutionary unity of the proletariat has been sacrificed innumerable times since Leninist internationalism was usurped by Stalinist nationalism. Who will Gorbachev et al. negotiate with for this illusory reconciliation with imperialism? Certainly not "Rambo" Reagan. The Democrats, meanwhile, unanimously supported Reagan's stand on Daniloff, while voting hundreds of millions for Reagan's contras in Nicaragua. Angola, Afghanistan and Cambodia. A recent policy statement asserts that "Democrats harbor no illusions about arms control" and denounces the Soviet Union in Reaganite terminology as a "totalitarian society that remains an empire in the classical sense" (*New York Times*, 21 September).

In the aftermath of the October Revolution, when the young and weak Soviet republic was threatened by famine, 16 invading imperialist armies and internal counterrevolution, the Bolsheviks organized the Third International. Lenin declared: "The soviet power placed the world dictatorship of the proletariat and the world revolution higher than any national sacrifices, no matter how heavy they might be." Not summit sophistry but a return to the road of Lenin: for the reforging of a genuine communist international to struggle to lead the masses to socialist revolution in the West and workers political revolution in the Sino-Soviet states. This is the program of the international Spartacist tendency; this is the only way the nuclear holocaust threatened by decaying imperialism can be averted. ■

Black Miners...

(continued from page 1)

their own oppression. Apartheid slavery mandates that 97 percent of the country's 550,000 black miners must be "migrants," recruited from the barren bantustans and impoverished neighboring black states of southern Africa, separated from their families and forced to live in prison-like, all-male labor camps. The mining houses reap their superprofits by paying miners starvation wages while their families eke out a miserable existence at home. Each year, according to official government statistics, between 25,000 and 55,000 miners are injured and 800 die in "accidents." The bereaved families use most of their death benefits just to bring the bodies home.

On September 22, hundreds of outraged black miners, waving their hard hats and iron pipes, stormed the obscene "memorial service" called by the Gencor murderers. One miner's sign read, "An injury to one is an injury to all. We cry for our fallen brothers."

The United States Congress, which just passed its "sweeping" sanctions bill against South Africa, carefully excluded "strategic metals"—i.e., strategic to Wall Street and to Washington's anti-Soviet military buildup. The American capitalist class, despite its neanderthal political representatives in the White House, know that the writing is on the wall for the apartheid regime. They want to ensure that any future government in South Africa and especially its "strategic metals" stay in the hands of Western imperialism.

Nothing more tellingly demonstrated the real intent of Congress than its vote on September 17, just one day after the South African gold mine disaster, to approve "covert" CIA bankrolling of apartheid's mercenaries in Angola, Jonas Savimbi's UNITA. Pretoria's contras are backed up by 20,000 heavily armed South African troops stationed on the Angolan border. Together with frequent invasions from Pretoria, UNITA has been able to wreak tremendous havoc on southern Angola. In affected areas more than 600,000 people have been made homeless, thousands of innocent civilians have been kidnapped and murdered, and destruction of food crops has caused widespread hunger. What has prevented the white supremacist regime from turning Angola into another colony of Pretoria, like mineral-rich Namibia to the south, is the presence in Angola of 30,000 Soviet-backed Cuban troops. Economic sanctions against South Africa and CIA blood money for Pretoria's contras in Angola are part of the *same* policy: to defend the system that murdered black miners at Kinross and regiment the U.S. for war with the Soviet Union.

Black miners union NUM was leading force in forming 500,000-strong COSATU union federation.

People's Daily World

Cyril Ramaphosa, head of South Africa's largest and most powerful black union, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which represents over 250,000 miners, rightfully blamed the Kinross disaster on the murderous disregard of the Gencor mine magnates for elementary safety norms. Apparently the fire was started when a polyurethane tunnel sealant caught fire and emitted a cloud of deadly fumes. Welders who were working in the area were not issued extinguishers. Gencor spokesmen said at a press conference they "did not know" whether the sealant had ever been flame-tested, and "the need didn't exist" to determine if it would produce toxic fumes when ignited!

Only last June the international safety rating of Kinross mine was lowered, and lately the mine bosses have been pushing production to the limit and beyond to boost South Africa's dwindling foreign exchange reserves. Although the Kinross mine alone produces 15 tons of gold a year, Gencor is one of South Africa's smaller mining companies, and even within the framework of apartheid capitalism, one of its most brutal. The police state's armed forces are augmented by company cops equipped with shotguns and guard dogs who are rented to other mining firms.

For the past two years South Africa has undergone the greatest anti-apartheid revolt in its history, posing directly the question of who shall rule. In the spring and summer of 1985, the strategic black miners were poised for a nationwide strike which would have paralyzed apartheid capitalism. Instead, Ramaphosa dragged out negotiations for weeks and then settled with the biggest mining house, Anglo American. Black miners for the small houses like Gencor where the NUM is weakest were left to strike alone on 1 September 1985, and their strike was crushed in a few days. The reason: Ramaphosa did not want to "disrupt" a planned meeting between the African National Congress (ANC) and a delegation of apartheid capitalists headed by Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly. The ANC supports imperialist "sanctions" and "divestment" for the same reason the U.S. Congress does: to prevent the black miners and other workers of South Africa from "divesting," i.e., *expropriating* Gavin Relly and his ilk of the wealth which these toilers have created.

The black proletariat has shown its social power to smash the chains of apartheid slavery in nationwide strikes this past May Day and the Soweto commemoration "stayaway" carried out in the very teeth of Botha's draconian "state of emergency." Especially the strategic black miners, recruited from throughout southern Africa, have the power to be the motor force for social emancipation throughout the region. What is desperately needed is a racially integrated vanguard party which breaks with all forms of nationalism, uniting black, coloured, Indian and white communists in the struggle for a black-centered workers government. Forge a Bolshevik party in South Africa! ■

Scab Ship...

(continued from page 16)

afloat—according to Bay Area fishermen, that would take at least ten minutes, enough time for Favaloro to be rescued by the *Golden Gate*. But the tanker kept going for almost 15 minutes after the "mayday" message. It was only at the insistence of another fisherman who listened, horrified, to the *Jack Jr.*'s call for help, that the Coast Guard asked the tanker to turn around and look for survivors. It took more than two hours for the *Golden Gate* to return to the scene of its hit-and-run crime.

A former *Jack Jr.* crewman identified netting found in the tanker's propeller guard as belonging to Favaloro's boat but Keystone stonewalled for more than two months before admitting that it was the *Golden Gate* that sank the trawler. And that was only after the boat's wreckage was positively identified a half mile from the tanker's position as recorded in the *Golden Gate*'s log at the time of the sinking. Then the company and Hilger claimed no one aboard the tanker knew that there had been a collision.

They're lying. The two vessels were in radio contact an instant before the impact and the exchange is on a Coast Guard tape: "You're getting pretty close," Favaloro warned the *Golden Gate*. "Stay put," was the reply. Then the trawler was hit and several *Golden Gate* crew members testified to the Coast Guard that they saw splintered wood and an orange flotation device in the water. The "mayday" was ignored and the tanker's officers never reported it. As the killer ship got underway, so did the coverup.

Three days later, the *Golden Gate* docked in Anacortes, Washington. Keystone instructed a Raytheon Co. technician to meet the ship and examine the radar systems. The next day vital parts were replaced on both the ship's radar systems. The ship's radar maintenance log stated that the system had experienced repeated problems for more than a year. And while the radar was being checked, Keystone sent a diver down to examine the hull. He found a large piece of fishing net near the propeller but Keystone waited a day to notify the Coast Guard. A diver hired by the Coast Guard went down the next day, accompanied by the Keystone diver who had instructions not to mention his earlier find (*San Francisco Examiner*, 5 August). Only a scrap of the net remained.

Examiner columnist Warren Hinkle and Quentin Kopp of the SF Board of Supervisors are both personal friends of the Favaloro family and have kept the *Jack Jr.* case in the public eye. (Kopp is representing the family in a $9 million wrongful death suit against Keystone.) Otherwise the *Jack Jr.* would have been just another nameless wreck at sea. And there have been many. In the last two years, at least six commercial fishing vessels have been struck by ships in Bay Area waters. Three others have disappeared. During the last year, at least three sailboats have been hit by big ships.

These are not freak accidents. They are the predictable result of the ship owners' insatiable drive for profit. The Coast Guard began a civil investigation of the *Jack Jr.*'s sinking which has now been superseded by an FBI investigation of "possible" criminal negligence. But even if Hilger and Lieb are found guilty, which Keystone denies, their bosses will still be at large and they have blood on their hands. As ships have grown larger and less maneuverable their crews have been drastically reduced. In loading on automated equipment, the owners are interested in profits, not safety.

In 1970, the average tanker was 30,000 tons with an average crew size of 44-46. In 1984, the average was 60,000 tons with a crew of 26. Slowing down for fog or a fishing boat costs the owners bucks. To save fuel and time, ocean-going vessels sail close to the coast where fishing boats lie dead in the water with their nets out—like the *Jack Jr.* As a spokesman for a Bay Area fishermen's association told a *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter, "Some of these big commercial vessels just don't give a shit; they'll just run over you."

The destruction of PATCO was accompanied by a disastrous decline in air travel safety. In exactly the same way, Keystone's assault on maritime safety is sanctioned by the government's Coast Guard. *And the pro-capitalist union leaders are complicit in this crime!* When the ill-fated *Puerto Rican* arrived in Oakland in October 1984 there were MM&P pickets on the dock and a picket boat in the water. To their credit, members of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) refused to handle the scab ship's lines, but members of the National Maritime Union (NMU) and the Marine Engineers Benevolent Association (MEBA) did the dirty work for Keystone. They not only scabherded for the bosses here, but when English workers refused to handle the Keystone tanker *Chelsea*, NMU and MEBA officials sabotaged this internationalist solidarity action. This must be stopped!

Instead of fighting the bosses, the labor fakers wave the flag and blame unemployment on foreign seamen, claiming American ships are "safer." Tell it to the Favaloros. In contrast to the bureaucrats' treachery, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the NMU calls for a genuine international maritime workers union that would fight the bosses under every flag. At the November 1984 New York port meeting, a Caucus member denounced the NMU officials' international strikebreaking against MM&P and introduced a resolution which concluded:

> "...we oppose and condemn *any* instruction by *any* official to cross *any* labor picket line; we reaffirm the elementary principles which built the NMU and the CIO: Picket lines mean *don't cross*!"

There's an old saying on the docks: "You can't cross a picket line on two broken legs!"

You don't hear much talk about class struggle on the waterfront these days, but that's what it took to make San Francisco a union town in the first place. The general strike of 1934 began on the docks and, along with the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis general strike the same year, paved the way for the founding of the CIO. What the unions desperately need today are class-struggle leaders with guts and a program to fight. It's a matter of life and death. ■

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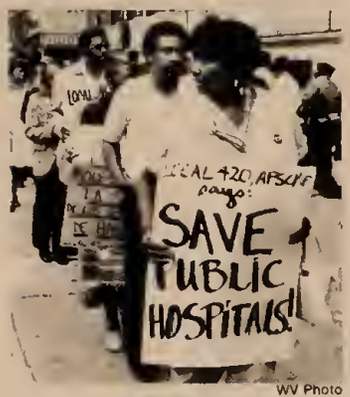
Harlem Hospital...

(continued from page 16)

that they had brought in cats to keep the rats out of the tunnels. The cats started to have kittens, and soon there were generations of these cats that had become more or less like wild animals that lived among the steam pipes in these tunnels. They may have functioned as deterrents to the rats, but the tunnels smelled like cat urine. And this is the way patients are transported when they go for x-rays or are brought from one clinic to another. So there'd be these animals sitting up there on the pipes—as you went by, you could see their little eyes glowing in the dark. They got rid of them a couple years ago, around one of the inspections.

"There's the elevators in what's called the old hospital. A few years back, an employee on the sixth floor had what was probably a heart attack. A special team of physicians that was assigned that day to take care of any heart attacks in the hospital was paged over the loudspeaker system. They ran to the building, only to find out that both elevators that went up to that floor were out of service. There was a freight elevator, but nobody was staffing it at the time. So they had to go up the stairs. And they had to wait for the elevator to be repaired before they could put him on a stretcher to bring him back downstairs.

"In Harlem, there is probably one of the sickest populations in North America, because of poverty. You're working with very ill patients, with a very small staff. The rate of tuberculosis right now



WV Photo

Union workers fight to save hospitals, while AFSCME president Gotbaum plays ball with bosses.

in Harlem is higher than it was in the U.S. in the 1940s. Not just pulmonary TB, but people have miliary TB in their bones, in every part of their body, such as you would find in a Third World country. There are a lot of people walking around who've had a positive skin test but haven't been treated. They don't have an adequate follow-up system where they can go after these people. So a lot of these people are living with tuberculosis in very crowded conditions with their families, people living in abandoned buildings. A lot of apartments in Harlem where there is no hot water, water has to be boiled before bathing. So infectious disease is a real problem: like TB, like strep throat, skin infections pass from one child to another.

"One of the attitudes the doctors develop is that life is cheap, so the patients are treated accordingly. Especially if you're black, and if you're a drug user, an alcoholic, you're treated like garbage a lot of the time. That's what happens to people that work here, they become very callous. In large part it has to do with the conditions you have to work in. In this hospital, they lack across the board some of the basic things that a hospital needs to run: a bedpan when it's needed, getting a prescription filled. Because of the shortage of supplies, you see doctors walking around in their white jackets, pockets bulging with syringes, because this way they know when they have to take blood from patient X in the morning, they'll at least have the syringe.

"Or take the transportation vehicles that go out and pick up patients who are home-bound: a lot of time the vehicles aren't working, the bottoms are all rusted out, they don't run. They don't run because they're not serviced properly. They're not serviced properly because they don't have mechanics to do the servicing, or drivers to drive the vehicles. It goes on and on. So people are concerned because they know the hospital is so underfunded. In the spring the union issued a leaflet where they called upon Koch to spend more money on the hospital. But the bureaucrats know that Koch is not about to spend more money on Harlem Hospital. If anything, word is out, it leaked out in grand rounds about two months ago, that they're going to cut the budget for the Hospitals Corporation the next budget that's coming out.

"This is the last hospital in Harlem. Because Columbia-Presbyterian is not about to take these people under their wing, witness Juan González [the *gusano* slasher on the Staten Island ferry last summer, who was dumped on the street by the private hospital in Upper Manhattan after being sent in for violent symptoms]. In psychiatry they have 'dumped' patients all the time, because the other facilities do not want to hospitalize these Medicare patients, especially the homeless. A lot of them, even if they may be crazy, or just down and out, don't want to stay in the shelters, where they give you a number and send you out onto a huge floor of an armory, where there's row after row of cots, a lot of stealing, fights, and no supervision—maybe two people to supervise 800.

"So a lot of the homeless don't want to stay there. They feel they're better off at Grand Central, or a bus terminal, or living in the subway. We had a patient, and that's where he lived: if you wanted to get a message to him, you'd go down and leave a message with the token booth clerk at the 135th St. and Lenox Avenue station, for Gus to please contact me at the following number. Sometimes he did and sometimes he didn't."

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Harlem Hospital is a microcosm of Harlem. As the private hospitals dump unwanted patients onto the city hospitals, racist American capitalism dumps oppressed minorities into the ghettos, where they constitute a "reserve army of the unemployed" who are last hired, first fired, kept in line by brutal cop terror, and abandoned in "malign neglect" when the economy goes into a deep depression. To turn ghetto hospitals into a place where people are healed to live rather than being left to die means a struggle against this whole rotten system. That requires the mobilization of the power of labor leading the ghetto masses, and the front line in this battle is obviously the hospital unions themselves. City hospital workers organized in AFSCME Local 420 have shown a will to fight: they were prominent on the picket lines in the battle to keep Sydenham open, and in New York demonstrations you will see Local 420 marching under the banner, "We're Fired Up—Can't Take Reagan's Budget Cuts."

But Reagan's budget cuts in New York City are carried out by the Democratic Party city administration: not only the arrogant racist pig Koch, who treats blacks and Hispanics like they're Arabs on the Israeli-occupied West Bank, but also limousine liberals like City Council president Stein and black front men such as Manhattan borough president David Dinkins. Rather than bringing out labor against these enforcers of capitalist austerity, AFSCME DC 37 head Victor Gotbaum

no credit

Infectious garbage piles up near pantry on medical floor of Harlem Hospital.

regularly delivers votes to the Democrats while playing tennis at the Southhampton estate of financier Felix Rohatyn, designer of the Big MAC cutbacks which gutted the city's social services. Gotbaum *literally* plays ball with the bosses.

In their anti-Soviet ravings, the American capitalist rulers from Democrat Carter to Republican Reagan raise a hypocritical hue and cry over "human rights." But from the My Lai massacre to the bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philly to closing hospitals in Harlem, the bourgeoisie doesn't even consider life a human right for poor people. The U.S. is one of only two major industrial countries in the world without any system of national health insurance, where whether you live or die is a straightforward question of how much money you have. The other country is South Africa. It's no accident that black people in the U.S. identify with the struggle against apartheid slavery, because they see in that hellhole of white supremacy a mirror of their own oppression. The Spartacist 1985 NYC election campaign raised the slogan, "From Harlem to Soweto—Smash Racist Terror!" We also say that from the U.S. to South Africa, decent health care for the oppressed can only come through socialist revolution.

As a result of the *bipartisan* budget cuts and the push to "privatize" (i.e., eliminate) social services for the poor, today more than 35 million people in the U.S. have no medical insurance at all. A 1985 federal study shows 60,000 black Americans die each year because of higher rates for minorities compared to whites of death due to heart disease, homicide, cancer, cirrhosis, diabetes and low birth weight. Compared to the infant mortality rate for blacks in the U.S. of 20 per thousand (double that of whites), in Cuba, a Third World country which has had a social revolution abolishing capitalism, it was only 16 per thousand. (Next door in Haiti, the rate was 121 per thousand.) In the United States in 1979 there were 595 people per physician and 159 people per hospital bed; in the Soviet Union, the world's leader in health care, it was half that: 289 people per doctor and 82 people per hospital bed.

The desperate state of black America is directly related to the anti-Soviet war drive—Reagan slashes hundreds of millions from school lunch programs, job training, welfare and health care to pay for half a Polaris submarine. Democrats and Republicans alike are taking aim at black Angola and black America, at the Soviet Union and the unions at home. They blame the victims for racist oppression, denouncing "babies having babies" and jumping on the "crackdown on crack" handwagon to drum up votes for the November election. But the desperation that drives young people to the escapism of hard drugs, or to get on welfare because there are no jobs, has never been so acute. Seventy percent minority dropout rates in NYC schools, 60 percent teenage unemployment in Central Harlem—the black condition is *worse* today than during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

A revolutionary workers party must be forged to lead the struggle against the all-sided racist onslaught in Reagan's America. The vanguard party, as Lenin said, must be the "tribune of the people," championing the cause of all the oppressed and leading them behind the banner of the working class. In San Francisco, the Labor Black League for Social Defense, initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, last year led a struggle against a "Jim Crow" bathroom at San Francisco General Hospital. In New York City, a Labor Black League was recently formed growing out of the successful effort of militants in the powerful Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 in support of black union brother James Grimes, who was victimized by both Transit Authority bosses and the Brooklyn district attorney, liberal Democrat Liz Holtzman, for his act of self-defense.

The Labor Black League program calls for mass mobilizations to stop the racist terrorists; for full union and citizenship rights for foreign-born workers; for women's rights—free, quality 24-hour day care, free abortion on demand, and equal pay for equal work; down with anti-gay laws; fight discrimination in jobs, housing and schools; for massive social security—health, pensions, full unemployment compensation at union wages; for a fighting labor movement—jobs for all; and for a break with the Democratic Party of war and racism. Join with the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Spartacist League in forging a workers party to fight for black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Koch and Other Rats Make...

Harlem Hospital Hell

NY Public Library

Mayor Koch (striped tie on right).

UPI

"I was a corpsman in Vietnam, and sometimes what I see at Harlem Hospital makes my experiences in Vietnam seem tame. At least there we always had supplies." This was the comment of one Harlem Hospital worker after the hospital once again failed a state inspection last June. In mid-September City Council president Andrew Stein released a federal study showing that the only hospital in Central Harlem is a continuing disaster area. In the midst of a City Hall corruption scandal, Harlem Hospital has become a political football between racist mayor Ed Koch and millionaire Stein. But for a quarter million black people, for whom Harlem Hospital is the *only* source of health care, it's literally a matter of life and death.

WV Photo

Demonstrating to keep Harlem's Sydenham Hospital open, 1980.

New York City bosses *made* Harlem Hospital a hellhole. Koch, whose crony Victor Botnick resigned under fire as Health and Hospitals Corporation chairman last June, is directly responsible. But so are the rest of the Democratic Party pols who have taken a bloody budget ax to every city service in this city as front men for Reagan austerity. In the 1970s bank-engineered "fiscal crisis," they cynically gutted health care, laying off thousands and closing hospitals serving minorities in the poorest areas. Harlem Hospital today reflects the desperate situation of the poor, the elderly and anyone considered "expendable" in this hellish society, where greed is king and poverty is a crime. Koch's cuts are literally killing blacks and working people.

In the '30s Depression, the jobless and homeless sold apples at a nickel apiece to keep body and soul together. In Reagan's America the social "safety net" consists of turning in soda cans and beer bottles...for a greatly devalued nickel.

In New York they're worried about who's on the take from *parking meters*—but the catastrophic state of city hospitals is a scandal that has been covered up for ages. According to a report commissioned by the New York State Health Department, patients undergoing major surgery die *two and a half times* as frequently in city hospitals as in private hospitals (7.86 per thousand patients compared to 2.97 per thousand). Harlem Hospital, in fact, has the second-highest mortality rate of any major big city hospital in the U.S., 15.9 per thousand patients (*New York Times*, 12 March). (Highest is City Hospital Center in Queens, and third is Kings County in Brooklyn.) In part this reflects the criminal practice of "dumping," where private hospitals unload nonpaying patients onto overloaded, underfinanced, underequipped and understaffed public facilities.

But such astronomical figures also reflect the dire state of health in the ghetto. Diseases most people think vanished years ago run rampant—tuberculosis, for example. Residents of Central Harlem had a reported rate of TB of 104.1 per 100,000 in 1982—*ten times* the national average. Nationwide, black infant mortality rates are double that for whites in this country. In Harlem the neonatal mortality rate (first 28 days) is not much different (actually lower) than the rest of the city, but by age one it surges to 21.1 per thousand live births (one-third above the rate for the city as a whole). Moreover, almost one in ten babies born in Central Harlem suffers from low birth weight, more than double the citywide average. In other words, these children are dying of being poor, of malnutrition, infection, lead poisoning, etc.

There's no money in medicine in the ghetto, so with only a handful of private physicians in Harlem for a population of hundreds of thousands, people go to the hospital for everything from a minor ear or vaginal infection to major trauma. If the baby gets burned due to a faulty stove, if an old lady is suffering hypothermia (a newfangled word for freezing to death) because there's no heat, the hospital is where you turn. But that didn't stop Koch & Co. from shutting down Sydenham Hospital in 1980 on the heels of the city's closing down of Logan Memorial on 155th Street. And then they sent in their killer cops to brutally beat and drive out the ghetto residents and AFSCME Local 420 hospital workers who valiantly tried to keep Sydenham open. The wholesale shutdown of lifesaving facilities in the ghetto is premeditated racist murder.

The Last Hospital in Harlem

In an interview with *WV*, one Harlem Hospital worker gave a vivid description of life for patients and staff at the hospital:

"At Harlem Hospital there are tunnels that connect the four separate buildings. When I started working there, they had such a problem with rats

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Scab Ship Hit-and-Run Murder

San Francisco

"You're going to hit us! Jesus Christ! Oh my god! Mayday! Mayday! Mayday! Mayday!"

These were the desperate, terrified last words of Jack Favaloro, skipper of the 73-foot fishing boat *Jack Jr.*, seconds before being run down by the 721-foot tanker *Golden Gate* in the icy waters off San Francisco Bay last May 26. Moments later the 28,000-ton *Golden Gate*, steaming at 15 knots—top speed—in fog-shrouded seas just before dark, cut the *Jack Jr.* in two, sending the trawler to the bottom in 253 feet of water. Three fishermen died. The *Golden Gate* continued full ahead.

This was hit-and-run murder by scabs and strikebreaking bosses.

In June 1984, the *Golden Gate*'s owner, Keystone Shipping Co., along with four other shipping companies refused to negotiate a contract with the licensed deck officers' union, the Masters, Mates & Pilots (MM&P). It was blatant union-busting: at stake were about one-third of all the jobs crewed by the MM&P. In October, the MM&P struck 66 vessels. The ships should have stayed tied up, but other maritime unions despicably crossed the mates' lines and the bosses got a court injunction against picketing. The ships, including the *Golden Gate*, sailed with scab officers on the bridge and deck.

Veder/SF Examiner

Scab tanker Golden Gate, which rammed fishing boat Jack Jr., sinking it and killing three people.

That's why Favaloro and the *Jack Jr.*'s two crew members, Vincenzo Ingargiola and Tom McCarthy, were killed. But the three Bay Area fishermen aren't the only ones dead at Keystone's hands. On 31 October 1984, the Keystone tanker *Puerto Rican* exploded outside the Golden Gate Bridge, killing able seaman John Peng, the adopted son of an MM&P pensioner. The company blamed MM&P saboteurs for the blast but the Coast Guard determined that improper loading by the scab officers was the cause.

The captain of the *Golden Gate* on May 26 was 30-year-old David Hilger, only *three years* out of the California Maritime Academy! Despite bad weather on the night of the collision, and the ship's proximity to a heavily-fished area, Hilger wasn't on the bridge. To avoid paying overtime, there was no bow lookout posted. The bridge watch was not on the bridge. The federally-required collision avoidance system was shut off because, according to Hilger, "it beeps too much when we're at sea and it's annoying" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 8 August). In addition to monitoring the radio and allegedly watching the malfunctioning radar, chief mate Peter Lieb was filling out the ship's log. When Lieb heard Favaloro's frantic distress call, he ordered the ship into a hard right turn *and kept going!*

The bodies of the crew members were never found and are presumed destroyed by the *Golden Gate*'s prop. Favaloro's corpse washed ashore several days later—barefoot. This means that he went into the water alive and conscious. It's not easy to remove heavy fishing boots while struggling to stay

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 413 | 10 October 1986

Avenge PATCO and Philly MOVE!

Labor: Sock It to Reagan!

Reagan Hates Everybody

When 30,000 longshoremen hit the bricks at 12:01 a.m., October 1, a knock-down, drag-out class battle was shaping up. East Coast dockers were fighting for all American labor. The maritime bosses were taken by surprise: they weren't expecting a walkout. They figured the dock workers would come crawling, do anything to avoid a strike. But the longshoremen said, "No more givebacks!" Tens of thousands of tons of cargo were left sitting idle in the ports. Militant mass pickets shut down New York's key containerized facilities tight, and for a change it was the scabs who were on the receiving end (one reportedly broke his legs). It started off as the biggest labor confrontation since the coal miners strike in 1978-79. Even though within three days the leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) called it off, much to the disgust of militant strikers, it's not over. Contracts were extended, "cooling out" the situation for 45 days.

At the same time, on the West Coast Boeing aircraft workers were overwhelmingly rejecting a proposed contract. Twenty thousand workers packed into Seattle's Kingdome on October 3: seething mad, they shouted down union bureaucrats of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), demanding "Strike, strike, strike!" Militants wore T-shirts with the slogan, "The war is on!" One press account graphically depicted the massive anger and disgust for the gutless IAM tops:

> "...machinists who assembled in the Kingdome to vote on the proposal... booed their negotiating team, they booed the priest who gave the invocation and they especially booed the tyke who sang the national anthem, 'America,' and 'God Bless America' and led them in the Pledge of Allegiance... then hooted derisively as the union's general vice president, Justin Ostrow, said, 'This is the best contract we can bring you short of a strike'."
>
> —*Seattle Post Intelligencer*, 4 October

Ostrow reportedly remarked later that when your membership boos a priest and the national anthem, you know you're in trouble. You bet! But the bureaucrats would rather be in trouble with the membership than with the companies.

Later that day a majority of Boeing workers in the Puget Sound area voted with their feet, refusing to show up for the graveyard shift. With Reagan pumping billions into his anti-Soviet war drive, the aerospace corporations are rolling in profits: Boeing made $566 million last year alone, up 45 percent from the previous year. But all that the workers have gotten is massive givebacks. The company's latest offer is to maintain the two-tier wage system while buying off the labor fakers with a union shop (i.e., increasing their dues base). The contract has been extended on a day-to-day basis, as tens of thousands of Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas workers (whose contracts expire later this month) are looking to Seattle to set the pace. Shut down Boeing now! Smash the two-tier wage system! For a nationwide aerospace strike!

Delaware County Daily Times

WV Photo

Wong/Seattle Times

Workers fed up. Above: Steel workers block deliveries at USX Fairless plant near Philadelphia. Top right: Longshore strike shut down East Coast ports. Bottom right: Angry Boeing workers in Seattle voted down giveback contract.

As wildcat fever was at its height in Puget Sound, just across the border in Vancouver, 4,000 Canadian longshoremen were threatening to strike. Even the beleaguered United Steelworkers striking USX were flexing a little muscle: on October 2 at the Fairless plant outside Philadelphia some 1,200 USWA members and supporters blocked a scab steel shipment by massing on the railroad tracks. Despite a series of recent union defeats and sellouts, the strike action is continuing. And now it's spreading to the heavy battalions of labor. Aircraft workers have got some muscle—use it! When ILA longshoremen—whose business union leadership is so conservative that it backed Reagan—and workers in defense plants are ready to walk, that spells bad news for the White House and the bosses.

Six years of Reagan reaction have systematically attacked virtually every sector of the American population. Blacks and other minorities had few illusions with the KKK's favorite "Klandidate" in the White House. The limited civil rights gains of the '60s have been under attack, busing rolled back in Norfolk and elsewhere. The brutal

continued on page 4

Why U.S. Feared Trial for "Journalist"

The Daniloff Dossier

When the Soviet KGB first arrested Nicholas Daniloff, "correspondent" for *U.S. News & World Report* in Moscow, on espionage charges August 30, the Reagan White House started shricking that he was an "innocent hostage," imprisoned simply to be exchanged for Soviet UN employee Gennadi Zakharov, who had been arrested by the FBI in New York the previous week. The two cases were completely "different," the Oval Office thundered, and there would certainly be "no trade." But the tune quickly changed as word leaked out that the two men would indeed be traded (with the fig leaf of a Soviet "dissident" thrown in).

Reaganite conservatives were dumbfounded, and accused Reagan of "blinking." "I didn't blink," Reagan protested, and after the deal was clinched, he snapped, "They blinked." Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze casually and correctly observed that it is not a question of "who blinked first," since the Soviet Union, at least, does not look upon its dealings with the U.S. like a soccer game. But it is clear that the Reagan administration had suddenly become extremely, even desperately anxious to spring Daniloff. What happened?

Now even U.S. officials are admitting that they had to swap Daniloff because, in the words of one anonymous government official, "It was very, very important to avoid a trial."

continued on page 2

Young Spartacus

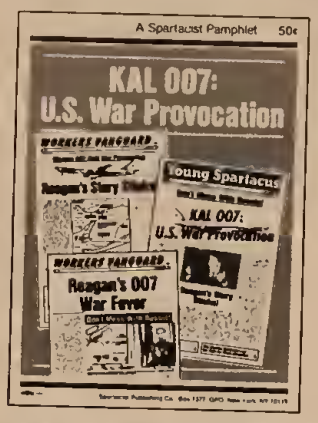
see pages 11-14

Daniloff...

(continued from page 1)

Why? As *Newsday* (2 October) reported: "U.S. Had to Rescue Daniloff: CIA Bungle 'Named' Him a Spy." A Harvard report on the class of '56 surfaced in which Daniloff "jocularly" remarks that "I became a journalist by chance," because "the CIA... found my mind lacking" (*Boston Globe*, 13 September). Worse, Daniloff "was showing signs of 'Stockholm syndrome'"—i.e., they were afraid he was getting ready to talk!

In short, the Reagan administration was afraid "the Soviets could put together a seemingly credible espionage case," as the *Los Angeles Times* (2 October) put it delicately. For instance, the *Times* notes that in the summer of 1985 Daniloff obtained from his Soviet friend "Misha" a Soviet map of Afghanistan, marked "secret" in Russian, which he sent home to his editors. A *U.S. News* official admitted seeing the map, describing it as "a map that appeared to be on a board—a troop placement thing."



Spartacist pamphlet exposes Reagan's deadly spy-plane provocation. Order yours now!

Daniloff openly admits delivering to the U.S. embassy in January 1985 an envelope from a priest known as Father Roman. According to *Newsday*, this envelope "contained other envelopes, including one addressed to CIA director William Casey" and a letter with references to "rockets and other military subjects." A few months later Daniloff returned to the embassy and met in a secure room with two officials to discuss his relations with Father Roman. According to the Soviets, a CIA officer later contacted the priest, introducing himself as a "friend" of the reporter "Nikolai." The *New York Times* (6 October) reports:

> "Mr. Daniloff said that at first he assumed the [Soviet] evidence was fabricated but that since returning to Washington he has learned that a C.I.A. officer in Moscow did communicate with Father Roman."

Significantly, the man the Soviets identify as CIA station chief, Murat Natirboff, left Moscow about three days after Daniloff was arrested.

While the U.S. media establishment was throwing a tantrum over Daniloff's arrest, we demanded "a fair trial: an open, public trial with a defense counsel of his choice and strictly according to Soviet jurisprudence" (*WV* No. 411, 12 September). But Daniloff's sponsors were scared to death of a fair trial. So they brought him in out of the cold to be a huckster for "freedom." Daniloff immediately went to the White House where he spewed sycophantic praise for Reagan, and then it was off to Disney World to celebrate the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution with Mickey Mouse and his pals, just-retired Supreme Court chief justice Burger and ultrarightist Phyllis Schlafly.

Needless to say, we didn't see screaming headlines like "EVIDENCE OF DANILOFF-CIA LINK" splashed across the front pages of the *New York Times*, *New York Post*, et al. It is heartening, though, that at the height of the brouhaha over Daniloff a Gallup poll reported that 32 percent of all Americans believed Daniloff was a spy. This caused consternation among TV commentators who worried over the airwaves that a decade after Vietnam and Watergate, the American people still don't trust their government. Wonder why. White House media advisers keep forgetting that you can't fool all the people all the time, and now some of their endless disinformation schemes are blowing up in Reagan's face. ■

All Honor to Soviet Submariners

On October 3, a fire broke out on a Soviet nuclear-powered submarine some 1,000 kilometers (620 miles) northeast of Bermuda. The Soviet press agency TASS released details the next day, reporting that there were casualties and three Soviet sailors died in the accident, but there was no danger of a nuclear incident. The international Spartacist tendency sent a telegram of condolences, printed below, to the Commander in Chief of the Soviet Navy. Subsequently, on October 6, TASS reported that despite rescue efforts by Soviet ships "the submarine... sank at a great depth." Fortunately, there were no further losses.

05 October 1986

To: United Nations Mission of the USSR, New York
TASS, New York
Embassy of the USSR, Washington, D.C.
Consulate of the USSR, San Francisco
Embassy of the USSR, Paris
Pravda, Moscow
Soviet Navy, Moscow

Attn: Commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy

We note with extreme regret the loss of three of your men in active duty in the Atlantic Ocean.

We must believe that the mission of the boat was related to the defense of the peoples of the world against imperialism.

We can only hope that the boat remains operational in pursuit of its mission.

And we wish to extend our profound condolences to the families and comrades of the men who died in performance of their duties, and we can only wish very well for surviving members of the crew.

Helene Brosius, Secretary of the international Spartacist tendency

Spartacist League/U.S.
Trotskyist League of Canada
Lega Trotskista d'Italia
Spartacist League of Australia/New Zealand
Ligue Trotskyste de France
Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands
Spartacist League/Lanka
Spartacist League/Britain

Le Bolchévik

Paris, September 30—Ligue Trotskyste de France demands freedom for Eleuterio Gutiérrez.

Paris, London Demonstrations to Free Bolivian Miner

Twice in the last year, the rightist, U.S.-hacked Bolivian government of Victor Paz Estenssoro has declared a state of siege to crush worker-peasant rebellion against IMF starvation policies. The brunt of the repression has been directed at the militant tin miners, one of whom, Eleuterio Gutiérrez, has been locked up for the last 12 months on fabricated charges in the stinking jails of the mining town of Oruro. On September 30, comrades of the international Spartacist tendency participated in protests in London and Paris demanding freedom for Gutiérrez and all victims of rightist repression in Bolivia.

The demonstrations were initiated by Workers Power, a British centrist grouping which claims to be Trotskyist. In London, where a modest picket was held in front of the Bolivian embassy, approximately half the participants were supporters of the Spartacist League. Spartacists carried the slogan "For a Bolivian Trotskyist Party," which Workers Power considered not in the spirit of "unity." In Paris, a dozen of our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France and several Latin American exiles showed up but only a handful of French Workers Power supporters.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Expropriate the Expropriators!

In April 1939 Leon Trotsky wrote an introduction to an abridgment of Marx's Capital *by the Marxist scholar Otto Rühle. Trotsky's introduction, summarizing and bringing up to date Marx's analysis of capitalism, was particularly directed to American workers.*

That part of the product which goes to cover the worker's own subsistence Marx calls *necessary*-product; that part which the worker produces above this, is *surplus*-product. Surplus-product must have been produced by the slave, or the slave-owner would not have kept any slaves. Surplus-product must have been produced by the serf, or serfdom would have been of no use to the landed gentry. Surplus-product, only to a considerably greater extent, is likewise produced by the wage worker, or the capitalist would have no need to buy labor power. The class struggle is nothing else than the struggle for surplus-product. He who owns surplus-product is master of the situation—owns wealth, owns the state, has the key to the church, to the courts, to the sciences and to the arts.

—Leon Trotsky, *Marxism in Our Time* (1939)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 413 **10 October 1986**

South Africa: The Day They Stopped the Gold

Black Miners in Massive Strike

On October 1, over 250,000 black South African miners staged a one-day strike in response to a National Union of Mineworkers call for a national day of mourning for the 177 miners, almost all black, who were killed September 16 in a fire at the Kinross mine owned by the viciously anti-union Gencor company. Workers from Gencor mines, and from the huge Anglo American conglomerate as well, stopped the flow of gold to the apartheid bosses in the largest miners strike ever. The action attracted wide sympathy among South Africa's oppressed masses; another quarter million workers, many from the chemical and metal industries, supported the miners by striking or holding memorial services of their own.

The deaths at Kinross No. 2 mine were mass murder. The Randlords' systematic destruction of black workers' lives as they push production to the limit and beyond touched off outrage against the bloodsucking gold mining industry and the brutal system that supports it. In the face of the miners' solid determination, for one day the bosses and the white government had to back off. Once again, as in the massive June 16 stayaway strike commemorating the 1976 Soweto massacre, the black workers landed a powerful blow against Botha's draconian state of emergency. Memorial services went on virtually unmolested; mine owners were forced to watch as black miners shut off the source of their profits.

A week earlier, on September 25, in the township of Embalenhle, close to the Kinross mine's No. 2 shaft, thousands of workers from six surrounding mines attended a memorial and rally in the township's stadium. Winnie Mandela, the wife of long-imprisoned and revered African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, spoke powerfully, hitting at the crux of the crisis in South Africa:

> "There may very well come a time when your leaders will ask you for greater sacrifices than a one-day strike, because you are digging the wealth that lets them sit on those Casspirs [armored personnel carriers]
>
> "The moment you stop digging their gold, their diamonds, that's the moment we shall be free. You dig the wealth. You hold that golden key for our liberation."
>
> —*New York Times*, 25 September

Reuters

Johannesburg—Black miners at memorial meeting for victims of apartheid capitalism killed in worst gold mine disaster in South African history.

The miners responded with shouts of "*Amandla!*" (Power!), "*Awetu!*" (It shall be ours!).

But when the ANC speaks of the miners as key to "freedom" in South Africa, they mean something quite different from the black masses' yearning for power to carry out a social revolution and free themselves from apartheid wage slavery. Instead, the ANC hopes to use the pressure of a massive two-year-long black upsurge to broker a "power-sharing" deal with "liberal" elements of the white ruling class, typified by Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly. The black South African proletariat has the power to smash apartheid slavery! What is urgently needed now is the *revolutionary leadership* of a racially integrated Trotskyist vanguard party to expropriate the bloodsucking apartheid ruling class and form a black-centered workers government in South Africa. ■

Letter

Workers League Cop-Lovers

7 October 1986

To the Editor:

In the recent *WV* article on David North's "Workers" League ["Lord of the Fleas," *WV* No. 412, 26 September] the point is made that "To the extent that the Healyites had a coherent political core, they were cringing legalists/Labourite economists...." To underline this observation, you have only to examine the record of the Workers League on cops and so-called cop "unions." In the WL's recent series attacking the Spartacist League, in Part Five which the WL self-revealingly titles "An Obsession with Race," the WL claims we slander them when we denounce their support to the 1971 New York City cop "strike." After all, it happened "more than 15 years ago"—this is clearly ancient history for these grotesque opportunists who need a twice-weekly paper simply to keep up with their flip-flops and line changes. In the same article, they complain about the large number of *WV* articles devoted to the fight against the racist cops and fascist terrorists in 1985—the year of the hideous racist state massacre of Philly MOVE.

The Workers League's support to the police "strike" did not fall from the skies. It is an expression of the WL's anti-Marxist line that the brutal racist *cops*—the core of the bourgeois state—are *part of the labor movement*. This position is a measure of the WL's gross capitulation to the worst elements of the pro-imperialist, racist, job-trusting labor tops.

In its existence, the WL has had only one "industrial" concentration, a group called the "Committee for a New Leadership" (CNL), in a NYC white-collar welfare workers union, which became AFSCME Local 371. In the late 1960s, the CNL agitated for the union to support the demand by welfare cops for "peace officer" status—which would authorize them to carry guns. Even the thoroughly reformist president of the union, Marty Morgenstern, argued against the CNL's motion, pointing out that the only people that armed welfare cops would shoot would be welfare recipients and welfare workers. The motion was defeated.

The 1971 NYC cop "strike" was the culmination of a decade of growing racist cop terror and bonapartism exemplified in the formation of the cop "union," the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, with close ties to the Minutemen and John Birch Society, in 1963, and the police riots in Harlem the following year. (It is indicative that the last "strike" by NYC's "finest" occurred in 1863 when they refused to put down pro-slavery draft riots and burning of black orphanages.)

The WL's *Bulletin* covered the cop "strike" in its 25 January 1971 issue in an article entitled "New York Labor Begins Showdown." The article was accompanied by a picture of marching cops, described in the photo caption as "militant policemen." Thus, to the WL these professional strikebreakers and racist killers constituted a militant vanguard of New York labor! The 15 February 1971 *Bulletin* was even more explicit. An article incredibly entitled "In Defense of the Working Class" stated: "The significance of all this is the importance of placing the recent New York police strike within the framework of the general movement of the working class and at the same time seeking to understand what underlies this movement of the class." What underlay this movement of the cops was the civil rights movement and the ghetto explosions—namely, the cops and their "unions" behaved as shock troops of the "white backlash" *against* the movement of the oppressed working people. The cops, with true fascist mentality, saw bourgeois liberals like New York mayor John Lindsay as "soft" on blacks and radicals. As far as the cops were concerned, the courts were "on the side of the criminals," so therefore dark-skinned "perpetrators" should be simply shot down in the streets.

A few months after the WL's championship of the 1971 cop "strike" came the gruesome Attica prison massacre. This became an issue at the 1972 international convention of AFSCME, which included not only a large number of government workers, including poorly paid racial minorities, but 10,000 cops and prison guards *including the Attica guards!* At the convention, the Spartacist-supported Militant Caucus (MC) from Los Angeles introduced a resolution demanding the expulsion of cops and prison guards from the union (see *WV* No. 10, July-August 1972). An MC spokesman made the elementary point that excluding the cops would strengthen the union, because it is impossible to defend both the rights of those who struggle against exploitation and oppression and the "rights" of those whose job it is to suppress that struggle. Then-president of AFSCME, Jerry Wurf, relinquished the chair of the convention to take the floor and launch into a 20-minute redbaiting diatribe against the MC. The Workers League supporters vigorously defended keeping the butchers of Attica and the racist killer cops in the union.

Schwartz/NY Post

10,000 armed NYC police rally for killer cop Sullivan, racist murderer of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, 1985. Was David North there?

Last year, the New York cops staged an ominous bonapartist mobilization after one of their number got a slap on the wrist for blowing away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs with a shotgun because she had fallen behind in her rent. Was David North there alongside his cop "brothers" as they surrounded a courthouse demanding their "rights"? Does the WL support better wages and working conditions for the cops of South Africa as they wreak the apartheid rulers' vengeance upon the defiant masses?

Perhaps the most consistent feature of the WL's zigzagging political history is its endless, empty, fake-agitational call for a "labor party." For example, in the same anti-Spartacist *Bulletin* series, in Part Three, entitled "Opponents of the Fight for the Labor Party," the WL denounces our advocacy of the militant tactics that built the trade unions in this country—mass picketing to stop scabs and shut down struck plants, "hot-cargoing" actions by other unions, refusing to play by the bosses' rules in the matter of strikebreaking laws and court injunctions, etc.—as "sheer adventurism" in the absence of a labor party. But what kind of labor party does the WL want? They are for a "labor party" that only the late George Meany, archetypal Cold War labor bureaucrat, could love.

Even at the height of the radical activism of the 1960s, when all of American society was shaken up by the mass struggle for black civil rights, when millions of American workers were disenchanted with the support of the AFL-CIO tops for the war against Vietnam, the WL in 1967 put out a five-point program for its "Trade Unionists for a Labor Party" which had *not one word* to say about the Vietnam War or black people! A "labor party" which scorns the fight against U.S. imperialism, which has "nothing special" (i.e., nothing) to offer the black component of the proletariat in this viciously racist country—this is the real program of the Workers League.

Reuben Shiffman

Labor: Sock It to Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

massacre of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia had the signature of the Reagan years all over it. But Reagan's apocalyptic Star Wars fantasies can't be financed simply by squeezing welfare mothers and the poor. So the unions came under the gun. When Reagan busted the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, it set the stage for a massive concessions drive and outright union-busting. Scabherding on the elite PATCO union was followed by scabherding against Greyhound strikers, Phelps Dodge copper miners, Hormel packinghouse workers.

But today it looks like Reagan could be on the edge. A little over a year ago he shocked Americans by commemorating Nazi SS war criminals at Bitburg; now even most of Reagan's Republican Party has deserted him in overriding his veto of token sanctions imposed on Botha's apartheid South Africa. And with the Supreme Court headed by arch-bigot Rehnquist, one of the leading witchhunters behind the recent sodomy decision, even white middle-class Americans are worried about the sex police snooping around their bedrooms. Reagan and Rehnquist, Bitburg and Botha: a lot of people are plain fed up with the Reaganites and ready to say, screw you! And just when the bosses think it's lockout city, union struggles flare up on the East and West Coasts. The objective possibility exists to *bring Reagan down through sharp class struggle, with the working class at the head of all the oppressed.*

Bust the Union-Busters!

When the longshoremen struck, the Spartacist League rushed out a special four-page *Workers Vanguard* supplement (included in this issue) headlined "Let's Win This One!" We knew that the ILA was a key powerhouse of labor, with strong picket line traditions and a substantial militant black component in the membership. The strikers could not be so easily isolated, like Hormel meatpackers in rural Minnesota or Hispanic cannery workers in Watsonville, California. And millions were prepared to rally behind the longshoremen: *finally*, they said, someone was taking on the racist labor-haters. Especially in the South, where the ILA locals are outposts of black union power, our perspective of class struggle and revolutionary integrationism got a solid reception.

In three days Spartacist teams hit 36 cities, distributing a quarter million *WV* supplements to longshoremen on all three coasts, to Boeing workers, striking steel workers, transit workers in New York, Philly and Chicago, and throughout black communities. ILAers deeply appreciated the supplement: we were virtually the only ones to defend them while the battle was on. The issue was a hit in black neighborhoods as well: sympathetic black merchants displayed the supplement prominently in their stores, check-out clerks in supermarkets were stuffing them in customers' shopping bags. Our paper struck a deep chord because it addressed the burning questions confronting the workers and oppressed: a program to bust the union-busters, to smash the Klan, to forge a workers party to defeat the war on blacks and labor with sharp class struggle.

When the longshoremen struck, they showed that the unions don't have to play patsy. For the first 24 hours, the mass picketing at the container yards in Port Elizabeth, New Jersey enforced the strikers' demand of "nothing in, nothing out." Some scab drivers got an "education," while their rigs ended up disabled in the roadway. But it didn't stay that way for long. Trying to defuse a hard confrontation in order to facilitate a deal with the bosses, the bureaucrats succeeded in dispersing the mass pickets. Militants who came to "shut it down" were disgusted; many stopped picketing altogether. In Norfolk there were no pickets at all—a "tactic" designed by the bureaucrats to allow ILA short-shoremen to empty dockside warehouses without having to confront striking longshoremen.

Longshoremen were particularly angered that they weren't fighting together as a union. While ports from Norfolk north struck, ILAers in the south Atlantic and Gulf ports worked—under concession terms that their brothers and sisters were striking against! Rumors of flying pickets coming down from New Jersey circulated through Southern ports. The *Savannah Morning News* (3 October) railed against "outside agitators" (flying pickets). That's what *needs* to happen. There should have been a solid East and Gulf Coast strike when the first scab outfits began operating in the South, aggressively organizing the unorganized. And there should be a united strike today: New Orleans ILAers overwhelmingly voted down the giveback pact. But as the bureaucracy gives up more and more of the hard-won gains, the union is fragmenting. What's needed is an all-out strike to rip up the concessions everywhere and fight for one standard ILA contract, equalizing wages and benefits at the highest levels.

And what about linking up with West Coast longshoremen? While the ILA struck, the ILWU fiddled, even though 4,000 Canadian ILWUers centered in Vancouver were facing government wage controls and elimination of a contract clause guaranteeing union container-stuffing rights. The dockers had been working without a contract since December, but finally on October 6 the maritime bosses declared a lockout. The Canadian ILWU tops responded by encouraging the U.S. locals to work diverted cargo, and offered to move grain that was threatening to rot because of a grain handlers strike in the Great Lakes port of Thunder Bay. Vancouver should have been shut down tight, laying the basis for coastwide strike solidarity with the ILA. ILWU and ILA should be one big union—For waterfront unity!

Break with the Democrats! Down with the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

One striking longshoreman in Jersey spoke for millions of unionists when he bitterly noted, "The whole labor movement should have been out there with PATCO; if we had stopped them at PATCO, then the auto workers, Teamsters, none of those guys would have taken concessions, we wouldn't be in the situation we are today." But the PATCO debacle didn't have to happen, and it can be reversed. While the air traffic controllers were striking, in September 1981 the AFL-CIO bureaucrats called what turned out to be the largest labor demonstration in American history as 500,000 trade unionists marched through Washington, D.C. If only a fraction of that strength had been mobilized in picketing out the airports, the strike would have been won in a few days. But the labor fakers kept the airports working, and distributed stickers reading, "Solidarity in '81—Victory in '82." Their answer is not class struggle, but electing Democrats.

The Democratic Carter-Mondale administration, which slapped a Taft-Hartley injunction on the 1977-78 miners strike, paved the way for Reagan union-busting. (They also designed the plan for smashing PATCO that the Reagan gang carried out.) And since then Democrats have done their share of strikebreaking: Koch against New York City transit workers, Arizona governor Babbitt and Minnesota governor Perpich calling out the National Guard against Phelps Dodge strikers and Hormel workers, and from Philly to Detroit black Democratic mayors are the hatchet men for Reagan austerity. The pro-Democratic party labor fakers aren't about to mobilize against government strikebreaking, either. Prominent among the union misleaders who ordered their members to scab on PATCO was IAM head William ("Wimpy") Winpisinger. His pal Bill ("Loser") Wynn, who heads the United Food and Commercial Workers, carried out the same scabbing policy *against his own members* at Hormel. And today Winpisinger's screwing the Boeing workers: a 6 October bulletin issued by

It Takes $$$ to Move Fast

Forty-six hours after the International Longshoremen's Association strike was called, the Spartacist League had the first issues of our special *WV* supplement, "Let's Win This One!" out to the picket lines. In two days, 200,000 copies were in the hands of striking longshoremen and other unionists in the struck East Coast port cities as well as the Southern and Gulf ports, the Midwest, West Coast and Canada. With a potentially explosive battle against Reaganite union-busting in the offing, we blitzed union halls, shopping centers in working-class and black neighborhoods and key campuses. It took thousands of dollars to move boxes and bundles of supplements fast, rush teams into the field, pay printing costs. So send a big check to help this campaign, which isn't over yet. And let us know how many supplements and *WV*s you can distribute in your area. Every dollar helps our party move into action quick when the class struggle heats up. Make checks payable to/mail to: Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10016.

WV Photos

WV supplement: "Let's Win This One!" A quarter million copies were distributed in three days.

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WV Photo

PATCO strike could have been won by real solidarity action by Machinists, Teamsters, pilots unions.

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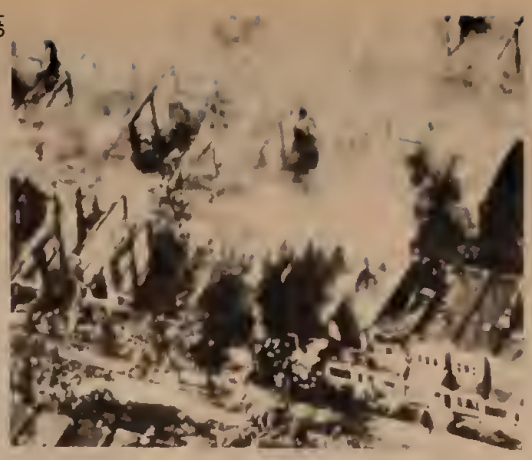
IAM District Lodge 751 in Puget Sound tried to excuse its own inaction by declaring that the International had denied strike sanction.

Behind the bureaucracy's capitulation is anti-Soviet militarization. Since the ILA tops support the war drive, they ordered the membership to work the military cargo in Norfolk and other struck ports, scabbing on their own strike to aid Reagan/Botha's pro-apartheid puppet Savimbi. And "Democratic Socialist" Winpisinger (along with the rest of the U.S. labor bureaucracy) is a certified booster of the anti-Soviet war drive just as much as Ronald Reagan or the former "Senator from Boeing," Henry Jackson. The SL has insisted that the membership must be prepared *politically* to fight the "national security" crap which will be used to justify strikebreaking. But while the Pentagon was worrying that a Seattle wildcat might spill over to unionized Boeing personnel from Vandenberg AFB to Cape Canaveral, leaflets passed out at the Kingdome by the Marxist-Leninist Party and Progressive Labor Party neglected to say one word about U.S. imperialism's war buildup against the Soviet Union.

Significantly, the last full-scale dock strike took place during the Vietnam War in 1971 when the ILA and ILWU struck at the same time. But within six days the ILWU buckled under to a Taft-Hartley injunction. Before the "cooling off" period against the ILWU expired, the ILA went back to work, and the strike seesawed from coast to coast so that both wouldn't be out at once. Behind this was the unwillingness of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, both the ILA's Gleason and the ILWU's "progressive" Harry Bridges, to confront the state, particularly in the middle of a war. And so longshoremen were made to eat Nixon's wage controls. While outfits like the Workers League capitulated to business unionism, refusing to even mention the war, the SL demanded: "For Labor Political Strikes Against the War and Nixon's 'Wage-Strike' Freeze!" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 2, November 1971).



UPI

Signature of the Reagan years: bombing of black MOVE commune by Wilson Goode, black Democratic mayor of Philadelphia.

For Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan

Ever since Reagan busted PATCO, the American ruling class has been on the rampage against the labor movement—cutting wages, slashing benefits and taking away union gains won over decades of hard struggle. The *New York Times* (5 October) brags about management playing hardball, in a long article on "Business Brings Back the Lockout." Beginning with the attack on black USWA workers at the Hess Oil refinery in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, this trend has gone national as John Deere and USX shut the gates. Last month Brooklyn Union Gas did just that to 2,300 clerks and mechanics in the Transport Workers Union. The boss arrogantly remarked, "We have a policy at this company—no contract, no work." But now some of labor's big guns are being forced to stand up or surrender—and the workers are in no mood to surrender without a fight.

A walkout on the Atlantic and Gulf Coast docks would in short order disrupt much of the American economy—the *Journal of Commerce* (3 October) headlined, "Shippers Fear Heavy Losses If Strike Lasts Beyond 5 Days." It would also disrupt the Pentagon's shipment of arms to its anti-Communist allies, from Zionist Israel to Reagan's contras around the globe. The late Isaac Deutscher caught this when during the Vietnam War he told a gathering of Berkeley students that he would trade all their antiwar protests for just one dock strike. At the same time, the government would surely attack any serious longshore or Boeing strike as a threat to "national security" if not outright aid to "Soviet-sponsored terrorism"! Any strike here will become political from the get-go. We say: fight the anti-Soviet war drive by waging class war against the warmongers!

To win, the workers will need to mobilize support from broad sections of the American people. And this can be done. There is a reaction to Reagan reaction abroad in the land. In the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios there is deep hatred for everything this KKK-endorsed president stands for. Farmers, traditionally held up as the backbone of middle America, are in desperate straits. Even yuppie baby boomers can't afford to buy a house, and factory workers have seen their real wages decline steadily for the past decade and a half. The campuses are outraged over Reagan's flagrant backing of apartheid South Africa, and remembering the U.S.' humiliating defeat in Vietnam, public opinion overwhelmingly wants nothing to do with the CIA's contras in Nicaragua. And anyone who smokes a joint, buys a copy of *Playboy* or rents an X-rated video cassette is looking over their shoulder for the Meese police.

This country can explode, rising up against the Reagan White House. But for the workers and oppressed to emerge victorious, what's needed is a conscious proletarian leadership. And that means acting, as Lenin said communists must, as a "tribune of the people," championing the cause of all the oppressed. A black longshoreman in Philadelphia who was prepared "to do what it takes to stop the cuts" spoke bitterly of the horrendous firebombing of the black MOVE commune: "Wilson Goode and everybody else responsible for those murders should be put in the electric chair," he said. An authoritative, combative workers leadership must be built in this country in irreconcilable opposition to the racist, pro-imperialist trade-union bureaucracy and their capitalist masters. The Spartacist League is seeking to build such a class-struggle workers party to lead the struggle for a workers government that will finally achieve freedom and justice for all the exploited and oppressed. ■

Qaddafi Exposes "Nonaligned" Nonsense

The Reagan gang's obsession to destroy Muammar el-Qaddafi is as obscene as it is dangerous. When the U.S. terror-bombed Libya last April, with Soviet ships in the area and Russian technicians manning Libyan missile sites, Reagan was tugging on the trip wires of World War III. After Washington killed the Libyan leader's adopted infant daughter in that cowardly attack, Secretary of State George Shultz now "jests" about hoping that Qaddafi contracts AIDS! Meanwhile, he cynically boasts about U.S. "psychological warfare" against the North African country, and practically admits that the hullabaloo last summer about "Libyan terrorism" was nothing but a pack of lies.

Much of the U.S. press professes to be upset over a recent White House memorandum calling for a campaign of "deception" and "disinformation" to rattle Qaddafi. In its most sanctimonious style a *New York Times* (3 October) editorial pontificated: "There is no place in America for disinformation." Like hell! They're just embarrassed at the Reagan administration's bragging about how they manipulate the media. U.S. government disinformation, routinely retailed by the "free press," is used every day to whip up Cold War hysteria against the Soviet Union and its allies. Witness the massive lies and coverup surrounding the KAL 007 spy plane, shot down over Soviet territory in 1983. Or the Pentagon's campaign of "perception management" against Nicaragua, in order to keep the Sandinistas guessing about a U.S. invasion.

Meanwhile, Qaddafi himself, speaking at a "summit" of the "Nonaligned" nations in Harare, Zimbabwe earlier this month, caused an uproar when he

Sygma

Libyan leader targeted by U.S. imperialism.

denounced this talkshop as a "useless farce" and an "international falsehood." Furious that the "Third World" had left him high and dry when the U.S. terror-bombed Libya, Qaddafi threatened to withdraw, declaring: "What is this movement's validity if it cannot defend my country and Nicaragua?" He then began to denounce by name the declared allies of the imperialist powers present in the room, including Egypt (which staged joint military maneuvers with the U.S. off Libya's coast last month) and the neocolonies of French-speaking Africa. Much to the embarrassment of Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, the chairman of the "summit," Qaddafi went on to peg the Commonwealth countries as the "prisoners of Britain."

It was one of the rare occasions that someone told the truth at one of these windy gatherings. How indeed can there be "solidarity" within a hodgepodge that embraces Cuba, which has had a social revolution and has faced more than a quarter century of unremitting Yankee hostility and attacks; outright imperialist puppets; and a host of bourgeois nationalist regimes (often at each other's throats) on the take for the highest bidder. This year's session got off to a discordant start when Iran demanded the expulsion of Iraq and the "execution" of its leaders. The main business was supposed to be "fighting apartheid"—from a distance, of course. The "summit" called on Reagan, Thatcher et al. to institute imperialist sanctions against South Africa.

When Qaddafi punctured the smug complacency of this den of hypocrites, it wasn't just tinpot military despots who were squirming in their seats. The American fake-left had sent its emissaries all the way to Harare to celebrate "Third World solidarity." The *Militant*, published by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, "solved" the problem by running a photo of Qaddafi and simultaneously omitting any mention of his criticisms! The quintessential rad-lib *Guardian* ran an article entitled "Nonaligned: 'Well done!'" Taking issue with Qaddafi's statements that "nonalignment" is a sham and that "there are only two camps, that of imperialism and that of liberation," the *Guardian* (17 September) attacked the Libyan leader from the right, explaining "where Qaddafi had gone off the track."

Well, Qaddafi's "camp of liberation" includes some pretty odious types, like Khomeini's blood-drenched mullahs. But that's hardly why the reformists, who lauded Khomeini to the hilt, are squeamish about Qaddafi. To be sure, the Libyan colonel is not fundamentally different or better than the other Third World nationalist regimes he denounced at Harare. In fact, when he first came to power in the early 1970s Qaddafi was fanatically anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. But with U.S. imperialism targeting him personally for destruction, he has become increasingly dependent on Soviet arms to defend his country.

Libya is high on Reagan's hit list precisely because it's a military client of the Soviet Union. When the U.S. attacked Libya in April, the international Spartacist tendency sent a journalistic team to Tripoli to physically demonstrate our solidarity with the Libyans. The *Militant*, *Guardian*, et al. weren't dispatching reporters to far-off places then: the fake-left's "anti-imperialism" ends where Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive begins. The same people who endlessly search for a mythical "progressive bourgeoisie" abroad are in bed with the Democrats at home. And with the not-so-progressive Democrats solidly backing Reagan's anti-Soviet provocations, even a Qaddafi becomes too hot to handle for the "Third Worlders." ■

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Workers' Hands Across the Sea

The Heroic British Miners Strike

Margaret Thatcher is the Ronald Reagan of Britain. "Iron Lady" Thatcher, the Tory (Conservative Party) prime minister, is one ally Reagan can count on when he wants to fly his terror bombers against North Africa, and Reagan and Thatcher talk the same language when it comes to hating dark-skinned people and the poor. In 1984-85, the British coal miners mounted a direct challenge to Thatcher's arrogant labor-bashing government. The heroic miners strike was 12 bitter months of class war, as Thatcher's vicious government sought to break the miners' resolve through starvation and massive use of the police.

What was needed to win the strike was concrete labor solidarity—sympathy strikes of the strategic unions, like dockers, rail workers and seamen—solid industrial action that would have brought the Tory regime to its knees. But this perspective of a fight for power was exactly what the British labor "leaders" feared above all else. The fat cats of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Labour Party politicians smashed workers' impulses toward concrete solidarity actions, herded scabs for the bosses and violence-baited the miners as they endured the organized armed violence of the capitalist state. After a year of struggle, the miners went back, but their determination and militancy had foiled Thatcher's attempt to break their union.

Der Spiegel

Arthur Scargill: pudgy Stalinoid, at least knew a Solidarność rat when he smelled one.

The miners strike had a profound effect on British society, and on the consciousness of the miners themselves. The British miners are almost exclusively white and they come from the backwaters. Socially, they hadn't had much contact with and didn't much identify with the miserably oppressed minority populations in the English cities, the West Indian blacks and Asian immigrants. But a little firsthand experience of Thatcher's cops running riot against miners' picket lines gave the miners an instant education in the experiences of Irish Catholics in Ulster and ghettoized racial minorities in England. And these oppressed sectors rallied to the miners' side, generously contributing food and money, because they recognized in the strike a chance to strike a decisive blow against the hated "Iron Lady." Class struggle is the route to unity of the workers and oppressed across racial and national lines; not "brotherly love," not charity, but the recognition of common class interest forges bonds that are not easily broken.

Anti-Communism: Union-Busters' Tool

The first blow against the strike was struck before the strike began, at the September 1983 conference of the Trades Union Congress. The opening shot was fired by the sinister political bandits of the "Workers Revolutionary Party," who claim to be socialists and very leftist socialists at that. Some months earlier, the leader of the miners union, Arthur Scargill, had made a minimal critiesm of Polish Solidarność, the pro-capitalist "trade union" beloved of Reagan, Thatcher, Wall Street and the Vatican. The WRP chose the opening of the TUC conference as the moment to denounce Scargill for having called Solidarność anti-socialist. The TUC tops and the Tory press combined in a hysterical redbaiting attack on Scargill; not a single TUC delegate rose to defend him. Thatcher determined that Scargill was isolated and she could launch an assault on the miners union.

In the United States, where the labor tops are far more open in their anti-communism than the double-talking British TUC leaders and Labour "statesmen," the AFL-CIO's line on the British miners was: let 'em starve. Scargill was a "red," Thatcher was America's best friend, and U.S. workers shouldn't lift a finger to help their class brothers and sisters across the Atlantic. In the teeth of this, the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families campaign was launched: Spartacist spokesmen and other supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) went to union executive boards and membership meetings to make political fundraising appeals, confronting the redbaiting of the AFL-CIO hacks and pointing out the parallels to Reagan's smashing of the PATCO strike here at home.

The British miners strike evoked class solidarity from workers around the world, bringing in substantial support from the Soviet trade unions and even some contributions from the hideously impoverished black miners of South Africa. The misleaders of the AFL-CIO, installed in their positions of power by the Cold War witchhunts and slavishly loyal to the American rulers, intended American unionists to play no role in the world campaign for justice for the British miners. The PDC campaign raised over $23,000 for the miners and their courageous families—a modest sum. But we are very proud that our campaign provided a mechanism for some class-conscious American working people to take a side with the British miners, as the small American contingent of a campaign that reached all around the world. ■

Sturrock/Network

Militant miners withstood twelve bitter months of privation and the full fury of the capitalist state. Their struggle won wide sympathy among Britain's oppressed minorities.

Paul O'Dwyer: Don't Let Them Bring Back Sweatshops

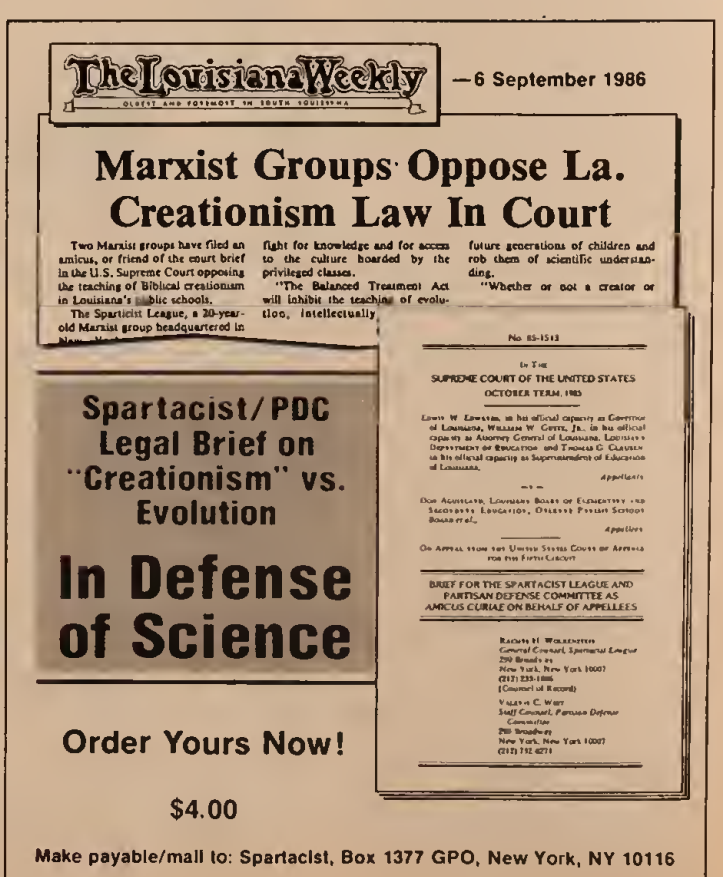
Paul O'Dwyer remembers when the union movement had clout in New York City. A liberal Demoerat who was elected city council president with labor endorsements, O'Dwyer is known for standing up against British imperialism in Ireland and everywhere. In 1974, he backed a Spartacist-initiated united-front demonstration in solidarity with the British miners strike, a major class battle that led to the defeat of the Tory government. O'Dwyer's endorsement opened the door to winning support from a broad range of NYC labor (locals of the CWA, OCAW, IBEW and the ILA International) for this working-class action. Last week, when ILA longshoremen hit the bricks against the maritime bosses' union-busting give-back demands, *Workers Vanguard* asked Paul O'Dwyer for a statement. He was glad to contribute to our special supplement to build support for the strike, stating:

"The standard of living in America can be charged to the activities of the most virulent and the most aggressive strike leaders of the past. In the Reagan administration starting off with PATCO, there's been an attempt to diffuse the power of the trade-union movement.

WV Photo

Paul O'Dwyer

Regretfully, the trade-union movement as a whole has not lived up to the reputation of its founders. And I sincerely hope that in this instance that they will stand pat, and not permit the encroachments in industry which have been made in the Reagan atmosphere to drive us back into the sweatshop days. I wish good luck to the strikers." ■



WORKERS VANGUARD
2 October 1986
Special Supplement 5¢

From PATCO to Hormel—Too Much

Let's Win This One!

ILA Longshore Strike

On October 1, some 30,000 striking dock workers in the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) shut down ports from Maine to Norfolk, Virginia. Chanting "Nothing In, Nothing Out," determined mass pickets at the New York/New Jersey harbor's container operations in Port Elizabeth quickly put a stop to scabherding efforts. "Every truckload of cargo that tried to get in here was stopped by a human wall of longshoremen," reported one TV station. Scabs fled from their trucks to the cops for protection, while their abandoned vehicles had to be towed away. Round one on the picket lines went to the workers. The striking longshoremen—black and white—have given notice to the bosses that they've got a war on their hands. *Fight Reagan! Win this strike for all American labor!*

In going after the ILA, the bosses are targeting a union that has "educated" quite a few would-be strikebreakers. "Scabbing is dangerous to your health" used to be a well-understood principle on the waterfront: one ILA picket was all that was necessary to shut down a port. Now, emboldened by union-busting from PATCO to Hormel, maritime employers think the ILA is fair game. But the longshoremen aren't taking it lying down. As one black picket at Port Elizabeth put it, "We're not going down on our knees to pray like Martin Luther King." A second picket, pointing to a nearby tractor-trailer driven by a scab, added: "If we'd been on our knees that truck would have rolled right over us." Somehow, that scab rig's air hoses were cut, locking the brakes.

Longshoremen have the muscle to win this battle—but it's got to be a *real* strike. No deals, no givebacks! Allowing the bosses to divide the union is a recipe for defeat. Earlier this year ILA locals in the south Atlantic and Gulf ports agreed to givebacks including a union-busting two-tier wage structure—break-bulk workers would get $3 *less* per hour than those working container cargos—and the guaranteed annual income is eliminated. The concessions drive should have been stopped earlier—it better be stopped *now* before the union is ripped apart. The northeast ILA locals have drawn the line. Good! But in the South the ILA isn't striking, and the companies are already diverting cargo there from struck ports. Roving pickets must be dispatched to shut down all the ports! And none of this strikebreaking "national security" business, exempting shipments to Reagan's contras like apartheid puppet Savimbi in Angola! No second-class union members: for one standard ILA contract, with wages and benefits equalized at the highest levels!

UPI/Bellmann

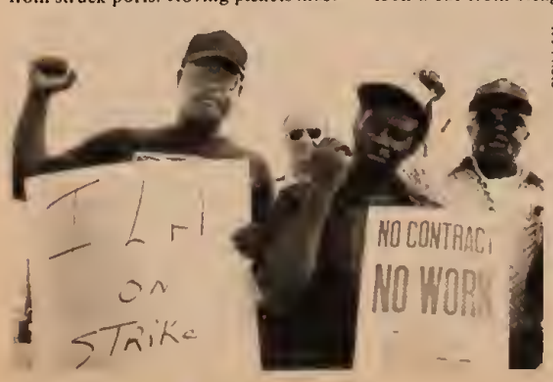
Strike pickets at Port Elizabeth educate would-be scab truck driver.

Bust the Union-Busters!

Ever since Reagan busted the Professional Air Traffic Controllers union, it's been open season on American labor: picket lines busted, wages and jobs cut, unions smashed. The elite PATCO union even backed Reagan in 1980! A lot of good it did them—in return their union leaders were led away in chains, 15,000 members fired. In 1983, the Democratic Party governor of Arizona took a cue from Reagan, calling in the National Guard and armored personnel carriers to crush striking Phelps Dodge copper workers. In 1986, Hormel meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota ate it, facing an unholy alliance of the bosses, the bosses' government and their own international union leaders who openly scabbed on the strike. In Watsonville, California, the largely Mexican women cannery workers tried to do it right, still picketing after a year on strike, but they're just too marginal. So now after knocking off the peripheral sectors, the bosses are targeting the heart of the labor movement.

We say: No more PATCOs and Hormels! One strike after another has been lost because the *union leaders have been playing by the bosses' rules.* Claiming that the air controllers strike was "illegal," Teamsters and Machinists officials ordered their members to scab. The Hormel strike was defeated as local bureaucrats bowed to court injunctions outlawing mass picketing and relied on a useless consumer boycott. And it doesn't stop with defeated strikes and busted unions: the bosses want the scalps of dead strikers to wave around: from Ohio Greyhound striker Ray Phillips to Union Oil striker Greg Goobic to Baltimore ILAer Jackson Taylor, run down on a picket line a year ago by strikebreaking cops. This is *murder* as company policy, and it must be stopped.

Labor's gotta play hardball to win! Potential strikebreakers should be educated to understand that you can't cross a picket line on two broken legs, and county hospitals are rotten places. Solidarity isn't $500 and a valentine—solidarity means industrial *action* to make sure that nothing moves in and out of the ports. Seamen, Teamsters, all maritime workers: picket lines mean don't cross! Hot cargo all scab goods! Steelworkers at Bethlehem: don't ship steel from the Sparrows Point docks! ILA longshoremen: link up with the ILWU on the West Coast, with Canadian and Mexican longshoremen! Shut down all North American ports! The ILA strike can be a turning point: if the unions fight together they can smash the bosses' takebacks, laying the basis for a workers offensive to win jobs and reverse the cutbacks.



WV Photo

Port Elizabeth, New Jersey: Militant, racially integrated Longshoremen say, "Nothing in, nothing out!"

Bosses' Government Targets ILA

Labor can only rely on its own strength. The federal government has engaged in a multi-decade vendetta against the ILA, just as they have against the powerful Teamsters. The capitalist press portrays the ILA as "mob-influenced," while Hollywood glorified finking to the feds in the film *On the Waterfront*. But the FBI and Labor Department aren't interested in cleaning up "corruption"; the aim of their witchhunts is to bust a strong union. This spring the Labor Department and New York Waterfront Commission announced they were turning over "evidence" of racketeering by New York ILA leaders to prosecutors in the Federal Organized Strike Force in

continued on page 9

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

An Injury to One Is an Injury to All

The need for a mass class-struggle legal defense organization is urgent. Witness racist atrocities such as the hideous bombing of MOVE, the signature of the Reagan years, and union-busting attacks on labor like the smashing of PATCO. The government is attacking the most basic democratic rights, from the right to privacy to labor's right to organize, in its drive to regiment the American people for war against the Soviet Union.

International working-class solidarity is the cornerstone of the Partisan Defense Committee. We have supported striking Soweto hospital workers and the largely Hispanic Watsonville, California cannery workers. We fought to mobilize the power of labor for an emergency demonstration against the execution of ANC supporter Benjamin Moloise by the racist South African apartheid butchers. We supported the heroic year-long struggle of the British coal miners, and the Hormel strikers as they faced criminal charges for standing up to the bosses, the government and their loyal cops in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

The PDC supported the British coal miners throughout their bitter 1985 strike against Margaret Thatcher's anti-union onslaught. We sought to galvanize international working-class solidarity for "Aid to Striking Miners' Families" in the face of obstruction from the national AFL-CIO tops. Union locals and unionists joined us in raising over $23,000 for the miners. Key were union brothers and sisters who had assisted the SL-initiated labor/black mobilization against the Ku Klux Klan on 27 November 1982 in Washington, D.C. The ILA Local 333 executive board in Baltimore endorsed November 27 and also contributed generously to the British miners.

The PDC stood with the members of ILA Local 333 in grieving for the loss of brother Jack Taylor, a long-time union activist, who was in the forefront of defending a picket when he was cut down by a scabherding cop. As we wrote to the union local in October 1985, "He joins thousands of labor martyrs who have given their lives for the working class and its cause.... The tradition that picket lines mean don't cross must be restored. The union-busting offensive will be stopped. We are confident that the cause that Jack Taylor died for will be victorious."

* * *

As an expression of class solidarity, the PDC has revived the tradition of the early International Labor Defense by sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners, including those jailed for standing up to racist capitalist oppression. Today we continue to send stipends to British miners still in prison for defending their union: Terry French, Dean Hancock, Russell Shankland and Clive Thompson. Also receiving PDC monthly stipends are Ramona Africa of MOVE and former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt, among others.

The MOVE members are victims of one of the most hideous racist massacres in this country's history. Ramona Africa was sentenced to seven years for the "crime" of being the lone adult survivor of Mayor Goode's calculated mass murder of eleven black men, women and children in Philadelphia. Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner, was framed up after surviving a massive cop/FBI attack on Los Angeles Black Panther Party headquarters, and has spent 16 years in prison including six in solitary for a murder he did not and could not have committed. The cause of freeing Geronimo Pratt and all the MOVE prisoners must be taken up by the entire left and labor movement.

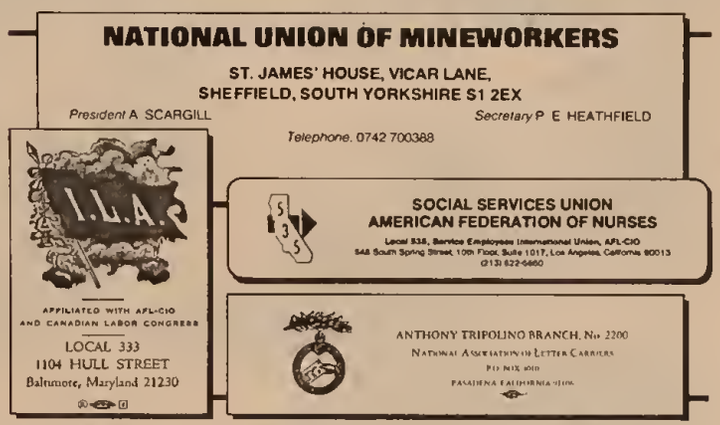
WV Photo

Free Black Panther Geronimo Pratt!

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We undertake our work in the spirit of the International Labor Defense under its founder and first secretary, James P. Cannon (1925-1928). The PDC is partisan: we stand unconditionally on the side of working people and their allies in struggle against their exploiters and oppressors. In its partisanship, the PDC is also anti-sectarian. We champion causes and defend cases whose victorious outcome is in the interest of working people, irrespective of particular political views.

We place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the "justice" of the courts. An injury to one is an injury to all! The PDC urgently needs your support. To contribute and receive the PDC's newsletter "Class-Struggle Defense Notes" please write to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



American union locals contributed to PDC's support campaign for heroic British miners strike in 1984-85.

TROTSKY

Strike Pickets and Class War

A strike is the basic form of struggle between the workers and capitalists, the first step to liberation from wage slavery. Strike pickets, the labor movement's first line of military defense, point toward workers militias needed to crush fascist terrorists like the Ku Klux Klan. During the stormy class battles of the 1930s Trotsky wrote:

LENIN

A strike is inconceivable without propaganda and without agitation. It is also inconceivable without pickets who, when they can, use persuasion, but when obliged, use force. The strike is the most elementary form of the class struggle which always combines, in varying proportions, "ideological" methods with physical methods. The struggle against Fascism is basically a political struggle which needs a militia just as the strike needs pickets. Basically, the picket is the embryo of the workers' militia. He who thinks of renouncing "physical" struggle must renounce all struggle, for the spirit does not live without flesh.

—Leon Trotsky, "Whither France?" (November 1934)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Supplement **2 October 1986**

The material which appears here as pages 7 through 10 in this issue of *Workers Vanguard* was originally published October 2 as a special four-page supplement for mass distribution. In reprinting this material as part of *WV*, we are using the second edition of the supplement issued later in the day on October 2.

Anti-Labor Frame-Up Defeated

Victory for Picket Line Defense in Germany

FRANKFURT, October 1—An important victory for German trade unionists, especially immigrant workers, was won today when a court here threw out assault charges against Fred Zierenberg, militant metal worker and Central Committee member of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—Trotskyist League of Germany), stemming from his determined defense of a picket line.

In June 1984, 500,000 metal workers of the huge IG Metall union struck for the 35-hour week. At the VDO electronics plant in Frankfurt, the bosses responded by locking out the 1,400 mostly female, immigrant production workers. On June 19, the workers counterattacked with a militant picket line shutting the whole plant down tight. In solidarity, the TLD joined the lines and distributed literature to the strikers. The pickets were repeatedly and violently attacked by company goons, landing one young woman striker in the hospital with knife wounds. Zierenberg joined in successfully defending a woman striker and other pickets.

After the sudden, ominous appearance of the cops at the plant gate, a group of Turkish workers shielded Zierenberg from arrest, though his name was taken by the police. The company later fabricated "assault" charges, for which he faced three years in jail or a fine of DM 3,000. IG Metall took up and paid for Zierenberg's defense. The charges were dismissed, but Zierenberg really deserves a medal as a workers hero. At a time when workers internationally, particularly immigrant workers, face vicious repression, this victory concretely demonstrates the power of working-class solidarity.

North's Workers League Cult Attacks Marxist Spartacists

Lord of the Fleas

WV No. 412, 26 September 1986

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Urgent Appeal to Japanese, Korean Steel Workers

The Spartacist League has directed the following appeal to Japanese steel workers as well as the Federation of Korean Metal Workers Unions in Seoul, calling for international labor solidarity during the present International Longshoremen's Association strike.

1 October 1986

Japan Federation of Iron and
Steelworkers Unions
Tokyo, Japan

International labor solidarity can be key to victory in U.S. longshore strike. Oppose protectionist hysteria setting Japanese and American workers at each other's throats. Steel workers and dock workers must act together against union-busters from Wall Street to Tokyo. Japanese, Korean unions: don't increase steel exports to United States during ILA strike.

Spartacist League/U.S.

Let's Win This One...

(continued from page 7)

Brooklyn and the U.S. Attorney's office. It was predictable: every time a new ILA contract rolls around the government unveils a "new" investigation, hoping union leaders will back down to save their own skins.

Using the mob as an excuse, the government invaded the union in an

AP

Reagan honors Nazi SS war criminals at Bitburg, Germany.

attempt to break it in the early 1950s. East Coast dock workers staged massive strikes and work stoppages to fight the attempt by the government and George Meany to replace the ILA with an AFL affiliate. When they undertook a determined strike in 1971, Nixon imposed a Taft-Hartley back-to-work injunction. In 1974 the New York ILA won full 52-week guaranteed pay for its members. The very next year the feds embarked on a massive probe of "waterfront corruption." One of the key targets was Brooklyn ILA leader Tony Scotto, credited with winning the Guaranteed Annual Income. (The GAI was actually a trade-off for thousands of jobs slashed through "modernization" contracts.) Scotto, a liberal Democrat who had a reputation as a civil rights activist and opponent of the Vietnam War, was framed up and convicted in 1979.

Although Tony Scotto's liberal anti-communist views are very distant from our own, we defended him in our press (see "Who Got Tony Scotto—and Why," *WV* No. 244, 23 November 1979). Unlike reformist fake-leftists, we Trotskyists don't believe in finking to the government and suing the unions in the bosses' courts. If you're indebted to the racist, union-busting government for office, you won't do the workers movement any good. Union gains have been won only by standing up to the government as well as the bosses. As militant British miners say, the only illegal strike is the one that loses. Government—hands off the unions! Labor must clean its own house!

Smash Racism!

The inroads on the ILA contract have been sharpest in the South, where open shop stevedoring operations have been set up paying *half* the union rate. But the heavily black Southern locals have often been the spearhead of militant union action, from the labor boycott of Rhodesian chrome to the 1977 strike. New Orleans dock workers were in the forefront of that ten-week battle, defying the leadership's policy of striking only containerized operations by shutting down all cargo handling. In breaking the New Orleans strike, the ILA International made it easier for the bosses to split the union today. This must be reversed: all ILA members must strike together against the bosses!

You can't defend the unions without fighting racism. Organizing unions in the South means pitched battles with the Klan and cracker sheriffs. Tidewater longshoremen showed the way when they endorsed and helped send a contingent to the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the

AP

no credit

Left: PATCO leaders in chains, 1981. Right: FBI grabs black radical Angela Davis, 1970.

AFL-CIO

AFL leader Samuel Gompers (1850-1924) demanded: "More." Today's labor fakers say "less."

Spartacist League that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington in November 1982. Defend busing and extend it to the suburbs! For free, quality, integrated public education for all! And end all segregated locals and hiring halls in the ILA.

Supporting the Democrats' and Republicans' bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive is playing the bosses' game. Billions are spent for "Star Wars" and arming the contras from Nicaragua to Angola, while jobs and housing are cut to the bone and American industry goes down the tubes. So who benefits when the ILA tops give away even more jobs by boycotting trade with Russia? When ILA member Jackson Taylor was murdered by the cops, the general manager of the scab Baltimore Launch firm dared anyone to fight his union-busting plans: "I'm not living in Russia yet, and no union or association is going to stop me." Longshoremen should learn a lesson from this: the Russian Revolution was made in order to put the scabherders out of business for good.

We need a workers revolution *here* that will rip the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of its greedy and incompetent owners. Against all the protectionist poison spewed out by the bosses and their labor toadies, fight for an internationalist program to rebuild America on a socialist planned economy. The enormous power of the American working class can be unleashed; we can bust the union-busters—but that means hard class struggle and a politically class-conscious leadership. Labor and blacks must break from the Democrats and Republicans—build a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

The Scab

by Jack London

"After God had finished the rattlesnake, the toad, the vampire, He had some awful substance left with which He made a scab.

"A scab is a two-legged animal with a cork-screw soul, a water-logged brain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue. Where others have hearts, he carries a tumor of rotten principles.

"When a scab comes down the street, men turn their backs and angels weep in heaven, and the Devil shuts the gates of Hell to keep him out.

"No man has a right to scab so long as there is a pool of water to drown his carcass in, or a rope long enough to hang his body with. Judas Iscariot was a gentleman compared with a scab. For betraying his master, he had character enough to hang himself. A scab has not."

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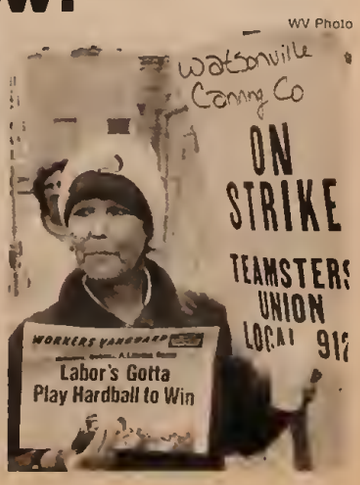

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27 November 1982: Proud Day for ILA

Labor, Blacks Stopped the Klan

The KKK figured that with their favorite "Klandidate" in the White House, they were riding high. But when the hooded nightriders threatened to march in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982, they found out this was not Reagan's Washington, but a 75 percent black town determined to defend itself. A 5,000-strong demonstration, overwhelmingly black workers and youth, stopped the fascist terrorists in their tracks. And mid-Atlantic waterfront unions, from the Virginia Tidewater and Baltimore/Washington areas in particular, played a key role in this victory for labor, blacks and every opponent of racist terror.

The call for the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League got its first solid union support from the Norfolk/Newport News area. Endorsements came in from Longshore, Machinists, Electrical Workers union officials; ILA Locals 1248 and 1458 in Norfolk endorsed, as did the executive board of ILA Local 333 in Baltimore. ILA International President Thomas Gleason also backed the anti-Klan mobilization. This support opened the doors to key unions in Washington such as postal workers, railway clerks and laborers. And with labor's muscle behind them, like the Tidewater unionists' Nat Turner Brigade, thousands of black youth, students from Howard University and angry Washington residents came out determined to stop their city from being turned into a parade ground for the lynchers.

Faced with the mass mobilization of labor/black power, the fascist thugs turned tail. The victorious demonstrators took the streets of Washington, marching down the route the Klan had threatened to march, triumphantly chanting, "1-2-3-4, Time to Finish the Civil War! 5-6-7-8, Forward to a Workers State!" The November 27 victory, pointing toward independent working-class struggle for power, was forged against the black Democratic Congressmen and mayor who did everything they could to defuse and divert this powerful class action.

The Spartacist League, which stands for the elementary labor principle that "picket lines mean don't cross," which organizes labor/black mobilizations against the racist terrorists in white sheets or blue uniforms, seeks to forge a workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution to free all the exploited and oppressed. Join us! ■

The Battle for Busing

Norfolk Labor Against Jim Crow

When the Norfolk, Virginia school board first voted to abolish busing three years ago, 10,000 predominantly black workers and youth poured into the streets in protest. "ILA All the Way Against Segregated Schools" read signs carried by a 200-strong contingent of the International Longshoremen's Association on 14 May 1983. As racist mobs rampaged from Boston to Louisville, and Northern liberal Democrats knifed integration in Congress, the Spartacist League fought for labor/black mobilizations to defend busing and extend it to the suburbs—for integrated public quality education for all. The Tidewater area was the last bastion of busing precisely because it was the only place in America that organized labor mobilized its social power to stop the reimposition of segregated schools.

But the bipartisan, nationwide campaign against school integration targeted Norfolk's successful busing plan, and this year the reactionary Supreme Court axed it. "Whenever there is unity between black and white in the United States there is always opposition from the ruling class," wrote a Tidewater unionist. Now, taking their cue from Reagan and Meese, the KKK cross-burners and nightriders have been victimizing the homes of black and interracial families. The predominantly black waterfront unions of the Tidewater area are a beachhead of labor power in the "open shop" South, and can be in the forefront of the fight to integrate the schools and defend minorities from racist attack. But that means breaking with the partner parties of racist American capitalism. For a class-struggle workers party that will bury Jim Crow once and for all!

WV Photo

Longshore union marches for school busing in Norfolk, May 1983.

Baltimore Cops Killed Striking Longshoreman

Labor Will Not Forget Jackson Taylor!

Abridged From WV
No. 389, 18 October 1985

Baltimore longshoremen played hardball. They battled cops and scabs and backed off the union-busters. In the course of the fight, one of the strikers, Jackson H. Taylor, was brutally killed by the scabherding cops, October 9, as he fought to defend the picket line and the very existence of his union. Jack Taylor gave his life for the cause of labor.

Nothing moved on the Baltimore docks Saturday morning, October 12, as longshoremen honored one of their own. Some 1,500 longshoremen, almost equally black and white, gathered at Baltimore's St. Rose of Lima Catholic Church, to pay their respects to Brother Taylor. International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) president Teddy Gleason was there, along with union officials from as far away as Portland, Maine and Brownsville, Texas.

"That man Jack died for me," said one dock worker of the 59-year-old gang leader and member of ILA Local 333, who was struck down at Port Covington by a police cruiser while he and his union brothers fought an unprecedented attempt to introduce scab labor on the Baltimore docks.

Rader/Baltimore Sun

JACKSON TAYLOR
1926-1985

no credit

ILA union brothers at memorial mass for Jackson Taylor, October 1985.

The battle began October 8, when 125 longshoremen turned out to stop the Baltimore Launch and Marine Services' use of $5 per hour scab labor to unload the Cypriot freighter *Depy*. That evening the fight broke out when a scab tried to run his forklift through the picket line. The unionists fought back. Five members were arrested and two cops injured. The next morning more than 300 ILAers mobilized, overran a police line and attempted to storm the *Depy*. The cops called for reinforcements: two cruisers came speeding toward the dock at about 60 miles per hour and swerved toward a group of longshoremen. Taylor dodged the first cop car; he was struck and killed by the second.

Ever since Reagan crushed the PATCO strike in 1981, it's been open season on the unions. The bosses don't seem satisfied with just wage cuts—they want dead strikers to show as an "example" to the rest of the labor movement, like Ohio Greyhound striker Ray Phillips, run down by a scab in the 1983 bus strike; and Greg Goobic, killed a few weeks later by a scabbing truck driver who smashed through a picket line at the Union Oil refinery in Rodeo, California.

The bosses are so emboldened that they believe they can crack a powerful union like the ILA. But the ILA wasn't playing footsie: picket lines were established at the launch center, the employment agency and the destination point for the cargo, as well as at Port Covington. Union officials said other ports were prepared to dispatch reinforcements if necessary.

We honor Jackson Taylor, who died in the line of duty, defending his union. The loss of union brother Jackson Taylor at the hands of the police is an object lesson that the capitalist state and its armed fist, the cops, are not neutral. As the ILA picket captain told us: "I just hope other unions all over the world, not only in the United States, learn a lesson from this and wake up. And the judge ain't going to be with you. The membership's got to do it themselves."

Young Spartacus

500 Students Rout KKK March!

Radford, Virginia

Photos: Mike Chandler

Students turn back KKKers carrying flag of slavery. Smash the Klan—Finish the Civil War—Forward to a workers state!

(continued from page 16)

from the KKK provocation by organizing an alternative event (*Tartan*, 11 September). The mayor of nearby Christiansburg was quoted from a press conference held previously: "This is one of those situations that if you ignore it, it may go away." The student government's "Radford Unity Day" diversion seems to have rather flopped, drawing 100 students at first, and more only when militants returned after successfully confronting the Klan.

Lyle Tefft, associate news editor of the campus paper, told *Young Spartacus* he thought many of the students who went to Main Street didn't have any clear idea what they would do when they got there. But the spirit of the anti-Klan onlookers became more and more defiant and finally the crowd surged into the street jeering and shouting. They blocked the Klan's path and the cops had to intervene to escort the fascists out of town, with about 100 students chasing after them.

A black student, an officer of the Black Awareness Group on campus, told us she hadn't gone to the anti-Klan protest and had urged friends not to go because she feared blacks would be a target. She was surprised by what happened and sorry she wasn't there. Black students comprise only about 5 percent of the student body, she said, and have been victims of racist harassment and threats from townspeople. Nevertheless some of the black students did participate in stopping the Klan, she told us, including her roommate.

A sales team from the Socialist Workers Party touring the area as part of their annual subscription drive happened to be in Radford but they evidently played no role except to sell their press to the anti-Klan demonstrators. The SWP's usual line is to "debate the Klan" rather than stop them, but in this case the SWP capitulated to the accomplished fact and faintly praised the action in a small article.

Ironically, students who share the general satisfaction that the Klan was stopped in Radford are still confused or defensive over the idea that the KKK's "constitutional rights" may have been violated. Student president Freeman told us: "It's hard to criticize a group of students who expressed their opposition to what the Klan stands for.... Of course the Klan was exercising their constitutional rights too, hut I'm glad they were protested." A Klan parade is not an exercise in "free speech"—it is a green light for racist violence. The white robes and Dixie flags of the Klan on Main Street in the afternoon means black people terrorized by cross-burnings at midnight. What the Klan is about is a black man lynched, a union organizer shot dead and dumped in a ditch, an interracial family cowering in their home as firebombs burst through the window. The Klan hates blacks, immigrants, Jews, Catholics, gays, communists, unionists. And their program for these "inferior" beings is... death.

Fascists like the KKK and Nazis feed off the social rot of decaying capitalism. In the context of the vicious racism built into American capitalist society, and particularly now with a vicious reactionary in the White House, they think they can stick their heads up. Confronted with a Klan provocation, the Radford militants ignored those who told them to ignore the Klan; they acted on their best impulses and scored a victory. But the hatred for violence that all sane people share, the desire for decency, is not enough to crush the fascist menace. The capitalist state is up to its neck in collusion with fascist terrorists, from the 1963 Birmingham church bombing to the Greensboro, North Carolina massacre. And when the rulers feel their own power is at risk, they easily overcome their patrician distaste for these psychotic scum and place them in power, as happened in Germany in 1933.

But the fascists can be smashed by massive united action by their intended victims, led by an aroused labor movement conscious that its fundamental class interest demands championship of all the oppressed. A taste of that power was felt when a labor-backed anti-Klan mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League defied the White House's program of letting the lynchers march through black D.C. and stopped a KKK march in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982.

We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs are working to recruit young people to a revolutionary movement dedicated to rooting out fascism and racist oppression at their source. We look forward to making contact with students at Radford and elsewhere who are getting involved in the fight and want to learn more about the struggles of other students and working people across the country and around the world. ■

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Washington Post

Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982.

Columbia Honors Kirkpatrick–Expert in Genocide

Keep the Butchers On the Run!

FLASH—As we go to press, the *Columbia Spectator* reports that Jeane Kirkpatrick has canceled her appearance at Columbia. The 6 October *Spectator* quotes a letter to the Graduate Faculties Alumni Association by Reagan's Dragon Lady: "In light of the protest that has arisen, what should be a pleasant occasion will be an ugly and divisive affair." This defeat for the White House and its arrogant war criminals is a good thing—keep the butchers on the run!

Jeane Kirkpatrick, the Reagan administration's former ambassador to the United Nations, is coming to Columbia University October 21 to receive an award for "excellence" from the Graduate Faculties Alumni Association. Students, faculty and workers at Columbia will presumably be spared the kind of murderous "achievements" which Kirkpatrick braintrusts elsewhere on behalf of the U.S. bourgeoisie. But picture what this place would look like if her policies were brought home. The army would shut down Columbia at gunpoint—the fate Kirkpatrick's favorite government imposed on students at El Salvador's National University in 1980. "Subversive" students would be rounded up by death squads and "disappeared." Campus union leaders would be jailed and tortured, as has happened to at least 21 Salvadoran unionists that we know of in this year alone. Black Harlem, Columbia's "border state," would experience air strikes by racist South African commandos. And Barnard professors could be skinned alive by CIA-sponsored Afghan mullahs for the "crime" of teaching young women how to read and write.

Dragon Lady Kirkpatrick's Orwellian doctrine of support to "moderate authoritarian" regimes means keeping the "Free World" safe for capitalist exploitation—by any means necessary. From her support to the Zionist genocide of the Palestinian people, to "constructive engagement" of apartheid slavery, to "covert" aid to Savimbi's contras in Angola, to backing the jackbooted generals of Chile, Argentina and Paraguay—Jeane Kirkpatrick bears direct and personal responsibility for the deaths of countless thousands of our class brothers and sisters. Kirkpatrick is a mastermind of U.S. policy in El Salvador, backing the blood-drenched generals in their war against the workers and peasants. Since the bloodbath was unleashed by the death squads in 1979, the body count has climbed to over 60,000 dead! We in the Spartacus Youth Club stand for the military victory of the leftist insurgents. Justice demands that Kirkpatrick face a trial by her victims—extradite Kirkpatrick to a Salvadoran liberated zone!

For her war crimes, Kirkpatrick has been honored by the CIA-backed contra scum who specialize in the murder, rape and torture of Nicaraguan civilians. The contras have named a mercenary brigade for her and pledge to chisel this Medusa's mug in marble if they ever regain Managua. Now Columbia University proposes to honor the contras' gargoyle as one of their own. All partisans of the international working class and the oppressed, all defenders of democratic rights against capitalist state terror must oppose this obscene celebration of bestial war crimes!

Several campus groups have already begun organizing against the award ceremony. At the first meeting of the "Ad Hoc Committee Against Jeane Kirkpatrick," the Spartacus Youth Club argued against any illusions in or reliance on the university administration. We proposed militant, united-front protests involving workers, students, and all opponents of Kirkpatrick's counterrevolutionary terror. Columbia students, students at the public universities and community residents should join together in protesting Kirkpatrick's bloody record. Just north of Columbia at CCNY, there are a large number of Haitian, Latin American and Arab students who know firsthand what it means to live under the likes of Baby Doc Duvalier's terror and Yankee imperialism's Marines enforcing "austerity" by bayonet. They too must have a voice in giving Kirkpatrick the welcome she deserves.

WV Photo

Chanting "Keep Kirkpatrick on the run, send her down to Morazán!" Spartacist contingent marches in demonstration against Salvadoran puppet junta, Los Angeles, 1983.

Galdamez/AFP

Reagan's Dragon Lady with one of her "moderately authoritarian" Salvadoran war criminals.

At issue here is not the preservation of Columbia's "good name" which is synonymous with the slumlord of Morningside Heights, a record of union-busting and victimization of leftist protesters. Columbia exists precisely to train the future CIA agents, warmakers and strikebreakers that the ruling class needs for its global anti-Communist "rollback." Kirkpatrick herself trained at Columbia, earning a master's degree for studying...the ideology and methods of Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists!

With sharp memories of their ignominious defeat in Vietnam, the ruling class is putting the repressive machinery in place to ensure that this time around no "troublemakers" will organize youth against imperialism's sinister war aims. Reagan and his warmongers claim they have a massive "mandate" for reaction, a seamless national "consensus" as they move toward new wars to "roll back Communism." But on several campuses, students have refused to condone Nuremberg-style rallies for counterrevolution staged by the government as part of their "education."

In 1983, student protest in solidarity with the victims of Kirkpatrick's policies drove her off Berkeley and the University of Minnesota. Plans for similar protests kept her from showing up at Smith and right here at Barnard. Good! Such political action is exactly what's called for to keep this butcher off Columbia and on the run!

These protests by college students, though a far cry from the more massive "New Left" radicalism of the Vietnam War era, have embarrassed the government. And so the war criminals, and Kirkpatrick in particular, are made a focal point for an orchestrated campaign to portray them as martyrs of totalitarian leftists who won't permit them "free speech." Thus the junior McCarthys of Accuracy in Academia champion the kill-crazy Kirkpatrick as their "victimized" cause célèbre, while Reagan's education secretary Bennett declared: "Just as a fortress under siege does not invite enemy spokesmen to address the troops, so too have campus radicals prevented Jeane Kirkpatrick, Caspar Weinberger and other Administration spokesmen from presenting their point of view to the student body" (*New York Times*, 15 May).

Mr. Bennett and his Little Brothers should review a high school civics text. The First Amendment was enacted to protect free speech for the populace from government censorship and abuse! But in today's political climate of anti-Soviet war fever, the government is turning the Constitution on its head, perversely employing the rubric of "free speech" to straitjacket political opposition to the government's policies and agents (who have every bourgeois newspaper and TV station at their disposal, daily) by stripping the working people, minorities and youth of democratic rights. Is Kirkpatrick's debut at Columbia a deliberate provocation, a test case to see just how successful the government's campaign of intimidation, harassment and censorship against the left has been?

"Free speech"? Certainly at Columbia there is a plethora of right-wing professors fully capable of arguing in defense of the ruling class. As Marxists we make a key distinction between these reactionary ideologues and those who are neck-deep in planning and carrying out the crimes of the bourgeoisie. As odious as her views are, it is for her *deeds*—like the top Nazis who got theirs, finally—that Kirkpatrick evokes justified protest and must be driven away!

From the terror bombing of Libya to the millions of greenbacks and the advance guard of Green Berets going to the contras, the U.S. ruling class, both Democrats and Republicans, is on a crusade against the Soviet "Evil Empire" whose hand they see behind every struggle for social justice. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are fighting the anti-Soviet war drive abroad and at home, from our campaign to raise thousands of dollars for the defense of Nicaragua, to organizing to *stop* the KKK and the Nazis, Reagan's fascist shock troops. The death and destruction wreaked by Kirkpatrick are the criminal modus operandi of the world imperialist system, in which "freedom" is decided by "destabilization," napalm and atom bombs. The final revenge for the wretched bantustans, the death squads and the torture stadiums will not be tasted until the world proletariat sweeps away the capitalist system through socialist revolution. We are dedicated to building the revolutionary party to achieve this goal. Join us! ■

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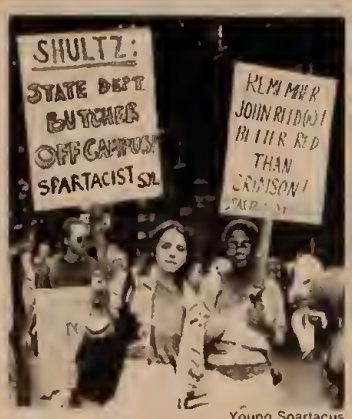
SAN FRANCISCO

We're Looking for A Few Good Communists!

There's a lot that needs changing in the world today, but learning how to fight for social justice is the diametrical opposite of the training provided by a Harvard education. As if to underscore the point, Harvard hoisted the *Confederate flag*—the banner of slavery and the rallying symbol for Klan lynch mobs—to celebrate the university's 350th year as the premier training ground for future leaders of American imperialism's schemes of global counterrevolution and racist terror.



Young Spartacus

Spartacist youth protest Harvard's filthy fête.

It's not part of the Harvard curriculum, but there is another tradition at this institution: that of students like John Reed and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who turned their backs on this bastion of race and class privilege to devote their lives to the struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed. Higginson fought to break the yoke of black chattel slavery in this country and Reed was an active participant in the Russian Revolution and a fighter for American Communism. It is this tradition that the Trotskyists of the Spartacus Youth Club at Harvard stand on today in our struggle to win students to the side of the working class, where the social power lies to change this society.

If Thomas Wentworth Higginson were alive to see the Confederate flag raised over Harvard Yard, he'd be leading an integrated detachment of troops to rip down and burn the hated banner of the slavocracy, and we'd be marching with him. In the 1840s, Higginson became involved in the anti-slavery struggle, at a time when other Harvard students organized a mob against abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Higginson was among the first to advocate military action against the slaveowners and supported John Brown's efforts to spark an anti-slavery insurrection at Harpers Ferry—the opening shots of the Civil War. Higginson later attempted to liberate Brown from a Charleston, Virginia (now West Virginia) prison, after the heroic Harpers Ferry raid was crushed by U.S. troops. Once the Civil War erupted, Higginson, understanding the importance of arming and enlisting blacks in the battle against slavery, led the first regiment of fugitive slaves and black freedmen. (His stirring account, *Army Life in a Black Regiment*, was recently republished in paperback.) The 200,000 black troops who fought for the Union were key to turning the tide of the war. Higginson, like many outspoken abolitionists, also embraced the fight for women's rights.

The Civil War was the second American revolution—a convulsive social struggle which smashed chattel slavery on behalf of Northern industrial capitalism. But its promise of black equality was not fulfilled; the Union troops were withdrawn from the South and the hopes of black Americans were crushed in the terror and moral cowardice of the political counterrevolution which gutted and then destroyed Radical Reconstruction. Out of this the racist Ku Klux Klan was reborn. It will take a third American revolution, a proletarian socialist revolution, to finish the Civil War and achieve black liberation. To lead that revolution, we must forge a multiracial revolutionary party, with a strong black component in its leadership. This party will be built through struggles to mobilize the power of the integrated labor movement in defense of black freedom. Against the present pro-capitalist union "leaders" who look to the Democratic Party and turn their backs on the black people, we seek to mobilize mass labor/black defense against the fascist terrorists of the KKK and Nazis, who are the emboldened shock troops of Reagan reaction.

John Reed

John Reed is another of Harvard's class traitors and a role model for revolutionary youth today. After graduating from Harvard in 1910, Reed became a left-wing journalist and an active participant in the struggles of the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party. He went to Russia on the eve of the 1917 October Revolution and was won over to Lenin's Communist program. (His book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, is an exciting eyewitness account of the Bolshevik Revolution which we heartily recommend to the young people of today.)

Reed was a founding member of the Communist Party in this country, which looked to the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky for revolutionary leadership. It was the Comintern which pushed the young American Communist movement to put the struggle for black freedom in the center of their perspective for socialist revolution in America. At the Second Congress of the Communist International Reed said, "The Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement which demands their social and political equality and at the moment, at a time of the rapid growth of racial consciousness, is spreading among Negroes." Reed died in 1920 in Moscow and is buried in the Kremlin.

The Bolshevik Revolution ripped one sixth of the globe from the system of capitalist plunder. The imperialists have never ceased to plot and plan the destruction of the Soviet Union, and they never will—until we sweep them into the dustbin of history along with the Russian tsars. Despite the bureaucratic degeneration of the USSR under Stalin—the destruction of workers democracy and the replacement of Leninist internationalism by its opposite, the defeatist program of "Socialism in One Country"—the gains embodied in the Soviet Union's collectivized property and planned economy remain.

And the Soviet workers have demonstrated their ability and will to defend those gains. It was the Red Army which crushed Hitler's Nazi barbarians in World War II and it is Soviet military might that has made the U.S. imperialists hesitate to atom-bomb Vietnam, Cuba and the other countries where capitalist class rule has been smashed. As Trotskyists, we unconditionally defend these states against imperialism and capitalist restoration; our defense includes the fight for political revolution to oust the parasitical bureaucratic caste which undermines the economy, demoralizes the working class and pushes deadly dangerous illusions in the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" with rapacious imperialism. Only the smashing of capitalism on a world scale by the working class can bring peace to this planet, based on the true equality of nations and an international planned socialist economy.

The Spartacus Youth Club is looking for the John Reeds at Harvard today—students who want to smash racism at its core, the vicious capitalist system of exploitation and oppression; students with a gut hatred for the real "Evil Empire," U.S. imperialism and its think tanks like Harvard's Kennedy School of Counterrevolution. Those students who want to use their knowledge of science and culture for the benefit of humanity—instead of in the service of ruling-class barbarism from napalm (another Harvard invention) to "Star Wars"—should join the Spartacus Youth Club to fight for a socialist future. Better Red than Crimson! ■

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Thomas Wentworth Higginson (right) fought against slavery; he led black regiment, the First South Carolina Volunteers (left).

Crown Publishers

Museum of October Revolution, Moscow

John Reed (left) wrote the finest account of the Bolshevik Revolution. Moscow soldiers march in 1917 under the banner of "Communism" (right).

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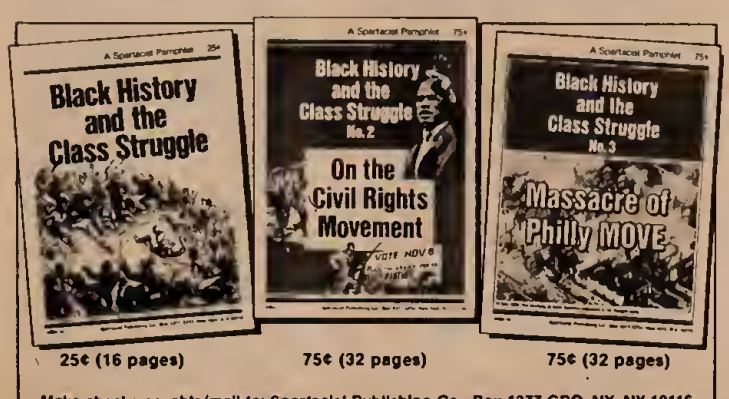

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Young Spartacus

Drop the Charges Against Guillermo at S.F. State!

Defeat South Africa-Style Ban!

The United States government has declared war on your rights. They're telling you what you can and cannot read, smoke, and do in your own bedroom. They want to test your urine, censor your VCR, and take away your *Playboy* magazine. They've made national heroes out of teenage snitches who turn their own parents in to the cops. And while ranting about terrorism, the Reagan gang encourages abortion clinic bombers, racist KKK nightriders and gay-bashing bigots. There's a reason why all this is happening now: the ruling class and its politicians, Republican *and* Democrat, seek to regiment the population for war against the Soviet Union and its "surrogates" across the world. *You* are supposed to be the cannon fodder for this imperialist war drive.

So now it's a "crime" to pass out a Marxist leaflet on the SF State campus. Spartacus Youth activist Guillermo Bermúdez goes on trial in SF municipal court October 14 for this very "crime." Bermúdez, a student at UC Berkeley and formerly at SFSU, is charged with violating a South Africa-style *ban* slapped on him by the SFSU administration after he and other young Spartacist "Red Avengers" held a rally on campus to raise money for Nicaragua's defense against U.S. imperialism. On 16 November 1984, campus cops arrested Guillermo for breaking this outrageous ban by coming to campus and distributing leaflets. The police report described his "motive" as: "to pass-out 'Spartacus' Nicaraguan support flyers."

The Red Avengers were born in answer to the anti-Spartacist witchhunt of a frenzied unholy alliance of the campus administration and cops, student government bureaucrats, "progressive" Democratic Party careerists and their fake-left camp followers and hangers-on. The campus popular frontists were enraged because we exposed their lie that workers and blacks could fight Reagan by backing loser Walter "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale. So at a November 1 debate sponsored by the SF State Women's Center featuring candidates for the SF Board of Supervisors, including Diana Coleman of the Spartacist League, WC director Judy Moore (aka "Baby HUAC") decided that a literature table displaying Spartacist literature and Marxist classics invaded her inner space and called the cops and administration to whisk away socialist literature (of course leaving intact the literature display of the crazed ultrarightist Lyndon LaRouche cult). Defiant Red Avengers responded with a bright red campaign to raise dollars for MIGs for Nicaragua to crush Reagan's contras.

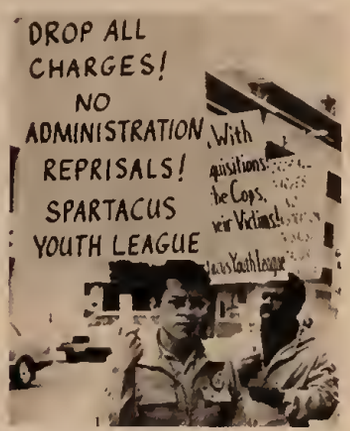
The rad-libs' red hunt, enthusiastically joined by all manner of racists and bigots, paved the way for the emergence on campus of the racist punk "Residents' Liberation Army," which staged KKK-style provocations against blacks, gays, Hispanics, Jews and leftists last school year. In May, one of these racist scum, Greg Foster, assaulted Spartacist supporter Todd Nolan. While the authorities never prosecuted (much less banned) Foster for this crime, Guillermo Bermúdez is going on trial for handing out a leaflet.

Of all the charges against Red Avengers stemming from the cops' arrest spree in 1984, all have been dropped—except the charge against Guillermo for defying the anti-democratic, anti-communist ban. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee fought for a dismissal of this charge all the way up to the California Supreme Court, which refused to review the case. State attorney general John Van de Kamp weighed in with an 18-page brief against the appeal for a dismissal. Clearly the powers that be are committed to prosecuting this case. Why?

Van de Kamp's brief describes Guillermo as a "campus fixture"—that is, a well-known, outspoken Marxist activist. Guillermo gave the Reaganite witchhunters a black eye this spring when a year-long defense campaign resulted in the dismissal of the phony "assault on a police officer" charges trumped up after campus cops assaulted *him*, seizing him in a deadly choke hold when he was leading a demonstration against Marine recruiters on the Berkeley campus. Vindictive UC Berkeley "Reichschancellor" Heyman answered Guillermo's legal victory by suspending him from school this semester. While obscenely mouthing hypocritical pieties "against apartheid," Heyman & Co. are currently in the process of disciplining eleven anti-apartheid protesters.

As Guillermo's attorneys (noted black civil rights lawyer Howard Moore and Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Valerie West) wrote in their appeal to the California Supreme Court: "At issue is the standard for freedom of speech and political dissent on the state universities at precisely the time of an awakening to political awareness and expression among college youth...." The vendetta against Guillermo Bermúdez is aimed at intimidating and silencing all those who would protest the criminal policies of the U.S. government and its campus henchmen. It is part of a policy of pre-emptive strikes against campus protest that goes all the way up to the Reagan/Meese White House. It is aimed at *you* if you are one of the hundreds of thousands of young people who don't want to die fighting for United Fruit, Exxon and the Bank of America in the jungles of Nicaragua or Angola—or in a thermonuclear World War III unleashed by imperialism's insane drive to restore capitalism in the USSR.

If this South Africa-style banning order is not beaten back, many more will follow. What next, a McCarthyite "loyalty oath" plus a urine test for each SF State student, professor and campus worker? Defeat attacks on the right to campus protest! Down with the South Africa-style ban! Defend Guillermo Bermúdez! Come to the trial at 9:00 a.m. on October 14, at Municipal Court, Department 16, Hall of Justice, 850 Bryant Street, San Francisco. ■



Young Spartacus Photos

Spartacist militant Guillermo Bermúdez (left): target of anti-communist witchhunt stemming from 1984 "Red Avenger" campaign for embattled Nicaragua at SF State (above).

Take a Side! Defend Nicaragua! Donate to Nicabucks!

In the cross hairs of U.S. imperialism, embattled Nicaragua needs hard currency for everything from military defense to medicine to spare parts. When U.S. war moves against Nicaragua escalated last spring, the Spartacus Youth League initiated the Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua and undertook a fund drive to raise dollars for the defense of the country against *yanqui* imperialism. The "Nicabucks" campaign raised over $25,000, which was forwarded to the Nicaraguan government. Now, as the "contra Congress" votes $100 million in aid for the anti-Sandinista terrorists and Reagan plans to send Green Berets to train the contras in their counterrevolutionary campaign of assassination, torture and sabotage against the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, we have reopened our fundraising effort.

An unusual opportunity to demonstrate our defense of Nicaragua and raise funds for that purpose occurred on September 28 at an Athletes United for Peace-sponsored baseball game in Berkeley, California featuring the Nicaraguan national team. Denied the chance to play in San Francisco on Saturday because of State Department harassment and delay in issuing visas to team members, the Sandinista all-stars made it to Berkeley for a spirited game on Sunday. We carried signs defending the Nicaraguan Revolution; enthusiastic fans contributed to crush the contras.

Our readers have responded generously; since September, over $700 in donations has been received. One letter stated:

> "Once again, as last year—though it's more urgent than ever—we want to give what support we can for the military defense of Nicaragua against the *contra*/mercenary scum & their backers in Washington, overt and covert.... Like you, we'd like to see the revolution completed by the *full* overthrow of capitalism...& also to see it spread throughout the entire region, especially to the industrial workers of Mexico & to witness the forging of a truly revolutionary vanguard to stand at the head of the masses there, armed with a program which will sharply pose the question of 'who shall rule?'...
>
> "P.S. Enclosed is our check for $10.00 for unconditional military support to Nicaragua against imperialist attack by the U.S. & its hired thugs—Wish only that we could send them a few MIGs for the same purpose, but can only hope that the Soviet Union & Cuba will come to realize their obligation to the future of humanity."

Our internationalist appeal for military defense of Nicaragua sets us apart from the pusillanimous, Democratic Party-loving "solidarity" movement which has all but disappeared, incapable of opposing the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive whose front line is drawn in Central America, as the Democrats line up behind Reagan. Many contributors recognize this as well. One wrote:

> "I decided to contribute $ to the Nicaraguan defense thru the SCDN, rather than thru any of the other left-liberal material aid organizations because I was impressed with the way that the SYL [Spartacus Youth League] raised and delivered the previous $25,000—in cash with no strings attached. This seems to me the most appropriate method, under existing conditions, to fulfill desires to make material and real contributions to the defense of Nicaraguan sovereignty."

We thank our readers and all who have generously contributed to the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. More funds are urgently needed. We say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Be a part of this important effort. Make checks payable to: Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua. Mail to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Help crush the contras! ■

Props 63, 64...

(continued from page 16)

proposal by a group of mad scientists for a $12.5 million "research" project to prove AIDS can be transmitted by casual contact or by insects. A project memo called for identifying AIDS victims with a "'Star of David' concept"—branding AIDS victims with the Nazi mark of death. The project had the backing of senior scholars at the Hoover Institute, an anti-Soviet think tank at Stanford University, which lists Reagan as an honorary member. And last June Reagan's Justice Department under Meese ruled that employers receiving federal funds could fire or discriminate at will against any worker on the basis of "fear of contagion" from AIDS.

But for all their talk against the LaRouche bill, the cynicism of the politicians of both capitalist parties in the face of the misery and suffering of AIDS victims and their lovers, families and friends is truly staggering. Reaganite Republican governor George Deukmejian belatedly came out against Prop 64 only after slashing the state's budget for AIDS research and vetoing a rights bill for AIDS victims. The Democrats, who discovered the LaRouche threat after his followers outpolled the regular Democratic Party candidate for lieutenant governor in the Illinois primary, have sought to distance themselves from LaRouche without sounding soft on "sin" or communism. These so-called "friends of gays" have couched their opposition to Prop 64 in lukewarm terms, labeling it "ill-advised," "unnecessary" and, worst of all, "expensive." San Francisco Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein joined Reagan's "war on drugs" when she squashed the city health department's humane suggestion to distribute free sterile needles to drug addicts. A major cause of the spread of AIDS is intravenous drug users sharing dirty needles.

Racists Target Blacks, Asians, Hispanics

The anti-gay drive is part of a deeply reactionary climate of fear and intimidation in Reagan's America. The capitalist state is targeting everybody they suspect of not being in sympathy with a white, Christian, English-speaking America where "deviance" will not be tolerated. The drive for "English only" and more executions is an ominous attack on all minorities. Prop 63 to make English the state's "official language" is backed by the Washington, D.C.-based "U.S. English" and is part of a nationwide anti-immigrant frenzy. As Reagan threatens an invasion of "feet people" from south of the border if U.S. imperialism and its contra scum do not topple the Sandinistas, Meese claims "illegal aliens" are drug traffickers.

Prop 63 is not merely an attack on the pitifully inadequate bilingual services offered California's Hispanic residents, 20 percent of the state population, but a green light for increasing Immigration police (*la migra*) and fascist terror against Hispanics and Asians. Prop 63 also dovetails with the racist "yellow peril" protectionism being pushed mainly by the Democrats. Many Californians of Japanese descent remember being herded into concentration camps for the "crime" of being Japanese during World War II. Prop 63's most prominent backer, S.I. Hayakawa, began his political career with a vicious assault on minorities: as president of SF State University he unleashed bloody police terror against the 1969 student strike led by minority students for ethnic studies programs.

The bill's backers cynically claim it will help immigrants to learn English, as if the problem were lack of motivation! Immigrants and their kids need to learn English to get jobs in the United States. Meanwhile, Deukmejian has been *closing down* bilingual education programs. In L.A. alone, there are *40,000 people* on a waiting list to get into English programs in the public schools. The vast majority of immigrants desperately want to learn English—but don't get the chance. This referendum is not about learning—it's aimed at depriving immigrants of fundamental rights such as drivers licenses, voting and court testimony, in order to make it impossible for the foreign-born to live in America. And as with the nativist frenzy in the 1920s, this is closely linked to fascist terror.

The "golden door" to the U.S. is wide open to the Batista torturers, Somoza butchers, South Vietnamese war criminals and Afghan drug runners, who serve as grist for the anti-Soviet propaganda mill and as counterrevolutionary thugs for the CIA. For those fleeing "Made in U.S.A." death squad terror and starvation, however, there's *la migra*'s Gestapo-like raids, KKK border patrols and barbed wire concentration camps. We oppose Prop 63 and fight for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers. All those who live and work here should be provided with free, quality education in English, as well as their own language. As Lenin wrote in tsarist Russia, which he called "a prisonhouse of peoples": "The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language...."

Newsweek

California Supreme Court chief justice Rose Bird.

Abolish the Death Penalty!

Likewise, the drive to bring back legal executions is a key element of the rightist offensive nationwide. The death penalty has long been a major issue in California politics. The 1960 execution of Caryl Chessman was an early impetus to the 1960s radicalization, which helped to bring about the abolition of the death penalty by the Supreme Court in 1972. But in 1976 the Supreme Court gave the states the power to impose capital punishment, and today the electric chairs and lethal injections are going again. And the Rehnquist court, headed by a racist vigilante in black robes who has voted for every single death sentence that has come before the Supreme Court, wants to restore the death penalty throughout the United States.

California and 27 other states have yet to carry out an execution. The pro-death lobby, afraid that America is slipping behind South Africa in the legal execution of black people, has targeted liberal California Supreme Court chief justice Rose Bird for voting against all 59 death sentences that have come before the court in her tenure. The Democrats, such as black Los Angeles mayor and candidate for governor Tom Bradley, an ex-cop who is pro-death penalty, have shunned Bird like a leper. Even Bird and her liberal and reformist backers seek to duck the issue of capital punishment, claiming the issue is Deukmejian's attempt to pack the court.

Which of the partner parties of American capitalism controls the courts, cops and prisons is not the issue. Marxists fight for abolition of the racist and barbaric death penalty. Voting for Rose Bird certainly won't do it. She's a mainstream liberal who has responded to the rightist attack by covering her right flank: endorsing the appointment of racist Rehnquist and launching a publicity campaign extolling the virtues of American "justice" with explicit anti-Soviet attacks. Massive protests in the context of the black struggle of the early '60s temporarily stopped executions in the U.S. in 1967 and led to the Supreme Court's anti-capital punishment decision five years later. It will take massive labor and black struggle to abolish legal murder today.

VOTE NO on Props 63 and 64! Both these viciously reactionary measures must be defeated in November with a massive turnout of labor and minorities to vote them down. But the barbarism of decaying capitalism will not be defeated at the polls. It's going to take some hard class struggle, led by a revolutionary workers party, to overthrow this racist, war-driven system. Such a party must be a tribune of the people, giving communist leadership to the struggles of the workers and all the oppressed—blacks, Hispanics, Asians, women, gays. We in the Spartacist League are dedicated to building that party. ■

WV Photos

For a workers party uniting all the oppressed in class struggle against capitalism! Above: Los Angeles SL protests migra terror against undocumented Hispanic workers. Right: Spartacist contingent in NYC's Gay Pride Day, 1986.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

500 Students Rout KKK March!

Radford, Virginia

Radford students stop racist nightriders from marching through their town, September 20.

Roanoke Times and World-News

Five hundred students in the small college town of Radford in western Virginia stopped a Ku Klux Klan provocation September 20. A march of 50 of the terrorist Klansmen brandishing Confederate flags and shouting racist slogans was stopped in its tracks as 500 outraged onlookers, overwhelmingly students at Radford University, surged into the street and blocked the Klan's path. The local campus weekly, the *Tartan*, said the police "were unable to disperse the hundreds of students who had gathered to confront the Klan" and quoted one cop as saying, "We feared a riot would break out if the Klan marched further" (*Tartan*, 25 September).

Some townspeople also participated in the anti-Klan event, including a group of bikers whose T-shirts declared "Black and White Unite" and an elderly black man who drew applause and cheers as he walked down Norwood Street carrying a baseball bat.

Across the country in major urban centers the Spartacist League has organized labor/black mobilizations to stop the Klan and Nazis, as against reformist leftists who along with bourgeois politicians organized diversionary events to keep protesters far away from confronting the fascists. So when we heard about the Radford students' action, we grabbed the phone. By all accounts, the militant protest seems to have been a spontaneous response to the KKK's obscene attempt to parade for genocide in Radford. Students interviewed by our reporter were proud that the Klan had been turned back.

In anticipation of the event, people had been "urged to stay home and ignore the Klan marches" and the student government, according to student president Joe Freeman, hoped "to keep students on campus" and away

continued in Young Spartacus, see page 11 inside

"English Only"—Racist Attack on Immigrants

Vote Down California's Props 63, 64!

Fascistic Referendum Targets AIDS Victims

Rink

San Francisco gay community up in arms over LaRouche initiative.

In Reagan's America every right-wing lunatic thinks he can get a serious hearing. Now reactionaries of all stripes are trying to turn the California elections into a racist, witchhunting campaign for anti-gay hysteria, victimization of immigrants and carrying out death sentences again. They're pushing the Reagan agenda to strengthen the capitalist state's police apparatus to smash any opposition to the bipartisan drive toward war against Russia. Whipping up the frenzy over AIDS, crime and "foreigners taking jobs," these electoral campaigns give the green light for attacking minorities and the working class, and create a climate for the spread of fascist terror.

The followers of ultraright crackpot Lyndon LaRouche succeeded in placing on the ballot an openly fascistic measure, Proposition 64, mandating massive AIDS testing, firing suspected AIDS carriers from food-handling and teaching jobs. This monstrous proposal opens the way to quarantining all those infected or even exposed to the virus as potential carriers! Another measure, Prop 63, pushed by notorious rightist former U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa, calls for making English the state's "official language." Proponents of the measure call for banning everything from Spanish-language McDonald's menus to bilingual education. And integral to this vicious rightist drive is the attempt to purge California State Supreme Court chief justice Rose Bird, a liberal who has repeatedly voted against executions. The campaign against her spearheads the drive for legal murder, especially of blacks, in the state of California.

Prop 64, at least, is widely unpopular. Many decent Californians object to the wholesale hounding and persecution of gays and oppose the amendment. Its sponsorship by the sinister Lyndon LaRouche hasn't won it any supporters, either. A poll conducted by the *San Francisco Examiner* (10 September) showed only one in seven voters favoring the fascistic LaRouche referendum. The San Francisco Central Labor Council has come out publicly against it, as has virtually every public health department and reputable medical authority in the state. Unfortunately, the furor has not extended to Prop 63, which would declare English the "official language" of California. This chauvinist law would have a far-reaching impact: millions of Californians for whom English is not their native language would be subject to even greater discrimination in this deeply racist country.

Smash the Anti-Gay Witchhunt!

It is an outrage that the LaRoucheites' Prop 64 is even on the ballot, rather like voting on whether to endorse Hitler's Final Solution. AIDS hysteria has become a rallying point for attacks on gays. The LaRoucheites call for putting gays ("AIDS carriers") in concentration camps ("sanitariums"). Railing against "dirty sex," LaRouche and his cult followers organized the aptly acronymed PANIC ("Prevent AIDS Now Initiative Committee"), which has been playing on bigotry, fear and ignorance to build AIDS hysteria. AIDS is not a "gay plague"—it is caused by a virus, transmitted sexually or by contaminated blood products. Touting the lie that AIDS can be spread casually like TB and typhoid, the LaRoucheites publish crackpot charts projecting the number of AIDS victims doubling every six months until by January 1993 the entire U.S. population will supposedly be wiped out!

Once a leftist, LaRouche is now a right-wing nut case, a fervent endorser of Reaganism who claims that Henry Kissinger is a Soviet mole, the Queen of England runs an international drug ring and AIDS is a product of the Soviet "war machine." A megalomaniacal anti-communist, LaRouche envisions being swept into power by AIDS hysteria merging with anti-Soviet war fever:

> "... the anti-AIDS movement, will naturally converge upon the parallel issues of national economy and national defense. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Attorney General Edwin Meese would be very popular figures, under such circumstances. 'Enough of this disease-ridden radicalism! Let's get back to normal!' will become the popular outcry."
>
> —Lyndon H LaRouche, Jr., "Spread Panic, Not AIDS." October 1985

LaRouche is sinister and dangerous and he is not alone. No wonder he recognizes kindred spirits among the Reaganauts: his "AIDS initiative" sounds like something straight from the Meese police files.

In February the *San Francisco Examiner* revealed that Reagan's War Department was seriously considering a

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 414 | 24 October 1986

Reagan's Dogs of War Shot Down

Nicaragua, Vietnam: U.S. Lies and Wars

Two caskets deposited by Sandinista police at the gate of the United States embassy in Managua: the first American casualties of the U.S.' criminal war on Nicaragua, shot down October 5 near the Costa Rican border while running guns to the CIA's murderous "contra" terrorists. Even more dramatic was the picture splashed across the nation's newspapers: Eugene Hasenfus, the third American on that contra supply flight, being led off by Sandinista soldiers. The photo vividly recalled that of another U.S. airman in the custody of a Vietnamese militiawoman after his plane was downed during a bombing raid in that dirty colonial war. It is the memory of their humiliating defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese people which Ronald Reagan and his fellow imperialist warmakers seek to erase in their drive to reestablish U.S. hegemony and "roll back Communism," from Nicaragua to the Soviet Union.

Coming just as the U.S. Congress was finishing up voting for the $100 million "contra aid" bill, a virtual

continued on page 8

Demattеis/Reuters

Phan Thoan

Sandinista fighter leads off downed CIA operative Hasenfus (left). Vietnamese militiawoman with captured U.S. airman (right).

Soviet Bureaucracy at Iceland Summit:

Limits to Betrayal?

From the moment Ronald Reagan walked out of the non-summit summit in Reykjavik, Iceland cursing at Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the media has been filled with morning-after speculations about the disarmament mega-deal that almost was. Democratic liberals who believe in the "arms control process" as the road to "peace" were upset that Reagan insisted on testing (and ultimately deploying) his trillion-dollar "Star Wars" space weapons scheme, instead of using it as a "bargaining chip." Former war secretary James Schlesinger fretted that the "opportunity of a generation" had been missed. The cynics in the Oval Office, meanwhile, claimed to have almost sealed a pact with the Russians to cut strategic nuclear arms by half within five years and eliminate all "offensive" ballistic missiles in ten. Reykjavik awakened widespread hopes, but anyone who thinks peace was almost at hand must believe in the tooth fairy.

Unfortunately, it appears that Gorbachev was one of those expecting to miraculously find a peace gift under his pillow. In order to achieve a "historic" pact, he was evidently ready to mortgage the proverbial store for a piece of paper signed by the world's leading imperialist. Even the viciously anti-Soviet *New York Times* (15 October) felt compelled to editorialize that many of the "sweeping agreements" in the proposed deal were made "largely on the basis of Soviet concessions." Among the significant concessions:

- The Soviets would eliminate all their medium-range missiles in Europe if the U.S. did the same, while allowing Washington's British and French allies to keep theirs in place.
- The Soviets would cut back, by perhaps several hundred, the number of shorter-range missiles in Europe.
- After unilaterally imposing on themselves for the past year a moratorium on nuclear testing in the hopes that the U.S. would do the same, the Soviets capitulated to Reagan's insistence on letting U.S. nuclear tests continue. Instead there would be a vague commitment to phase out the tests "over time."
- Bombers and cruise missiles, where the Americans have the advantage, would *not* be eliminated under the proposed ten-year deal, while ballistic missiles (the Soviet strong suit) would go.
- Sea-launched cruise missiles, which the U.S. constantly flaunts against the Soviet Union in endless provocative Navy "exercises," are exempted entirely from the deal.
- All this comes on top of the already agreed-to deal in which Gorbachev gave NATO the "right" to call "snap inspections" of Soviet conventional force maneuvers in Europe to "ease tensions."

"Things look much brighter than they did before," bragged Kenneth Adelman, the rocket-rattling head of Reagan's "arms control" agency after the summit. Massachusetts Democrat Ed Markey said it was "the best deal the Russians have offered us since they sold us Alaska." The Reaganites think they can get what they want by slamming the Russians against the wall. And now the U.S. has announced the expulsion of another 55 Soviet diplomats. The Soviets are well aware of the U.S. strategy of nuclear blackmail. In his post-summit speech Gorbachev said:

> "The West thinks or hopes that perhaps the Soviet Union will, in the final analysis, be unable to bear the arms race, economically will break and will therefore come and bow to the West."
> —*New York Times*, 15 October

Unfortunately, the Kremlin is all too willing to accommodate, driven by the illusion that an expensive arms race can be avoided by a paper deal. Indeed, already there are hints being dropped by the Soviet Union that they might capitulate to Reagan's "Star Wars" demands, allowing "some research and testing...outside the laboratory" (*New York Times*, 19 October). The Soviet Union, homeland of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, is in grave danger. But even Joseph Stalin discovered that there were limits to his betrayals to imperialism, when three million German soldiers poured across the Soviet border in June 1941, compelling him to fight or face the destruction of the foundations on which the bureaucracy rests.

Underlying the whole "arms control process" is the pacifist myth that wars are caused by weapons, and therefore war can be prevented or at least

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Defend the Soviet Union!
Workers Revolution Must Disarm the Imperialists!

Letters

Neandertal Man: Friends We'd Like to Have

17 October 1986

Workers Vanguard

Dear comrades,

In our article "Apartheid Capitalism Murders Black Miners" (*WV* No. 412, 26 September) we refer, quite rightly, to the barbaric and philistine character of Reagan and his gang. However, when we write of the "neanderthal political representatives in the White House," we are insulting one of our most interesting and attractive forebears.

Our Ice Age ancestor has been depicted as an ape-like, shambling brute ever since the first fossil remains were found in a cave in the Neander Valley near Düsseldorf in 1856. He got a bad name because nobody at the time wanted to admit that such a specimen could be the predecessor of the "racially superior" European Victorians, or in fact that any human could have been older than 4004 B.C. It took a mass of fossil evidence and the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* to get even the scientists of the middle 19th century to acknowledge that the origins of man predated the Biblical creation.

Neandertal man walked quite as well as we do, cared for his sick and old, buried his dead. To the extent he was anatomically different from modern man, it was to a purpose—although exactly what purpose is still a hotly debated question. His heavier bone structure made it possible to kill huge animals with only handheld spears; the giant brow ridge and protruding jaw probably facilitated the use of a more robust chewing apparatus and may have also been an adaption to the cold climate; the longer and thinner pelvic structure widened the birth canal, perhaps allowing the females to carry for eleven months rather than nine. In any case, all agree that Neandertal man was ideally suited for life in Europe in the last glaciation, a claim that cannot be made for any other hominid. As the eminent Finnish paleontologist Björn Kurtén noted in his collection of essays *How To Deep-Freeze a Mammoth*:

> "Neandertal man is thus a very complicated being. On the one hand a fierce carnivore, on the other a being filled with love for his own and wonder about the mysteries of his world. In any case, something different from, and much more, than the savage cave man of popular literature."

Present day creationists of Reagan's ilk would no doubt prefer we keep Neandertal man in his Alley Oop comic cave-man closet. But one must think, while evolution has rendered a different verdict, that if we had Neandertal man around today, we'd like them as friends. In any event, if we're looking for a prehistoric analogy for the current arrogant, backward and crazed servants of the American ruling class, perhaps we could call them something closer to the truth: degenerated and depraved Cro-Magnons.

Comradely,
Women and Revolution
Editorial Board

WV Helped Foil Pope Plot

Kurralta Park
Australia
22nd July 1986

Editorial Board
WORKERS VANGUARD
New York USA

Many thanks for your letter, dated 25 April 1986, which arrived here safely today and enclosed copies of WORKERS VANGUARD No. 402, 25 April 1986, in which appeared the article, "Pope Plot Frame-Up Flops" on page four.

This article was read in Australia with the same intense interest with which we read earlier articles in WV on the Antonov case. Americans have a facility for crisp, penetrating composition and ingeniously alliterative head-lines, which many Australians find both admirable and often amusing. With Antonov now free, we can afford to smile a little, can't we?

On behalf of the Australian Committee for the Defence of Antonov, I would like to express the sincere thanks of many thousands of Australian working people to WORKERS VANGUARD for the cogent and compelling articles which this American workers' newspaper published in defence of a Bulgarian citizen wrongly imprisoned for some three years or so on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. The steadfastness of American working people in support of Antonov was a splendid instance of international solidarity.

We are all very grateful for your support.

Yours sincerely
Rex Mathews
Secretary
Australian Committee for the Defence of Antonov

TROTSKY

LENIN

Workers Revolution To Disarm Imperialism

During World War I, the Bolsheviks counterposed to every pacifist illusion the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into civil war," and carried this out in the 1917 Russian Revolution. Today, the defense of the social gains of that revolution are inextricably linked to the realization of that slogan worldwide, a task which Lenin highlighted in his speech commemorating the fourth anniversary of the Russian October:

The millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realising the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war, and imperialist peace... which inevitably engenders imperialist war, that it is impossible to escape that inferno, *except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution.*

Let the bourgeoisie and the pacifists, the generals and the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalists and the philistines, the pious Christians and the knights of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals vent their fury against that revolution. No torrents of abuse, calumnies and lies can enable them to conceal the historic fact that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years the slaves have replied to a war between slave-owners by openly proclaiming the slogan: "Convert this war between slave-owners for the division of their loot into a war of the slaves of all nations against the slave-owners of all nations."

For the first time in hundreds and thousands of years that slogan has grown from a vague and helpless waiting into a clear and definite political programme, into an effective struggle waged by millions of oppressed people under the leadership of the proletariat; it has grown into the first victory of the proletariat, the first victory in the struggle to abolish war and to unite the workers of all countries against the united bourgeoisie of different nations, against the bourgeoisie that makes peace and war at the expense of the slaves of capital, the wage-workers, the peasants, the working people.

—V.I. Lenin, "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution" (October 1921)

Mozambique President Killed in South Africa

Samora Machel, president of Mozambique, was killed October 19, along with at least 28 other passengers including four government officials, when his presidential jetliner crashed just a half-mile inside the South African border. The Soviet pilot who survived the crash declared the plane was shot down, leading one to see the hand in this of the racist regime in Pretoria or its hired mercenaries left over from the Portuguese colonial army, the "Mozambique National Resistance."

Escalating military threats from South Africa and the savage ten-year campaign of terror and economic sabotage by the "MNR" compelled Mozambique on October 11 to place its armed forces on full alert. The apartheid bloodsuckers are threatening to expel the 61,000 Mozambique workers who toil in the hellholes of South Africa's mines and whose remittances are a major source of foreign exchange for this desperately impoverished black country. Only last week the Mozambique press speculated about an assassination attempt on Machel's life coming from Pretoria or its hirelings.

Machel's plane went down just 30 miles south of the South African border town where the 1984 Nkomati accords were signed. With black "front line states" living under economic vassalage to the apartheid regime, in 1984 Pretoria blackmailed Mozambique into expelling hundreds of African National Congress anti-apartheid fighters. South Africa was supposed to end its support for the MNR; instead that support has escalated. In desperation, Machel went hat-in-hand to Reagan in September, to no avail.

The CIA assassinated Congolese independence leader Lumumba in January 1961. A few months later, in the same area, UN head Dag Hammarskjöld died in a plane crash; the circumstances were never clarified.

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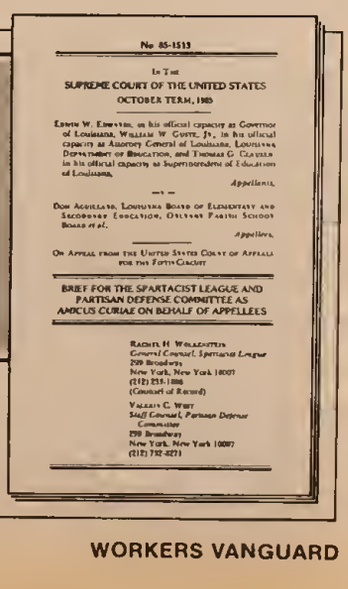

No. 85-1513

In The
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
OCTOBER TERM, 1985

EDWIN W. EDWARDS, in his official capacity as Governor of Louisiana, WILLIAM W. GUSTE, JR., in his official capacity as Attorney General of Louisiana, LOUISIANA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, and THOMAS G. CLAUSEN in his official capacity as Superintendent of Education of Louisiana,

Appellants,

— vs. —

DON AGUILLARD, LOUISIANA BOARD OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, OUACHITA PARISH SCHOOL BOARD *et al.*

Appellees.

ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 414 **24 October 1986**

On the Hormel Boycott

Austin, MN
3 October 1986

Workers Vanguard
New York, NY

Dear Jan Norden,

Thank you for your timely coverage of the longshore strike and calling to attention the many black eyes inflicted on labor in recent years, however I must assure you personally that your statement declaring a defeat for Hormel strikers is premature. Have you heard that 1700 workers at FDL, a Hormel subsidiary, are on strike in Dubuque, Iowa and Rochelle, Illinois? That is 2600 workers in three locations fighting the Hormel company. It would seem your sources of information must be the six o'clock newscast or perhaps joint statements from Hormel and the UFCW. Please come see with your own eyes and listen with your own ears.

Our "useless consumer boycott" has Chuck Nyberg, Hormel chief counsel, saying there are no jobs because they don't need the product and UFCW trustee, Joe Hanson, begging trusteed officers to call off the boycott. To keep up sales figures the last two quarters, Hormel has cut prices as never before, expended $60 million in unprecedented advertising campaigns, all of which (even in only quarterly reports) have shown losses in net profits. Just this week in Austin, eleven management personnel were terminated. Housecleaning, I hardly think so.

The membership of P-9 strikers have and continue to carry their fight to all workers, for all workers. We continue to enjoy widespread support from workers worldwide. I am saddened that, because you evidently disagree with our democratic process of the direction our fight has taken us, you might not support our struggle. I hope such is not the case. I am sure we understand that labor must not pull against each other, but pull toward each other in these, some of the worst of times for workers everywhere. We can ill afford any differences or cracks as gifts to enemies who will surely drive deep the wedges of division. I thank you for your efforts on our behalf.

United we Stand
Cecil Cain

P.S. Might I point out that Hormel has business contracts with the Renown company and the Hai Tai company of South Africa.

WV replies: Who needs "socialists" that tell you you're winning when you're losing? The Spartacist League went flat out, distributing over a quarter million *Workers Vanguard* supplements on the recent ILA strike in just three days, because here was one of the heavy battalions of the labor movement swinging into action. We told the hard truth about why so many recent working-class battles have gone down to defeat—PATCO air controllers, Arizona copper miners, Watsonville cannery workers, TWA flight attendants, and Hormel—and we put forward a program for *victory*. The central lesson is: union misleaders are playing by the bosses' rules, and that's a losing game. "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," proclaimed an earlier *WV* supplement (2 March 1984), widely distributed to striking workers, which became a banner of struggle on picket lines across the country—including at Hormel during the crucial months of the strike. We must forge a class-struggle leadership that can mobilize the power of the working class at the head of all the oppressed.

You say the Hormel strike continues through a consumer boycott of Hormel products, and any other view must come from the capitalist media or the scabherders in the UFCW International. Wrong. Strikes are won or lost on the picket line, not at the supermarket checkout counter or with the vague sympathy of "public opinion." The bottom line is: you're on the street and the scabs have your jobs. The Hormel strike lost when the P-9 leadership failed to stop the 1,000-plus "replacement workers" who have been in the Austin plant for the past eight months. The key moment was last January-February when the scabherding began. Hundreds of strike supporters came down from the Twin Cities and the membership was ready to fight. But all the "tactics" of Ray Rogers' Corporate Campaign, Inc. amounted to *not* challenging the state when the crunch came.

Calls for a consumer boycott have always been a retreat from labor struggle. When did they *ever* work? Cesar Chavez' Farm Workers pushed a grape boycott for years, without results, because they *abandoned* the Delano strike. At the time of the 1981 PATCO air controllers strike, AFL-CIO tops covered their asses with their "don't fly" boycott, whereas any self-respecting Machinists or Teamsters leader should have called out the membership to *shut down the airports*. At Hormel, we warned against the consumer boycott diversion when it was first put forward by the P-9 leadership in January. The SL called instead to "hot-cargo" Hormel shipments, a *labor* boycott by truckers, rail workers, longshoremen which would have been an effective act of solidarity with the P-9 strikers.

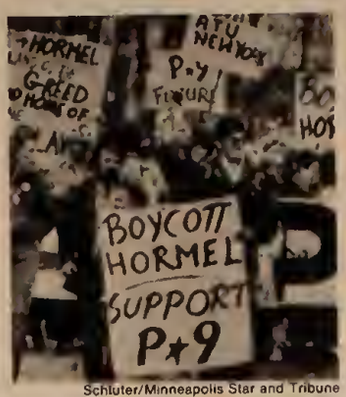
You don't mention the other side of the Guyette/Rogers strategy: treacherous appeals to the government, suing the UFCW in federal court and eventually petitioning Reagan's NLRB to decertify the union. The state is not neutral here, as your own experience with the Democratic governor, the courts, cops and Guardsmen should demonstrate: they're the bosses' armed fist. The hard fight necessary was to mobilize Midwest labor against National Guard strikebreaking at the Austin plant. It's no accident that the capitalist government outlawed "secondary" labor boycotts under the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin acts, while not bothering about consumer boycotts. Labor militants better learn that when the bureaucracy puts you on the boycott list, your strike has been sentenced to death.

The Hormel strike inspired millions of workers around the country when you took on the labor traitors in the UFCW International; Finally, they said, someone is trying to stand up to the murderous givebacks! But the P-9 leadership did not have a program to take on the companies, the state and the pro-capitalist union misleaders. They were stymied, and in desperation and defeat they crossed the class line, appealing to the class enemy against the union movement. The greatest danger for striking FDL workers and the many others who looked to P-9 would be to ignore the reasons for the defeat of the Hormel strike.

Either you fought for class-struggle action *in Austin*, mobilizing the ranks of Midwest labor against the company, the state and the sellout union leadership, or the strike would be broken: that was the choice. Calling on housewives to "Cram Your Spam," appealing to the capitalist courts and labor boards is a program for *defeat*. The road to victory for labor, from East Coast longshoremen to Midwest meatpackers, lies in the battle to oust the bosses' agents in the unions, breaking with the racist, capitalist Democratic Party and forging a workers party.

On the back of the SL party card is a quote from the Transitional Program, written by Leon Trotsky in 1938: "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International." These are the rules of the Spartacist League. ■

WV Photo



Schluter/Minneapolis Star and Tribune

Labor's gotta play hardball to win: Key to victory was stopping scabs from entering Austin plant (left). "Cram your Spam" consumer boycott (right), recipe for defeat.

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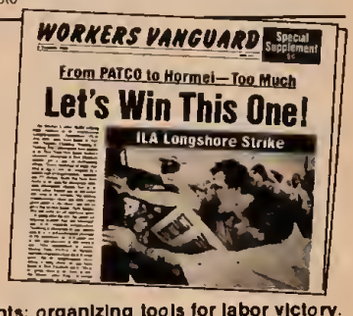
Cleveland	200	278	139
Los Angeles	125	148	118
New York	900	877	97
Oakland	550	683	124
San Francisco	350	354	101
Washington, D.C.	150	182	108
National Total	3,000	3,449	115



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How Longshoremen Stopped the Finks

When East Coast longshoremen walked out October 1, it was different from most recent strikes in the U.S. For a brief period the union-busters were on the run. Pitted against the bosses and their government was the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), a union that has waged a number of hard picket line battles over past decades. Demanding "no concessions," mass pickets shut down New York's containerized facilities tight and meted out rough justice to would-be scabs. Third-generation longshoremen picketing the docks vowed they would not return to the condition their fathers and grandfathers faced when there was little or no union protection. With a big confrontation brewing, ILA officials cooled out the strike, for now, by extending the contracts for 45 days.

The capitalist press sneers at the ILA as a collection of "mobsters" and "racketeers." But heavy-handed government policing of this union over the years owes little to any desire to "clean up corruption," and a lot to the desire to break a hard-nosed union with considerable social weight. Once among the most miserably paid workers, the black, Irish, Italian and other immigrant longshoremen have forged a strong union that exercises job control on the waterfront. The current battle on the waterfront has been shaped by this decades-long collision between the ILA and the capitalist state. Always claiming a "national emergency," the federal government has imposed strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunctions on the ILA *nine* times. And if a strike is resumed now, the Reagan administration would surely attack it as a threat to "national security." To beat the bosses, longshoremen need to draw a political balance sheet of past battles.

Morse/Life

Militant

October 1953: NYC harbor shut down by ILA strike. Striking longshoremen mass at Philadelphia pier.

Postwar Strikes

As World War II drew to a close, East and Gulf Coast longshoremen had long been under the dictatorial rule of ILA leader Joseph "King" Ryan, who assumed office in 1927 and later had himself named president-for-life. The CIO labor explosion of the '30s changed little for these dock workers: Ryan's contribution was an unsuccessful attempt to sabotage the powerful strike of West Coast dockers that culminated in the San Francisco general strike in 1934. But in 1945 New York longshoremen finally exploded. A wildcat erupted against a sellout contract agreed to by Ryan and the shipping bosses. Militant ILA Local 791, centered on the Chelsea docks in Manhattan, took the lead. Despite appeals by federal mediators to return to work, the strikers continued their wildcat for 18 days. An arbitrator eventually awarded a pay increase more than twice the original offer.

In 1947 the Chelsea Local again walked out briefly. The following year ILA bureaucrats submitted two contract proposals: the ranks voted both down. Once again 791 hit the bricks, sparking a port-wide shutdown over overtime pay which spread to Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore. After dragging their feet for several days, ILA officials finally declared the union's first official strike in 28 years. Not trusting Ryan & Co., militants called a mass meeting at Manhattan Center. Ryan and other AFL leaders claimed the meeting had been called by the Communist Party to take over the ILA and to disrupt the Marshall Plan. (Under the guise of shipping food to the starving poor in Europe, Truman's Marshall Plan aided pro-American regimes while waging economic warfare against the Soviet Union.) But 800 strikers defied the bureaucrats and attended the meeting. Evening rates were maintained which the bosses are still trying to take away.

In 1951 New York longshoremen again wildcatted. Although ILA officials alleged that the contract had been voted up, militant Local 791 led a walkout that quickly spread to other locals which had voted "no." "King Joe" blustered, "I wouldn't lower the dignity of the International to open up negotiations" (Vernon Jensen, *Strife on the Waterfront*). "Tough Tony" Anastasia, then a foreman on the docks and later Brooklyn ILA leader, tried to break the strike by sending in scabs to work the Army base, but this ploy failed. Seafarers (SIU) leader Paul Hall prominently supported a back-to-work movement. The strike ended after union leaders futilely appealed to Truman to intervene and guarantee impartial balloting procedures.

Dispatcher

Bay Area dock workers, powerhouse of San Francisco 1934 general strike.

Showdown on the Waterfront

1953 began ominously for the Ryan bureaucracy and the maritime bosses. In February, ILA-affiliated New York tugboat workers waged a successful ten-day strike; militant longshoremen shut down the port in solidarity with them. Up to 1,000 angry dock workers rallied at Ryan's headquarters with signs that included "Resign Meat Head Ryan" and "Bradley the Scab—Remember 1951." This was a reference to ILA tugboat leader William Bradley, who later succeeded Ryan as ILA International president: in 1951, Bradley took out full-page ads in the NYC press denouncing striking longshoremen as communists while Governor Dewey issued a directive establishing a waterfront Crime Commission targeting the ILA. Previously the bosses and politicians hadn't raised a peep about the notorious conditions on the waterfront. But when Ryan could no longer discipline his membership, suddenly he became a crook.

A campaign was unleashed by AFL bigwigs accusing the ILA of "corruption." The Joseph P. Ryan Association held an annual banquet to which every prominent politician in New York and New Jersey trooped, from Tammany Hall hacks to Mayor LaGuardia to FDR when he was governor of New York. Ryan regularly received "Christmas gifts" and liberal donations by the stevedoring companies to his "anti-communist fund": after all, they were the prime beneficiaries of the kickbacks and sweetheart deals. But now Ryan was accused of siphoning off money earmarked for "fighting communism" to acquire silk shirts and underwear, a Cadillac and insurance policies. Meanwhile, the Crime Commission prepared to issue its report on waterfront graft. This investigation of the ILA kicked off 35 years of government hounding of the union which has continued up to the present day.

With the October 1, 1953 contract deadline a week away, the AFL expelled the International Longshoremen's Association. George Meany & Co. attempted to set up a new union, the International Brotherhood of Longshoremen (IBL), putting Teamster head Dave Beck and SIU leader Paul Hall in charge. Most dock workers were well aware that neither Beck nor Hall were nature's noblemen. Beck immediately attempted to raid the "public loaders"—ILA workers who loaded trucks on the piers. Meanwhile, Ryan was desperately trying to settle the contract in order to shore up his position. He scaled down the union's wage demand from 50 cents to 10 cents an hour, but the bosses weren't making concessions. Ryan ended a brief strike October 7 when a Taft-Hartley injunction was issued at President Eisenhower's demand.

In November, after Ryan's indictment for "misusing" union funds, a special ILA convention forced him to resign. But when a representation election was held in December, workers favored the ILA over the Hall/Beck/AFL "union." The National Labor Relations Board voided the results. In March some 24,000 New York ILA members struck in protest against the hiring of AFL members on some docks. Dewey promised that the government would "use every weapon at its command" to break the strike, which he labeled a "criminal conspiracy." Liberal do-gooders like John Corridan (the prototype for the "waterfront priest" in Hollywood's pro-fink *On the Waterfront*) urged longshoremen to desert the ILA. The army threatened to hire scabs, and strikers were pulled out of picket lines and interrogated before federal grand juries. The NLRB issued an anti-strike injunction and later fined the union $50,000.

Following a 29-day strike, the longest in the port's history, dock workers returned to work when the NLRB threatened to rule the ILA off the ballot in a collective bargaining election. Once again the ILA won a majority, this time by an even greater margin, and was eventually certified by the NLRB. The union-busting attempt was defeated by the militancy and determination of the longshoremen. Local 791, which had spearheaded many strike struggles, defied its business agent and voted by a margin of several hundred to 21 to stick with the ILA. Militant longshoremen hated Ryan and the ILA tops, but they correctly understood that the issue was defense of their union against government attack. The victory forged the ILA into a union that the bosses hated and were forced to respect, and fueled the militancy of the ranks over the next two decades.

Battle Over the Hiring Halls

Longshoremen were particularly enraged about Hall/Beck's endorsement of a scheme to place hiring under government control. The old shape-up system was notoriously corrupt: company bosses would hand-pick work gangs from among dockers gathered at the piers. In order to get jobs, ILAers frequently had to pay off the straw boss: they stuck varying numbers of toothpicks in their hatbands indicating how much they were willing to shell out. Non-union members, including many off-duty cops, were hired in preference to ILAers. Black workers were systematically discriminated against. In Brooklyn, as well as the Southern ports, there were segregated locals. The primary gain of the victorious 1934 San Francisco strike which produced the International Longshoremen's and

Peter Woolston for Local 6 Exec Board

ILWU Militant Says No to Union "Narcs"

OAKLAND—The West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) bureaucrats have made the easy transition from policing labor militancy for the bosses to being union "narcs" for Reagan/Meese's drug witchhunt. Last winter ILWU tops supported the employer program for compulsory drug and alcohol "screening" for new hires. But warehousemen in East Bay ILWU Local 6 aren't going along with President Al Lannon's attempt to enlist them in the "war on drugs."

At the August 26 General Executive Board (GEB) meeting, Lannon introduced a draft policy statement, "The 'War on Drugs'—A Union Approach," endorsing drug testing when there's "a good reason." Lannon, a favorite of the pro-Democratic Party popular front "left" in the Bay Area, asserted the bureaucracy's "right" to regiment the membership on behalf of the bosses:

> "As union members, as a vital part of society, we have the right to have standards. Just as a contract sets the rules for both workers and management, so too we can 'set the rules' on drugs and alcohol in the workplace, *and let it be known that the days of 'anything goes' are over.*" [emphasis added]

But Lannon's "labor Meeseism" was rejected by a vote of 15 to 14 at the executive board, and the September 18 Local 6 meeting voted to accept the GEB minutes, thereby upholding the rejection of Lannon's policy.

At both meetings, members of the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the ILWU, successfully fought this witchhunt. Supporters of the reformist Communist Party, although mealy-mouthed in their opposition to Lannon's policy, had the decency to vote against it. On the other side of the Bay, a small-time rat on the waterfront named Howard Keylor has enlisted in the Reagan-inspired, anti-labor drug hysteria. Keylor, guru of the self-styled "Bolshevik Tendency," a dubious clot of quitters devoted to provocations against the Spartacist League, calls for the union to run its own anti-drug campaign. The line-up against the ILWU membership runs from Reagan to the Democrats to the union tops, with aspiring "union narcs" like Keylor trailing along.

WV Photos

Peter Woolston (left) fought for union action against South African blood ship Nedlloyd Kimberley, November 1984.

Militant Caucus spokesman Pete Woolston, a warehouseman for 13 years, is a candidate for the General Executive Board in the upcoming Local 6 elections. The Militant Caucus calls for labor/black action to smash racist terror, for a workers party and a workers government. Woolston was among the militants who tore down the Confederate flag of slavery at the San Francisco Civic Center in 1984. We reprint below his statement at the local's candidates night October 16, denouncing the bureaucrats' support to the drug witchhunt, a domestic reflection of the capitalist anti-Soviet war drive.

From Arizona copper miners to cannery workers in Watsonville, workers have shown a determined willingness to strike. The main obstacle to victory has been the pro-capitalist union leadership, which is committed to playing by the bosses' rules. For example, Hormel strikers lost because the local leadership bowed to court injunctions that outlawed mass picketing, and they relied on a useless consumer boycott.

No decisive gain of labor was ever won in the courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket line or in plant occupations.

Union misleaders would have us believe that this government, owned by the bosses, can be pressured into doing nice things. Supposedly all we have to do is to elect the right Democrat and life will be sweet. But it was a Democrat who bombed black babies in the Philadelphia MOVE massacre. It was a Democratic governor who sent the National Guard against Hormel strikers and Arizona copper miners. The Democratic-controlled House passed the $100 million for the drug-running contras.

Reagan's war drive, supported by the Democrats, means support to South Africa, the contras and the Afghan mullahs. At home the government is trying to regiment our lives, from what we read and what movies we watch to what we do in our bedrooms. When Lannon tried to get the union behind "drug testing for cause," he was simply falling in line with the Democrats who are trying to out-Reagan Reagan on the so-called drug problem.

We don't need union narcs—that's falling for the lie that since the government and the companies say there's a drug problem, then there must be one. The anti-drug hysteria is a part of the Reagan administration's attempt to regiment society, and this always occurs when the government is gearing up for war.

Reagan and the companies want to frame everyone on charges of terrorism and drugs, but it's U.S. spy agencies, working with Afghan mullahs and the contras, who are up to their necks in drugs-for-guns trafficking. The U.S. supports Bolivia and Colombia, two of the largest suppliers of cocaine.

Drug tests will simply be used to intimidate and terrorize workers, frame union activists and put the liability for accidents on workers and not the companies. ■

Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) was elimination of this system and its replacement by a union hiring hall with jobs dispatched on a rotary basis. But in New York the bosses' scheme was to replace the shape-up with a government-run hall.

In June 1953, a 5,000-strong demonstration of NYC longshoremen marched outside the Bar Association building against Dewey's hearings. When the Crime Commission finally issued its report, it vowed to exclude from employment "any person whose presence on the waterfront will endanger the public peace, safety and welfare." All longshoremen were to be licensed, registered and fingerprinted. To implement this procedure, a Waterfront Commission was established for the New York-New Jersey harbor. Enabling legislation for this was passed by both state legislatures and the U.S. Congress, and signed into law by Eisenhower.

When the new hiring regulations went into effect in 1955, longshoremen bitterly resisted. Mass protest meetings were called and a work stoppage was launched on the Manhattan docks. The Waterfront Commission got an injunction against the strike. And when the ILA defied the injunction, International president William Bradley was sentenced to 15 days in jail. The state-controlled hiring halls were to become the basis for a blacklist of militants and anyone with a "bad record" or criminal conviction. Some 5,000 men were initially screened off the docks by the Waterfront Commission. The union has fought many bitter battles in an effort to oust the government-run hiring halls.

Dewey's New York Crime Commission directed at the ILA became the model for a massive campaign by the federal government to use the issues of "corruption" and "racketeering" to spearhead attacks on the unions. A Senate select committee was set up on a resolution by anti-Communist witchhunter Joe McCarthy. Under chairman John McClellan and staff counsel Robert Kennedy, this committee targeted the Teamsters. They set up the conviction of Jimmy Hoffa, whose first-ever master freight contract raised the spectre of a nationwide truck strike. The hearings also led to passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959.

This legislation was the basis under which Brooklyn ILA leader Tony Scotto was convicted two decades later. Ostensibly directed against racketeers, Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin further restricted union weapons like hot-cargoing and barred communists from holding union office. More recently, the Reagan administration has heavily used RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) "conspiracy" laws to target labor organizations under the pretext of eliminating "racketeering."

"The Only Illegal Strike Is One That Loses"

Pointing a finger at the Teamsters, ILA and other unions with alleged mob connections has always been a convenient way for mainstream labor fakers to channel heat from the ranks away from the rotten fruits of class collaboration. The liberal left similarly divides the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy into two camps: hardened business unionists like the ILA's Teddy Gleason, and slicker-talking "progressives" supposedly more deserving of support. This is fundamentally a false distinction. The heavily bureaucratic, anti-Communist ILA leadership has been better than their

Arnold/New Orleans Times-Picayune

ILA pickets on New Orleans waterfront, October 1986.

Stalinist counterparts in the ILWU on many "bread and butter" issues. It was Bridges' ILWU that first gave waterfront employers the right to slash gang sizes. These "modernization" deals were so notorious that Gleason had to promise his membership in the '60s not to "sell out jobs like Bridges." It was not until several years after Bridges agreed to the decimation of his workforce that the ILA leaders ended their partial resistance.

Or take the Reutherite bureaucracy of the United Auto Workers (UAW), which continually boasts of its "clean unionism." The UAW tops may not take mob money: they "merely" traded hundreds of thousands of jobs and billions in givebacks for a seat on Chrysler's board of directors and an ambassadorship to China. All above-board and "legal"—and a criminal betrayal of the working class. The labor bureaucracy's prostration before capitalist law has crippled the unions: being in the hip pocket of the capitalist state is a form of corruption just as venal as taking kickbacks under the table.

During the air traffic controllers strike, as PATCO leaders were being led away to jail in chains, labor fakers like Machinists' chief William Winpisinger justified their scabherding by claiming that the strike was "illegal." But as militant British miners say, "The only illegal strike is one that loses."

The ILA waged bitter strikes in 1959, 1962, 1964, 1968 and 1971 as automation and job cuts became central issues on the docks. In every instance the government imposed Taft-Hartley injunctions—and every time the ILA tops "respected" the bosses' laws. The ILA bureaucracy won't buy off Reagan by boycotting Soviet grain shipments and working military cargo during strikes. Just as it was during the days of "King" Ryan, anti-Communism is the weapon of those who break strikes, not those who win them.

Genuine union democracy can only be achieved through hard class struggle, which necessarily counterposes the unions to the capitalist state. Such a program is poison to all wings of the labor bureaucracy, from hardened business unionists to social-democratic fake-progressives. The bitter battles waged three decades ago by longshoremen underscore this fact: in defending their union against the bosses and government they found themselves up against their own conservative misleaders and the AFL and CIO tops. The American workers movement urgently needs a new, class-struggle leadership built in irreconcilable opposition to the union bureaucracy and their capitalist masters. ■

Finish the Civil War! Forward to a Workers State!

When even Reagan's people charge a "public figure" with "invidious sectarianism," you know you're dealing with a hard-core swine. Secretary of Education William Bennett denounced evangelical would-be theocrat Pat Robertson for stating that "Christians feel more strongly about love of country, love of God and support for the traditional family than do non-Christians" (*New York Times*, 19 September). To the long list of dangerous things Pat Robertson embodies, add outright anti-Semitism.

As the social system which breeds them descends further into its death agony, the "messengers of god" get progressively worse. The separation of church and state and individual freedom of conscience was a hallmark and driving force of bourgeois-democratic revolution. It is testimony to the utter degeneracy of the present-day bourgeois order that a professional religious bigot like Pat Robertson is a would-be contender for president of the United States, the most powerful country in the world.

Revolutions and counterrevolutions find their decisive expression in the armies which fight for them, how these armies are organized and the principles which motivate them. As Leon Trotsky, founding leader of the Red Army, observed: "An army is always a copy of the society it serves—with this difference, that it gives social relations a concentrated character, carrying both their positive and negative features to an extreme."

In the English Puritan Revolution, Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army of yeoman farmers and artisans fought under the banner of freedom of conscience and against the established Church of England, which sanctified the absolutist monarchy. For Puritan revolutionaries, the separation of church and state was a religious principle. Significantly, the Cromwellian Communwealth abolished the centuries-old law barring Jews from England, and Cromwell as Lord Protector personally encouraged Jews to emigrate to his realm.

Many, if nut most, of the leaders of the American War of Independence (e.g., Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams) were *not* Christians and indeed *condemned Christianity* as superstition and bigotry. Adams, for example, wrote to Jefferson: "This would be the best of all possible worlds, if there was no religion in it." The American historian Henry Steele Commager noted a few years ago: "We tend to forget that separation of church and state and rejection of religious establishments were, in the 18th century, the most revolutionary experiment on which the new United States embarked."

The Great French Revolution was inspired by the rational idealism of the Enlightenment, which Pat Rubertson and his ilk denounce as "secular humanism." One of the first acts of the revolutionary government, for example, was to grant full civil rights tu the Jews of France. Influenced by the experience of the revulutiun, the early 19th century French socialist Charles Fuurier stated that the role of women stood as the decisive index of social progress in general. From the march on Versailles in October 1789, which broke the power uf the monarchy, through the Jacobin regime, the poor women of Paris served as shock troops in this great test of bourgeois-democratic revolutions. Even in its degeneration under Napoleon Bonaparte, the impact of the French Revolution across Europe was incalculably progressive. Thus when they entered German cities Napuleon's armies blew up the gates uf the Jewish ghettos to symbolize the destruction of medieval superstition.

If destroying the gates of the Jewish ghettos symbolized the victorious bourgeois-democratic revolution in Europe, then Hitler's Holocaust—the extermination of six million Jews—signified the victorious bourgeois counterrevolution in Europe. Today, even within the kaleidoscopic Scottish nationalist movement, fascistic, white supremacist elements have reared their heads raving about "racial purity." What about a black Robertson? We bitterly recall the murder of four young black girls who were at Baptist Sunday school in Birmingham in 1963. Their church was bombed by the Klan and one of the young martyrs was named Carole Robertson. Their deaths at the hands of the cruss-burning KKK will be avenged by the victorious American workers revolution.

It was the Soviet Red Army—product of the first proletarian revolution—which liberated most of Europe from the barbaric nightmare of Nazism. The rabid racism, anti-Semitism and religious bigotry of a Pat Robertson is part uf a decaying capitalist order which also encourages the growth of American fascism. Today it is we communists who fight for the liberating principles which once inspired Cromwell's New Model Army, the French revolutionary armies, and the American soldiers at Valley Forge and in Sherman's Union army.

Pat Robertson: Sinister Bigot

There's nothing too far out or reactionary for American politics these days, it seems: the right-wing lunatic fringe is in the mainstream, and they've got Ronald Reagan pounding the bully pulpit from the White House. "Born again" Democrat Jimmy Carter brought the religious right to the fore in Washington, and a 1980 "Washington for Jesus" march set the stage for Reagan's presidency with a 200,000-strong pray-in for prayer in the schools and smashing women's right to abortion. Since then, Protestant fundamentalist hucksters like Moral Majority ayatollah Jerry Falwell have only grown in influence. And now one of the major disciples of Armageddon, Marion G. "Pat" Robertson, says he received a sign from god to make a bid for the Republican presidential nomination.

Behind the slick media image of this most successful of the "televangelists" is a bid for political power hy the religious right in the Repuhlican Party. And school prayer is just the beginning: these "men of god" are linked to the abortion clinic bombers and book-burners, the shock troops for moral regimentation of the American population. They are the ideological voice of the Mecse police who are targeting sex, pornography, drugs as "crimes" to be stamped out. Behind this crusade for bible-thumping bigotry is a mad drive for imperialist war by the "Christian Kingdom" of the USA in a nuclear Armageddon against the "Evil Empire" of the USSR.

Known as the "Teflon Telepreacher" for his nice guy manner and chipmunk smile, Pat Robertson is a dangerous bigot who preaches that Darwinism has destroyed the schools and god will unleash nuclear war as a punishment for sin. In Hitlerite fashion he declares abortion "racial suicide," while saying South Africa's not ready for democracy. To push his agenda he has built a media empire worth over $200 million, centering on the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), the largest noncommercial cable TV network in the world, broadcasting to 65 countries via satellite (and with the aid of the Armed Forces Network).

He has aggressively embraced U.S. imperialism's dirty band of Central American dictators in their campaigns of terror and grisly murder against the workers and peasants. When a 1982 coup brought Guatemalan general Rios Montt to power, Pat Robertson was at his side within a week. He urged his TV audience to donate to Montt, and later to lobby the U.S. Congress for aid to El Salvador. He calls Salvadoran death squad kingpin Roberto D'Aubuisson a "very nice fellow." Lately he's been touting the murderous Nicaraguan contras; by the end of 1985 his CBN had supplied at least $7 million in aid to these and other right-wing Central American butchers (*Guardian*, 17 September).

In his daily talk show, the "700 Club," with an estimated 28 million regular viewers, Robertson sings the praises of his favorite reactionary causes, while sponsoring guests such as anti-ERA activist Phyllis Schlafly and racist ultrarightist Senator Jesse Helms. High on his domestic agenda is smashing "secular humanism" and the teaching of evolution in the schools: educators have "taken the Holy Bible from our young and replaced it with the thoughts of Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud and John Dewey," he laments (*Time*, 29 September).

He whips up hysteria about sex, threatening hellfire and damnation by nuclear annihilation because incest, adultery, abortion, gay sex and bestiality are making "God mad at the people of America." "That's why we call for repentance, not because we're bluenoses that say, 'well, we don't like you to have fun,' but I don't want you or me to be *incinerated*!" (quoted in Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman, *Holy Terror* [1984]). And in a grotesque smear of black people, Pat Robertson claimed sexual promiscuity leads to "the flotsam and jetsam of the ghetto where young people don't know who their parents are" (Allen Hunter, "In the Wings: New Right Ideology and Organization," *Radical America*, Spring 1981).

Preaching the gospel of greenbacks from his lavish Virginia Beach mansion, he has numerous tax-exempt fronts to funnel the sums he milks from his TV audience into his political causes. "Operation Blessing" channels millions to the terrorist squads in Central America, while the "National Legal Foundation" pays the legal fees for the 600 evangelical parents suing to remove "secular humanist" textbooks from the Alabama classrooms. The "Freedom Council" is Robertson's campaign front, while the "Committee for Freedom" is his regular political action committee (PAC). In giving the high sign from on high to "go for it," Robertson says the lord made his presidential bid conditional on $300 million in pledges from the faithful.

Ricardo Watson

April 1980 "Washington for Jesus" rally. Evangelical preachers whip up Protestant fundamentalist racist reaction.

Bruce Hoertel

Pat Robertson

The Making of a Bigot

Pat Robertson, scion of a prominent Virginia family, is the son of A. Willis Robertson, a relatively innocuous conservative Democrat who occupied a seat as United States Senator for some 20 years, serving as chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. The younger Robertson attended Yale Law School, where he studied constitutional law without ever reading the U.S. Constitution (so he says). After flunking the New York bar exam, he worked for W.R. Grace, the New York company run by Peter Grace, notorious for sneaking Nazi war criminals into the U.S. (Today, Robertson's CBN works with Grace as head of the Knights of Malta in channeling "private sector" aid to the Nicaraguan contras.)

From 1950 to 1952 Rohertson served in the Marines—and has claimed he saw "combat duty" in Korea, which he touts as evidence of his experience fighting Communism. Lately this tidbit has disappeared from his CBN

continued on page 10

Martyred in Birmingham Church Bombing

WE REMEMBER CAROLE ROBERTSON

CAROLE ROBERTSON

Ebony

VICTIMS OF KKK BOMBING, 15 SEPTEMBER 1963.

ADDIE MAE COLLINS DENISE McNAIR CYNTHIA WESLEY

Ebony Photos

On the morning of 15 September 1963, Carole Robertson, Cynthia Wesley, Addie Mae Collins, all age 14, and Denise McNair, age 11, were attending Sunday school at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, when 15 sticks of dynamite exploded. The four young black girls were killed and 19 others injured by the blast, the murderous work of the Ku Klux Klan. The historic 16th Street church had been the headquarters of Dr. Martin Luther King's mass protests which brought hundreds into the streets in the struggle for integration. For months the Birmingham black community had marched against segregationist governor George Wallace, facing the firehoses and snarling dogs of local police chief Eugene "Bull" Connor. The church bombing came only weeks after the August 1963 March on Washington, and as Malcolm X said, "it wasn't a dream, this was a nightmare."

Birmingham 1963 was where black people in the South put away King's turn-the-other-cheek pacifism. After the bomb exploded, the black community rose up in outrage and self-defense. The forces of racist "law and order" moved in their 16-wheeled "riot tank" and the cops opened up with shotgun blasts. A black teenager, Johnny Robinson, was hit in the back by buckshot and died for allegedly being "among a group that had hurled stones at white youths driving through the area in cars flying Confederate battle flags" (*New York Times*, 16 September 1963). Another black youth, 13-year-old Virgil Wade, was mysteriously shot and killed while riding his bicycle. But blacks would not take it lying down; armed street patrols and observation posts sprang up in the ghetto. It was the spectre of armed black self-defense which motivated President Kennedy to deploy troops in Birmingham...in the black areas.

Carole Robertson, born in 1949, was the daughter of Alvin and Alpha Robertson, both public school teachers—her father taught music, her mother literature. Carole was good friends with Cynthia Wesley, another victim, who was the only child of Claude Wesley, principal of an elementary school, and his wife Gertrude, a teacher. The third victim, Addie Mae Collins, was one of five children of Alice Collins, a poor black woman separated from her husband; another one of Mrs. Collins' daughters, Sarah, suffered eye injuries from the blast. In an article, "Death of an Innocent" (*Look*, 24 March 1964) William Bradford Huie wrote of the youngest victim, Denise McNair:

> "Denise didn't like the state's schoolbooks. She didn't want to learn to read only about white children. She created a story in which white and colored children play together. Isn't that Communist-inspired? Denise's murderer would think so; so does the Governor."

Twenty years later, Denise's father Chris complained bitterly, "People want you to forget that 16th Street happened. Why do you want to sweep it under the rug? Damn it, it happened, and only one person has been convicted of it" (*New York Times Magazine*, 24 July 1983).

That person was Klansman Robert Chambliss, and he wasn't convicted until 14 years later. He didn't act alone, nor did his "Klavern"—they had the cover of federal, local and state police authorities. While liberals (and the rightward-moving Socialist Workers Party) were calling for federal troops to Alabama in the wake of the Birmingham bombing, in fact, the FBI's paid "informant," Gary Thomas Rowe, was a key leader in the Eastview Klavern from which the bombers operated. Eight years ago, the *New York Times* (17 July 1978) documented that Rowe was involved in "most major incidents of Klan terrorism that occurred in Alabama while he was on the bureau's payroll." Rowe aided Chambliss in the church bombing, and also participated in the murder of white civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, cut down on the Selma-Montgomery highway in 1965. And as documented in Patsy Sims' 1978 book *The Klan*, "J.B. Stoner was *the* man behind the bombings," according to one Alabama lawman. The notorious KKK terrorist Stoner finally began serving time in 1983 for the bombing of Birmingham's Bethel Baptist Church 25 years earlier.

FBI informer Gary Rowe (below) aided Klan in bombing of 16th Street Baptist Church, headquarters of Martin Luther King-led civil rights movement.

UPI Photos

The Birmingham church bombing was coldly calculated murder, aimed at terrorizing blacks into submission with the most heinous crime imaginable. As Malcolm X correctly asserted at the time, "The guilt is upon the United States government for the murder of those four little girls who died in that bombing. The guilt is upon the United States government for those little boys who were shot down right afterward." Asked about the "legal" impediments to federal action, Malcolm replied, "They didn't have to worry about a legal procedure when they wanted to send troops into South Vietnam. They didn't worry about legal procedures when they wanted to send their troops into Cuba and tell the Cubans what to do. Uncle Sam has never worried about legality whenever he wanted to send his troops wherever his interests were threatened. But when it comes to protecting the lives of 22 million Afro-Americans, then all of a sudden Uncle Sam becomes very conscious of legality." Malcolm went on:

> "As long as the Negroes in Birmingham, Alabama, were being nonviolent and were turning the other cheek, then there was nothing the government in Washington could do.... But on that night, when the Negroes exploded, that Saturday night, and begin to react against the whites who had been brutalizing them, then the government in Washington, D.C. sent troops in. And they didn't send troops in to protect the Negroes. Because Negroes had been the victims of brutality for several weeks. They sent troops into Birmingham, Alabama, only when the lives and the property of the white racists and segregationists in Alabama were being threatened."
>
> —"Malcolm X Speaks Again," recorded in April 1964

In 1963 the KKK carried out its racist terror with the cover of the capitalist authorities, from arch-segregationists Chief Connor and Governor Wallace to the liberal Kennedys in Washington. Last year the Philadelphia police, with the go-ahead of black Democratic "mayor of murder" Goode and the praise and logistical support of the Reagan regime, firebombed the black MOVE commune, murdering eleven black people including five babies. The martyrs of Birmingham and Philly MOVE will be avenged, and the struggle for black freedom will be victorious through the American proletarian revolution. ■

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(Signed)
Jan Norden,
(Editor)

Reagan's Dogs of War...

(continued from page 1)

declaration of war against Nicaragua, the shootdown of that American cargo plane by a 19-year-old Sandinista soldier with a shoulder-launched Soviet SAM rocket was a major embarrassment for the Reagan administration's war plans. And documents found in the plane map out the contra supply operation in great detail. Not only are Ronald Reagan's "freedom fighters" kill-crazy mercenaries, led by former National Guardsmen left over from dictator Somoza's private army, but their arms supply (to no one's surprise) is coordinated straight from the White House basement. Liberals talked of violations of Congressional restrictions, the Neutrality Act, international law, etc. And to top it off, Hasenfus, his luck run out, began to spill the beans.

Langley issued its ritual implausible denial, saying "The guy doesn't work for us, and CIA is not involved." But a Nicaraguan foreign ministry spokesman stated the obvious: "None of these operations could take place behind the back of the U.S. government." As details of the plane and its crew emerged, they had "The Company" written all over them. The Vietnam-era camouflaged C-123 was owned by Corporate Air Services, a paper company with the same officers and address as Southern Air Transport at Miami International Airport. Southern Air was a CIA "proprietary" outfit during the Vietnam War, and continues to work as the Agency's preferred carrier. The same crew had also flown scores of missions ferrying guns and ammo to the South African-backed UNITA in Angola. The dead pilot, William Cooper, had flown with Hasenfus for the CIA's Air America in Vietnam.

Hasenfus supplied more details: this was his tenth flight in a supply operation run out of Ilopango military air base in El Salvador, where he worked with 25 other "Company" men. He and the other two Americans bore Salvadoran air force ID cards identifying them as U.S. military advisers. One of his controllers was identified as Luis Posada Carriles, a Cuban gusano CIA operative who last year escaped from a Venezuelan prison where he had been jailed for the 1976 bombing of a Cubana airliner, killing all 73 passengers and crew. The big boss at Ilopango, said Hasenfus, was Max Gómez, nicknamed "The Condor," a pal of Vice President (and former CIA director) Bush. Gómez is a professional killer whose bloody trail runs from the Bay of Pigs to the murder of Che Guevara. (He claims to wear Guevara's wristwatch and boasts of interrogating the legendary guerrilla leader shortly before he was killed.)

AP

Sandinista soldiers deliver coffins of American invaders to U.S. Embassy.

On October 19, just as Hasenfus was about to go on trial for war crimes before an Anti-Somozaist People's Tribunal in Managua, CBS reporter Mike Wallace interviewed him for "60 Minutes." The prisoner said "it was all a job" and said he was working for the CIA. Asked "what would you like to say to President Reagan, to Bill Casey, the head of the CIA?" Hasenfus replied, "I'd like me to have him sittin' where I'm at and see what he'd say." Asked if Hasenfus could be home with his family by Christmas, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega replied: "We wish he weren't in jail in Nicaragua."

This case is having a major impact in the U.S. Two days later, after being formally charged with terrorism in the Managua court, Hasenfus spoke with NBC-TV, saying: "I am guilty. Everything they've charged, it's there. How can I say I wasn't there, I was not carrying small arms and munitions to their resistance? Am I supposed to take that airplane and myself and hide it?" He feels abandoned by the U.S. government, and says he's being well treated. "It probably would have been better... if I wouldn't have made it out of that plane," Hasenfus added, saying: "Dead people don't talk." It was one thing doing this back when he was single and working for the CIA in Vietnam, he says, but now he thinks of his family. Washington is thinking only of how to shut him up.

As the trial unfolds, more of the CIA's bloodstained linen will be hung out as prosecutors refer to the extensive flight records, personal phone books, business cards, etc. recovered from the crash. The sheer quantity of documentation found on the men is revealing about the mentality of Reagan's "dogs of war." Worried that their bosses may let them hang, they fly around with extensive proof of their CIA connections so the agency *can't* disown them. In El Salvador, meanwhile, officials were so incensed at President Duarte being forced to take a fall over the contra supply operation that they leaked the telephone records of the CIA's safe houses to the press! So much for honor among thieves. Meanwhile, the Congressional "oversight" committees (so-called because their job is to overlook every CIA dirty trick they can close their eyes to) are getting antsy, like they did after the mining of the Nicaraguan ports.

Especially coming on the heels of the flap over a U.S. disinformation campaign against Libya, administration stonewalling over the downed CIA plane in Nicaragua is opening up a "credibility gap" reminiscent of the Vietnam War. While Secretary of State Shultz was quoting Winston Churchill about masking the truth behind a "bodyguard of lies," Bernard Kalb, a former CBS and NBC journalist, resigned as State Department spokesman saying, "Faith in the word of America is the pulsebeat of our democracy." In that case, it must be comatose—repeated polls show that from the time of Vietnam and Watergate on, a strong majority of Americans think the government lies to them all the time. In this case, even the exposés are cover-ups, as government officials tried to pretend the deception over Libya was talk of U.S. military action against Qaddafi (after Air Force and Navy guns have attacked Libya *twice* this year so far!) rather than the bogus claims of Libyan terror missions.

CIA disinformation over Nicaragua is hardly new. According to former contra leader Edgar Chamorro, it began with the contras' very first press conference, when Agency operatives censored out references to restoring private property to the owners, in order to mask their Somozaist origins. The CIA murder manual, *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla War*, lists spreading inflammatory rumors as one of the prime "psy ops." Alexander Haig denounced Sandinista atrocities against Miskitos using as "evidence" photos of *Somoza's* bombing of the town of Esteli. And inside Nicaragua, the U.S. was financing the "voice of the internal contras," *La Prensa*, to the tune of $100,000 in 1985 until the Sandinistas finally shut down this enemy propaganda outlet. According to Ralph McGehee, a 25-year CIA veteran, "What this means is that the 'Ministry of Truth'—the propaganda ministry in George Orwell's *1984*—has become a reality."

The liberals see truth as "the first casualty of war," and indeed monstrous lies have certainly been the handmaiden of imperialist war, from the Allied claim that the Lusitania was just an innocent passenger ship, whose sinking in 1915 brought the U.S. into World War I (and which, 60 years later, was proved to be carrying munitions to the British) to Hitler's dressing up of some prisoners in Polish uniforms and shooting them, in order to claim a Polish attack on Danzig, the pretext for the start of World War II. In Vietnam, every major escalation of U.S. involvement was predicated on another Big Lie, from the State Department's 1961 "White Paper" alleging *North Viet-Nam's Effort to Conquer South Viet-Nam* to the non-existent Gulf of Tonkin incident, which produced the Congressional resolution that "legalized" the whole bloody U.S. war.

Reagan has now got his Gulf of Tonkin resolution for the Nicaragua war with the $100 million contra aid vote. Nicaragua "could be a rerun of Vietnam," said liberal California Senator Alan Cranston. "First American money, then American advisers, then American control of the war, then American troops." It's now escalated beyond the contra war, and the first American coffins are being flown back. From the liberals (and their rad-lib tails) to former president Nixon everyone is proclaiming, "No More Vietnams!" These people are united in defending the interests of American imperialism, and want no more ignominious defeats in Third World adventures. The Spartacists, however, who stood with the peasants and workers of Indochina and take a side today with our class brothers and sisters facing Yankee guns in Central America, proclaim: "Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

The Spartacist League has called on American labor to hot cargo arms shipments to Central America, and joined militant ILWU longshoremen in calling for a 48-hour West Coast port shutdown in 1983 in response to Reagan's escalation of the anti-Soviet war drive targeting Sandinista Nicaragua and leftist rebels in El Salvador. *Young Spartacus* has spearheaded a campaign that has raised over $25,000 to defend Nicaragua against the imperialist attack, both military and economic. The reformist left, however, who tail after the liberal Democrats and voted for Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale in 1984, refuse to take sides openly for those fighting American imperialism, and resort to thug attacks and the capitalist police to keep our red flags and communist politics out of "their" Central America demos.

The New Leftovers also think the U.S. working class is hopelessly bought off, and see our calls on labor to mobilize against the war drive as "utopian." They forget that as the Vietnam War escalated, sentiment against it was spreading among American workers. The SL called for labor political strikes against the war, and as the war dragged on that possibility was becoming palpable. In the 1971 dock strikes the ranks wanted to shut the ports down tight but ILA and ILWU tops bowed to Taft-Hartley injunctions and kept the military cargo moving. Today, the war drive affects every part of the U.S. economy, and the working class is increasingly restless after half a decade of union-busting "givebacks." So when key sections of labor fight back, they immediately confront the military buildup, as in the recent highly charged East Coast dock strike. What's needed is a class-struggle vanguard to make this conscious. Stop the guns to Reagan's contras!

WV Photo

"Roach motels for the CIA—they check in and there they stay!" Demonstrators protest CIA-run contra invasion of Nicaragua, March 1983.

Today, the Reagan administration is having its problems in Central America and elsewhere. Its contra army is still holed up in Honduras, having done practically nothing militarily for more than a year. Its local puppets are getting increasingly nervous about serving as front men for a failing policy. And the Pentagon's own experts are saying that an invasion of Nicaragua would take at least 100,000 U.S. soldiers. On the home front, the American population still doesn't believe its government (with good reason) and opposes anything that looks like it will lead to another Vietnam War in Central America. The leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party is urgently needed to mobilize the workers in leading a *class* struggle against imperialist war. ■

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Limits to Betrayal?...

(continued from page 1)

postponed by state-to-state agreements to freeze or reduce the number of arms. That's putting the cart before the horse. Weapons don't create imperialist war, the conflict arises out of the very depths of the worldwide class struggle, the struggle between the capitalists seeking to maintain their exploitative class rule, and the working class and oppressed fighting for liberation. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, noted many years ago:

> "Petty-bourgeois pacifism, which sees in a 10 percent, or 33 percent, or 50 percent disarmament proposal the 'first step' towards prevention of war, is more dangerous than all the explosives and asphyxiating gases.
>
> "Without the slightest confidence in the capitalist programs for disarmament or arms limitation, the revolutionary proletariat asks one single question: *In whose hands are the weapons?* Any weapon in the hands of the imperialists is a weapon directed against the working class, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. Weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of ridding our planet of oppression and war."
>
> —"Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam," July 1932

Long & Associates

MX missile, part of U.S. first-strike nuclear arsenal.

Reagan's First-Strike War Plans

So what was Reagan up to at Reykjavik? The centerpiece of his policy is the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), better known as "Star Wars." This would involve deployment of high-tech weapons in space and on the ground—lasers, particle beam weapons and kinetic energy "rail" guns—to destroy Soviet missiles and warheads in flight. The Russians demanded the mildest of restraints, insisting that the U.S. adhere to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty by keeping SDI in the laboratory for ten years. (Not even the most optimistic Star Warriors think the U.S. would be ready to extensively test before then anyway.) But Reagan nixed it. Many reputable scientists regard SDI as a crackpot scheme (and a horribly expensive one) which can't possibly work. But these scientific criticisms are valid only if one buys Reagan's assertion that it is meant to be a defense against a Soviet first strike. Reagan has a different idea, as we wrote over a year ago:

Kennerly/Time

Reagan fumes over failure to disarm Russia at Iceland meeting with Gorbachev.

> "As an umbrella against surprise attack, 'Star Wars' is truly a harebrained scheme. But as part of a first strike it makes a lot of (twisted) sense. The Union of Concerned Scientists' detailed study on *Space-Based Missile Defense* (March 1984) notes that an attacker with thousands of missiles could readily smash through any conceivable defense shield, but ballistic missile defense (BMD) systems 'might perform with some effectiveness against a poorly coordinated and weakened retaliatory strike'."
>
> —"Reagan's First-Strike War Plans," *WV* No. 370, 11 January 1985

In short, the "Star Wars" scheme is part of a *U.S.* first-strike plan.

The cheapest way for the Russians to counter SDI is by adding to their inventory of long-range ballistic missiles, to ensure that enough of them will survive a U.S. first strike to deliver a devastating retaliatory blow—and thus by their existence act as a *deterrent* against attack. But the whole thrust of Reagan's push at Reykjavik was to *reduce* the inventory of Russian long-range ballistic missiles. If that were done, the Russians at a certain point would no longer have a deterrent force credible to the nuclear nuts in the White House (Reagan no doubt plans to have a reliable successor in place) who would feel they could launch a first strike with impunity. Thus the reduction of the number of Soviet weapons would actually heighten the danger of war.

The world, in short, would become a far more dangerous place if the proposed "disarmament" deal were signed. Indeed, to the extent that there hasn't been a world war since 1945, it is due to the fact that the Soviet Union developed atomic weapons and ballistic missiles, staying the hand of U.S. imperialism in particular. Anti-Soviet liberal Seymour Hersh admits as much in his book about Henry Kissinger and the Nixon years. Nixon let the word leak out to Hanoi that he was indeed crazy enough to use nuclear weapons, so the North Vietnamese would supposedly crawl to the bargaining table; it was an attempt to mimic Eisenhower's nuclear threats against China during the Korean War. "I call it the madman theory," Nixon confided to one of his close aides. But, as Hersh explains, the North Vietnamese weren't intimidated:

> "There was a basic flaw in Nixon's 'madman theory.' Eisenhower's threat had been made at a time when the United States had a virtual monopoly on nuclear weapons. That situation did not exist in the late 1960s, and the credibility of Nixon's threat was reduced by the possibility that the Soviet Union, or even Communist China, would retaliate after an American first use of nuclear weapons."
>
> —Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power* (1983)

Cuba and Vietnam would never have been allowed to consolidate their social revolutions, and the U.S. would have tried to dismember the Soviet Union and bring back private property (if not the tsar), if it weren't for the fact that Russia had the bomb, and SS-18 missiles to deliver it!

Road to Peace: World Revolution

The dangerous cringing of the Kremlin bureaucracy in the face of U.S. belligerence has only encouraged Reaganite reactionaries to push harder. Yet Moscow continues to plead, because the Stalinists with their nationalist blinders look to the false road of collaboration with the imperialist powers. Such a "defense" of the Soviet Union leads to catastrophe. To understand the origins of this peculiar blindness one must understand the rise to power of the Stalinist political counterrevolution in the 1920s.

Lenin, the great founder and leader of the Bolshevik Party, never excluded the necessity of the Soviet state—surrounded as it was and is by hostile imperialist powers—to make deals with them and maneuver for time. But he never gave an inch to the idea that this could buy permanent "peace," only a respite for the newly-born workers state. While Churchill talked of crushing it in the cradle, the young Soviet republic was under intense economic as well as military pressure, flowing from the fact that the 1917 Revolution had taken place in a backward, largely peasant country where the urban working class was a small minority. Lenin himself made a point of this in 1921:

> "A workers' state is an abstraction. What we actually have is a workers' state, with this peculiarity, firstly, that it is not the working class but the peasant population that predominates in the country, and, secondly, that it is a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions."
>
> —"The Party Crisis" (January 1921)

Lenin knew that the survival of the workers state "with bureaucratic distortions" depended on worldwide proletarian revolution. But this perspective was thwarted by the rise of a conservative privileged bureaucracy under Stalin, who purged and murdered the Old Bolsheviks and consolidated his rule around the anti-internationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." Gone was the call for world revolution—indeed, the outbreak of proletarian revolution in capitalist countries like Spain was regarded as a menace by Stalin—and Soviet foreign policy was transformed into the grossest class collaboration with so-called "progressive" capitalists. Trotsky summarized this betrayal as follows:

> "The bureaucracy has not only broken with the past, but has deprived itself of the ability to understand the most important lessons of that past. The chief of these lessons was that the Soviet power could not have held out for twelve months without the direct help of the international, and especially the European, proletariat, and without a revolutionary movement of the colonial peoples. The only reason the Austro-German military powers did not carry their attack upon Soviet Russia through to the end was that they felt behind their back the hot breath of the revolution ...
>
> "The fundamental line of the international policy of the Soviets rested on the fact that this or that commercial, diplomatic or military bargain of the Soviet government with the imperialists, inevitable in the nature of the case, should in no case limit or weaken the struggle of the proletariat of the corresponding capitalist country, for in the last analysis the safety of the workers' state itself could be guaranteed only by the growth of the world revolution."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, 1937

Trotsky called for a proletarian political revolution in the Soviet Union to restore direct workers' rule over the centralized planned economy. Now more than ever, such a revolution is needed to defend the gains of 1917.

In the U.S., the Stalinist strategy is reflected in the Communist Party's endless exhortations to vote for liberal Democratic candidates, from Franklin Roosevelt in 1936 to Walter Mondale in 1984. The thorough discrediting of the Democratic Party for its role in the imperialist rape of Vietnam in the '60s has left that bourgeois party in disarray, but today the CP continues to promote various "progressive" Democrats like New York candidate for U.S. Senate Mark Green, who just bought Reagan's Star Wars. The Democrats' program is merely to develop a more "rational" mix of weaponry to use against the Soviet Union, with a stronger emphasis on conventional warfare. It's no accident the Democrats have agreed to fund Reagan's contras, from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan—they're all in the anti-Soviet war drive together.

The problem is not simply that there's an irrational man in the White House, or even the sinister "military-industrial complex" much touted by the Stalinists, but the irrational social system, capitalism, whose motor force—maximum profit—is driving us toward nuclear war. The real hope for humanity lies in the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, for the establishment of a workers government under the leadership of a revolutionary party. The Soviet bomb has bought precious time for the working class, but time is running out. Had Soviet trade unions demonstratively extended the hand of solidarity to the ILA longshoremen during their recent strike against the bosses' takebacks, for instance, that would have been worth more than a thousand treaties.

PBS

Don't mess with Russia! Soviet military power deters war-crazy U.S. rulers.

Just before getting on the plane to Reykjavik, Reagan took heart in the comments of what he called the "great American" Robert E. Lee, who "knew the extremes of hope and despair." Lee hoped to save the dying institution of chattel slavery, but his Confederate army was smashed in the Civil War. Reagan hopes to save capitalist wage slavery, but the working class must finish the Civil War with proletarian revolution, under the program of Lenin and Trotsky. That is the aim of the Spartacist League. ■

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Boston...

(continued from page 12)

fact that "over 18,000 of our school children have been bused to other Boston neighborhoods under the false promise of a better education" and look forward to ending what limited busing still takes place and using their cut of the $291 million Boston school department budget for "Mandela" schools.

Fortunately, many of Boston's black residents who courageously fought to break down the barriers of racist segregation and got the buses rolling ten years ago are not about to concede defeat now by secession. Boston's black newspaper, the *Bay State Banner* quoted one black worker who said, "I would vote no. I don't think it should be a separate section of the city for black people. I don't think there should be a black township because that separates black and white."

The GRIP referendum will appear on the ballot in many white neighborhoods and the potential for a violent racist backlash is clear. Massive white flight to the suburbs and the opening of parochial schools for whites seeking to avoid desegregation has left the school system 73 percent minority in a city which is overwhelmingly white. It's not accidental that there is another referendum on the November 4 ballot which would abrogate the separation of church and state by altering the Massachusetts state constitution to allow public funds to support private schools. Yet another component of the onslaught against blacks and minorities in Boston is a referendum which would essentially prohibit abortion and public funding for abortions unless the woman's life was at stake.

WV Photo

Boston, 16 October 1982: 1,500 demonstrators ran the Ku Klux Klan out. Spartacists at protest call for labor/black defense against racist terror.

Last May, a Ku Klux Klan motorcycle gang burned a cross in front of their clubhouse in an integrated section of Dorchester and spray-painted the walls with "No N- - - - -s Allowed." Black and Haitian residents of Mattapan have been subjected to racist mob terror and cop shootings. And the opening of the film *Rambo* in Boston ushered in a wave of violent attacks on Asians in the city.

For many black families, the vision of equality and equal education seems increasingly an impossible dream. While the Brahmin liberals pat themselves on the back for their urban revitalization schemes, like the glitzy tourist trap at Faneuil Hall, or the yuppification of parts of the South End, the core of Boston's industrial base has deteriorated drastically. The closed-down Quincy shipyard and the long-abandoned textile mills are testaments to the grinding poverty in Boston's inner city, where there are white ghettos that are just as devastated as Roxbury. The mini-boom built on real estate speculation and the non-union high tech/war tech plants on Boston's outer ring along Route 128 have done little or nothing to alleviate the effects of capitalism in decay on this viciously segregated Northern city.

Down with the Boston bantustan scheme! White racists seize on black Dems' suicidal segregationist proposal.

The answer lies in a struggle for revolutionary integrationism, not in pseudo-nationalist "community control" schemes or faith in the Democratic Party. The Spartacist League stands for massive, integrated mobilizations of the labor movement and all fighters for black equality to defend and extend busing for school desegregation. This is the perspective we fought for to turn back the racist mobs in the streets of Boston in the mid '70s. We participated in integrated demonstrations against racist terror in the black Columbia Point housing project.

We sought to mobilize labor/black defense guards to physically defend the bused children through appeals to the integrated labor movement such as teachers, bus drivers and meatpackers unions. We sought a revolutionary mobilization that could defend and massively extend busing beyond the token METCO program to the suburbs. This perspective was counterposed to the liberal politicians such as Ted Kennedy and Tip O'Neill who knifed busing in Congress, limiting it to the poorest inner-city schools.

In the '80s, with a Klan-endorsed president in the White House, the KKK lynchers believed they had a license to carry out their racist terror everywhere, including in Northern urban centers. The Klan thought they had a real opportunity in Boston where rampaging racists had defeated busing in the streets. But these poisonous hatemongers not only target blacks, Jews, labor and communists. Catholics are also high on the hit list of the cross burners. So when "imperial wizard" Wilkinson called for a KKK racist rally in front of Boston's City Hall on 16 October 1982, blacks from Roxbury joined together with Irish from South Boston and Dorchester, Italians from East Boston and Somerville, students from Cambridge, unionists and leftists including Spartacists, to drive the racist killers out of town. Yet this blow against the fascists was *boycotted* by Boston's black Democratic establishment including Mel King. The anti-fascist victory demonstrated the potential for militant, integrated class struggle even in this deeply segregated and economically depressed city. And this victory contributed directly to the powerful, SL-initiated labor/black mobilization that drove the Klan out of Washington, D.C. the following month.

The possibilities for labor and black struggle for black freedom and workers power can be seen in the fight of black parents who recently forced the school superintendent to back down in his attempts to close more black schools in Boston, and in the bus drivers union's fight against the further whittling away of busing by putting 4,000 children on public transportation. The Spartacist League seeks to forge a workers party to lead such struggles against the racist capitalist system and bury Jim Crow once and for all! ■

Pat Robertson...

(continued from page 6)

biography, however, since wartime buddy and Republican ex-Congressman Pete McCloskey revealed that Robertson asked his father to pull strings to keep his son out of front line duty. In Korea, McCloskey wrote, Robertson's major duty "was apparently to fly to Japan once a week and bring back booze for the officers' mess" (*Los Angeles Times*, 24 September).

While in a bout of depression, Pat Robertson says he experienced god, underwent a conversion and became a Baptist minister, opening a mission in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant district. But the lord sent him on to greener pastures, he says, telling him to start a TV station and even specifying the price ($37,000). Robertson says god insisted that they go for top-of-the-line equipment, saying "Pat, I want you to have an RCA transmitter" (*New York* magazine, 18 August). On his show Robertson regularly heals the sick of hemorrhoids and boils and leads the congregation speaking in tongues. He has written a succession of books including *The Secret Kingdom* (1982) predicting an imminent stock market crash and nuclear war, and *Beyond Reason: How Miracles Can Change Your Life* (1984) which ranks right up there with Ronald Reagan's autobiography, *Where's the Rest of Me?*

Now that he is in the race for the nomination, Robertson is trying to cover his nutty flank. He tends to concentrate on foreign policy and the world economy in his speeches these days, and to leave out his claims to have diverted Hurricane Gloria from the shores of Virginia through the power of prayer. ("If Mayor Koch and Governor Cuomo had told everyone to... ask God to take the hurricane away, then maybe it wouldn't have come" to New York, Robertson later said.) But whether or not Robertson is a kook (which he is) is not the question. As he himself said, there "isn't a dime's worth of difference" between him and Reagan politically.

Pat Robertson Is America's Meir Kahane

Recently Robertson created a flap when he baited Norman Lear for being Jewish. Lear is president of the liberal People for the American Way, a civil liberties organization, which monitors the activities of the religious right and recently published an exposé, "Pat Robertson—Extremist with a Baby Face." Robertson's response was vicious anti-Semitism:

> "I have a fairly good idea of what the American way is because it was my ancestors who helped make this country. Regretfully, Norman Lear does not have the same sense of history that somebody of my heritage has."
>
> —*New York*, 18 August

In this racist land, where the Ku Klux Klan was reborn in 1915 with the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish businessman framed up for murder in Georgia, such words smear everyone who isn't a Protestant fundamentalist as anti-American and are a call for racist terror. In fact, Norman Lear's name was on the same fascist hit list as Alan Berg, the Denver talk-show host assassinated by the Aryan Nations Nazis.

Those right-wing Jews (and Catholics as well) who support Robertson, Falwell and the rest of the religious right may think that shared messianic Zionism and anti-Communism will protect them. However, Zionist nationalists who want to be theocratic politicians would be smarter going to Israel, where they have the backing of a state power and the social weight of the dominant chauvinism. Unfortunately, not a few do, like Meir Kahane (aka Michael King), who left his anti-Soviet, racist Jewish Defense League thugs behind so that he could found the overtly fascist Kach movement that campaigns for the expulsion of Arabs from Greater Israel. Catholic bigots could try Dublin or Sicily... but not Warsaw, since the power grab by Solidarność was spiked.

But in America, religious bigotry triumphant will be inherently, and violently, anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic. And the Protestant purists will not respect the rightist credentials of the *Commentary* crowd, for example. Those who don't recognize this show they don't know what country they're living in.

One of the main targets of Robertson's ungodly wrath is the First Amendment. Claiming that "our form of government came directly from the Bible," he denounces the separation of church and state as an "atheistic communist" idea. In fact, he told the *Conservative Digest*:

> "It's amazing that the Constitution of the United States says nothing about the separation of church and state. That phrase does appear, however, in the Soviet Constitution, which says the state shall be separate from the church and the church from the school."

This only goes to show that it is communists who are the consistent defenders of this key gain of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which, despite Pat Robertson's ravings, is enshrined in the First Amendment. In calling for a constitutional amendment for prayer in the public schools, this crusader for bigotry and obscurantism is going after one of the principles fundamental to the founding of the American republic.

In defense of the separation of church and state, and to help combat the tidal wave of enforced intolerance sweeping America, last August the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee filed an *amicus curiae* brief in the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of the Louisiana Board of Education against a state law requiring the teaching of biblical "creationism" in the public schools.

Liberals like People for the American Way object to Robertson's claim that he has a direct pipeline to god and point to his kookiness in order to label him an "extremist." But they don't touch the centrality of his *politics*, mobilizing ignorant bigotry in a latter-day Moral Rearmament crusade for a white supremacist "Christian" America which will again dominate the world like in the "good old days" before Vietnam. How can liberals object to Robertson's fundraising for contra terrorists when the Democrats in Congress vote $100 million to arm these same kill-crazy mercenaries?

The "Eastern establishment" Republicans are worried that Robertson could be a wild card in the primaries: "Mixed Blessing for GOP?" queried the *Wall Street Journal* (17 October 1985). A recent article on Robertson noted that his candidacy is an expression of "the merging of the 'Bible belt' with the increasingly prosperous 'sun belt'" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, September 1986). And all the bourgeois politicians are appealing to this racist, chauvinist constituency: both Bush and Kemp have their own evangelical advisers, and you can bet that the Democrats, who have now got Reaganite religion, will be chasing the born-again vote harder than ever.

To preserve its class rule, the American imperialists will rely on whatever dregs of society it must. If hellfire "persuasion" from the "televangelists" holstered by the Meese police doesn't do the trick, out of this bigoted muck are also recruited the fascist thugs such as the "Aryan Nation" Nazis and the cross-burning KKK racist terrorists. It will take the working class, mobilized on a revolutionary class-struggle program, to sweep the world of such filth. ■

Drug Witchhunt...

(continued from page 12)

drug trade, U.S. military strike forces are deployed in Latin America, preparing the way for invasion of Nicaragua.

In July, 160 U.S. troops invaded Bolivia to wipe out "narco-terrorism." In September the government said the mission was being extended indefinitely because "that operation has been so successful." But after 3,000 angry residents of the town of Santa Ana chased the American DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration) agents out of town October 10, shouting "Kill the Yankees—Don't let them leave!", Washington announced they'd start leaving the country in a week. Meanwhile, Meese & Co. caused a stir by letting slip plans to send the troops to Colombia, Ecuador and Peru and spread the drugnet across the Amazon Basin. (They've already got a team in the Bahamas.) Frustrated by Mexico's refusal to let the DEA agents fly 100 miles into the country, now they're talking about putting tanks along the border.

"Your Urine or Your Job"

In his executive order Reagan stated that "Federal employees who use illegal drugs, on or off duty, tend to be less productive, less reliable and prone to greater absenteeism than their fellow employees who do not use illegal drugs" (*New York Times*, 16 September). That same day the *Times* headlined an article, "Drug Tests Promote Safety, Many Say." The "many" who "say" are various employers like the owner of a chemical company who told the *Times*, "In this business, if someone does something stupid, it could kill a couple of hundred people." What hypocrisy! Just look at Bhopal, India where *thousands* were killed from a chemical gas leak caused by Union Carbide's criminal disdain for safety standards. Or the 177 South African miners who died in a fire at the Kinross mine last month, victims of the apartheid bosses' superexploitation of the black proletariat.

Capitalism's insane drive for profits is the greatest cause of industrial accidents. Giant American companies from Chrysler to USX are notorious for pocketing the profits and leaving plant and machinery to rot and dumping the workforce on the slag heap. As for Reagan's "concern" for safety and health of workers, his administration has done its best to emasculate the Occupational Health and Safety Act (OSHA) of its minimal protections, and has thrown thousands of disabled workers off the disability rolls. The tragic case of young black basketball star Len Bias, whose death from heart failure after apparently ingesting a small amount of cocaine was used to shift the drug witchhunt into high gear, presents a cruel irony in Reagan's America. To pay for Reagan's billion-dollar anti-drug plan, further massive cuts in social services are expected, including $75 million from health services for the poor, and $88 million from research on cancer and heart disease.

Airline deregulation, union-busting, labor cutbacks and deferred maintenance have made air travel a circus of horrors. Now airline companies and the government are spying on workers off the job and in their homes, looking to turn the screws tighter on the already massively reduced and overstrained workforce. In Palmdale, California 34 air traffic controllers were fingered for off-duty drug use. The Federal Aviation Agency ruled that 13 were guilty despite the fact that some passed their urine test, explaining that medical screening was not the sole method of inquiry, but was supplemented with information from finks. The FAA admitted there was no evidence of on-the-job use or impairment of functioning, but nevertheless required the 13 submit to a "rehabilitation program" or lose their jobs. This form of blackmail is at the heart of efforts to regiment the workplace.

The methods for testing urine for drugs are notoriously unreliable. In a recent report by the federal Centers for Disease Control, 13 drug testing firms studied reported results averaging 50 percent accuracy in identifying the presence of cocaine, morphine and barbiturates (*Washington Post*, 10 September). But "false positives" serve their purpose just as well. Like the McCarthyite HUAC "investigations" in the 1950s, this is *supposed* to be unfair. They don't test for antihistamines (found in cold tablets) which cause drowsiness, impairing the ability to operate machinery. Or take the case of an auto worker at the Fremont plant in California who was called in because they found quinine in his urinalysis. Where'd you get it, they asked. At the Safeway, he replied, explaining to the dimwitted drughunters that he drinks orange juice-and-tonics (tonic water contains quinine).

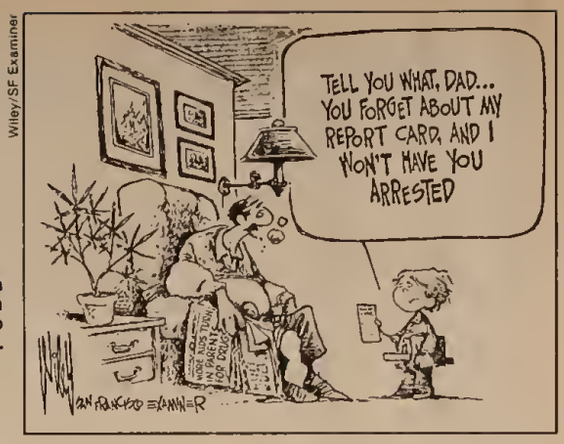
AP

U.S. Attorney Giuliani and NY Senator D'Amato (center and right) dressed for undercover crack escapade.

Fight the Drugnet and the War Drive!

The power of organized labor can send these McCarthyite narcs and their specimen bottles packing. In the face of the drug frenzy, angry unionists are ready to tell the boss to take his Dixie cup and shove it. Shortly after Reagan issued his executive order, the National Treasury Employees Union, representing 120,000 federal employees, filed a lawsuit in federal court challenging the order. But the labor bureaucracy has been fighting only to get in on the drug testing. In a policy statement issued September 18, United Auto Workers Solidarity House says, "abuse of a substance by an employee must be addressed jointly within the collective bargaining agreement." And in the San Francisco Bay Area officials of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union are calling for a "union approach" to the "war on drugs." Class-struggle oppositionists in the ILWU are fighting this attempt to use the union to police the workers, and the membership isn't buying it either (see page 5).

As the government whips up the legitimate fears of the riding public over safety, transportation workers across the country are priority targets in the drug witchhunt. In New York City, Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 members are being forced to pass drug tests as part of back-to-work physicals following extended absences, or whenever bosses order a "routine" physical, or following an "incident" in which the Transit Authority tries to cover its ass by alleging drug use. At NYC's 207th Street transit repair shop a mechanic was threatened with a drug test unless he withdrew his name from a basic contract grievance. Last year, 12,266 NYC transit employees were forced to undergo drug tests; 60 have now been fired. Five TWU members who were subjected to discipline or denied promotion have filed suit in U.S. District Court challenging the TA's drug testing program.



Hitler Youth USA: turning in parents to Big Brother.

No stranger to witchhunting is Local 100 president Sonny Hall who shamefully abandoned black token clerk James Grimes when he was victimized by the TA and the Brooklyn D.A. for defending himself against armed robbers. Hall redbaited Grimes' supporters in the union, and now he wants "justifiable reason to send someone for drug testing" while issuing a *pro forma* protest against the firing of 60 of his members. Well, to an arbitrator "justifiable reason" is anything the bosses want it to be—unionists protesting dangerous working conditions, wearing sunglasses, coming to work bleary-eyed, maybe from staying up with a sick child, or even having some fun in bed the night before, or looking the wrong way at the foreman. In a September 22 leaflet, Local 100 militants in the Committee for a Fighting TWU raised the call, "Labor Must Smash the Drug Witch Hunt Blackmail!"

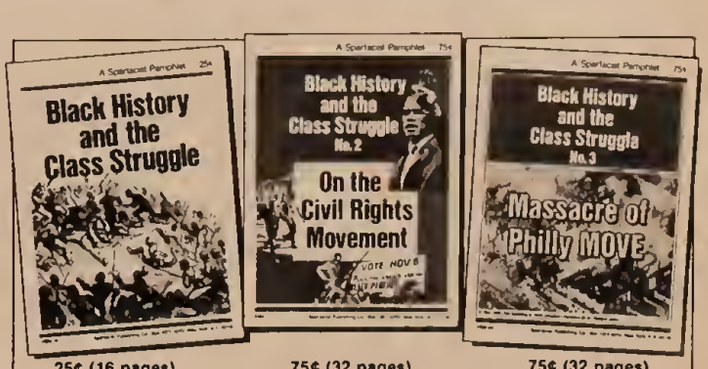
American imperialism is haunted by its defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. And the memory of the stoned-out American army that wouldn't fight and streets full of antiwar protesters has driven the U.S. ruling class into an anti-drug, anti-sex, anti-alcohol mullah-like frenzy. During the "détente" years of the mid-1970s, marijuana and cocaine use evoked little public comment. But now the country's suddenly hysterical over drugs.

What has changed is the need to assure a reasonably compliant youth and working class as cannon fodder for war. To achieve this end the schools have been turned into anti-drug boot camps and reformatories. Secretary of Education William Bennett chides Harvard for its outdated curriculum, i.e., it doesn't feature courses on "Reefer Madness." Bennett's 78-page guide, "What Works: Schools Without Drugs," has been distributed to 16,000 school superintendents throughout the country. The report admiringly cites Eastside High School in Paterson, New Jersey, and its principal Joe Clark, who patrols the halls with a bullhorn and whose favored tactics include mass expulsions, five-day suspensions for wearing a hat in the classroom, and requiring students and teachers to carry laminated ID cards. When asked if teachers object, Clark answers, "They do what they're told." And if parents complain? "Who cares?"

The town of Hawkins, Texas, which spent four times as much money on drug tests as library books last year, requires students to pass urine tests before signing up for the band or cheerleading. This is "education" Reagan-style: god is in, science is out, local Rambos run the debating clubs, and kids are taught to turn their parents in to the cops. Meanwhile, racists and vigilantes are loose on the streets: in NYC the Guardian Angels are outside City Hall whipping up support for the Reagan-Koch "crackdown on crack," and the Moonies' CAUSA front is petitioning against crack, communism and AIDS.

As the racist cops target the ghetto, raiding black and Latin housing projects for mass drug arrests, black capitalist politicos like Jesse Jackson and Joseph Lowery roll out the red carpet. In Atlanta, an SCLC leaflet obscenely calls on blacks to "Resist the new lynch mob... Killer Krack Koke." But while Jackson leads audiences in inane chants for "hope not dope," and Lowery works with the sinister Moon cult, these misleaders have repeatedly refused to mobilize black people in self-defense against the real KKK.

Today bourgeois politicians climb on the "anti-drug" bandwagon like they come out for motherhood and apple pie. It's no surprise, then, that the labor bureaucracy and social patriots have all fallen in line behind this latest imperialist sensation that's sweeping the nation. As racist Reaganite all-purpose bigots target everything from integrated schools to abortion clinics and Playboy centerfolds in their drive for global counterrevolution, the Marxists say: Smash the drug witchhunt! ■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Labor: Smash Drug Witchhunt!

Stop the Ghetto Roundups! Down with the Meese Police!

American workers have a monkey on their back. The anti-drug frenzy whipped up by the White House, and joined in by Democrats and Republicans alike, is turning into a real witchhunt hysteria. New Jersey troopers conduct Gestapo-style dragnets, stopping and searching cars and riders at random coming off the George Washington Bridge. And out in the land of beansprout totalitarianism, California youngsters turning in mom and pop for smoking a joint is reaching epidemic proportions. The drug inquisition—threatening jobs, breaking up families, subjecting *your* private life to government snoops and Legion of Decency vigilantes—is on the cutting edge of decaying American capitalism's attack on individual liberties in order to regiment the population for war.

The terrifying, wanton cruelty of life in Reagan's post-1984 America was captured by the case of 27-year-old Pamela Rae Stewart Monson, who faces criminal charges in San Diego after her infant son died because she hemorrhaged during childbirth at home. Under a law deeming a fetus a person, the distraught mother was jailed for child neglect (supposedly for failing to summon medical help promptly enough) after traces of amphetamines and marijuana were reported in the infant's blood. Her lawyer denounced the "prenatal police patrol," and "nightmarish intrusion into this woman's life." ACLU spokesman Janet Benshoof added: "The next thing you know women will be prosecuted because they failed to leave their homes because their men were smoking and smoking isn't good for fetuses" (*New York Times*, 9 October).

While Congress debated the death penalty for pushers, the first execution in the "war against drugs" took place in Wisconsin on September 16, when a man busted for alleged marijuana possession was shot twice pointblank in the head by the cops as he lay handcuffed in custody. But as the Meese police gear up for their giant drug bust, the "magic of the marketplace" still holds: on streetcorners of midtown Manhattan they're selling drug-free, alcohol-free urine for $3 a vial. Get your "all natural horse urine," the flyer says, adding that these days you need to "keep a specimen jar or two" in the fridge for emergencies.

On September 14, Big Brother Reagan with wife Nancy at his side went on TV. In classic Orwellian style, they told Americans they were living in "the freest society mankind has ever known," and so there must be "outspoken intolerance for drug use." The following day he issued an executive order mandating drug testing for 1.1 million government employees, with automatic firings and consequent blacklisting for those who fail. The order followed passage by a near-unanimous House of Representatives of the draconian anti-drug bill on September 11, calling for the death penalty for deaths caused by drug dealers, and mandatory life sentences for those convicted a second time for selling drugs to a minor or within 1,000 feet of a school. The bill also authorizes the use of evidence obtained by unlawful search and seizure, in violation of the Fourth Amendment, and orders the construction of more prisons, use of U.S. agents in police activities outside the country, and deployment of the military to interdict drug traffic.

To ram it through Congress, the Senate was offered the bill minus the controversial call for military deployment and with-or-without the death penalty. On October 17 they passed the latter to avoid a filibuster from opponents of the death penalty. As in most witchhunts, tardiness in jumping on the anti-drug bandwagon is tantamount to treason and heresy. As Oklahoma Democratic Congressman Dave McCurdy put it, the drug bill was "out of control. But of course I'm for it" (*Newsweek*, 22 September). The anti-drug legislation is part of a package with the bipartisan Congressional vote for $100 million in aid to Nicaragua's drug-running contras. And the anti-drug hysteria is the successor to Reagan's "terrorism" scare, which the American people haven't bought, as the newest pretext to trample democratic rights. Now under the guise of stopping the

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JINX WV Photo

NYC cops brutalize blacks in anti-crack campaign; SL and Labor Black League protest cop rampage, Brooklyn, September 12.

BOSTON

Separate Is Not Equal—For Revolutionary Integrationism!

No to Roxbury Bantustan Scheme!

Extend Busing to the Suburbs!

BOSTON—On November 4, residents of ten legislative districts will vote on a referendum for black people to secede from the city of Boston. Question Nine on the ballot calls for carving out a South African-style township from the neighborhoods where 98 percent of Boston's black residents live and incorporating the area as a separate city.

Who's behind this Jim Crow offensive? One might logically suspect Mayor Raymond Flynn or Louise Day Hicks and the racist mobs they led in attacks on busing for school desegregation ten years ago. No, though this referendum will likely be given a thumbs up by every white racist in Boston, it is in fact the cynical and suicidal brainstorm of a coterie of black politicos and ministers known as the Greater Roxbury Incorporation Project (GRIP). And to add gratuitous insult to injury, GRIP proposes to name "their" urban bantustan "Mandela"—as if the ANC leaders Nelson and Winnie Mandela have not spent their lives in struggle *against* apartheid segregation.

Boston's most prominent unsuccessful black politician, Mel King, has thrown his weight behind the "Mandela" city proposal, no doubt hoping to establish a district whose mayoral seat he can finally win. King's ambitions are transparent, but no one should be fooled by the "community empowerment" rhetoric employed by GRIP. A cordoned-off black community would signal a green light to the racists to step up their smoldering campaign of terrorization to drive out black families on the "wrong" side of the line. The proposed map of "Mandela" even looks like a copy of apartheid's isolated black "homelands." White sections of South Boston and Dorchester slice right through the middle, separating Roxbury from Columbia Point. It takes no stretch of the imagination to foresee the racist paramilitary South Boston Marshals establishing "checkpoints" at their borders and demanding "passbooks" from black residents crossing from one side of "Mandela" to the other.

Harvard, legendary leader of the Ivy League of racism, also has its dirty hands in this reactionary proposal. It was designed by a Harvard-trained architect, and GRIP's founder Andrew Jones has been fiddling with "experts" over this segregationist scheme at Friday breakfast meetings of the Harvard Faculty Club for the past two years. Last year the gentlemen of Harvard covered their heating grates to drive the homeless from their posh doorsteps in a cold Boston winter. This year they propose blacks "seize the land"—the vacant lots, gutted buildings and rusting hulk of the soon-to-be-abandoned elevated tracks of Boston's rundown ghetto.

GRIP seeks to exploit the justified and widespread frustration of Boston's oppressed minorities over their rotting schools, housing and social services, in order to cash in on the real estate boom and gentrification of Roxbury and the South End for themselves. Organizing against them is the "One Boston Campaign," a group of liberal black clergymen serving as front men for Mayor Flynn. While Flynn puts on a "populist" veneer, and even got backing from the DSA social democrats in the last elections, GRIP supporters have dredged up his record as an outspoken supporter of the virulently racist ROAR and leader of the anti-busing forces.

The defeat of Boston busing is the background for GRIP's utopian and dangerous secession proposal. And they are explicit about finishing off the racists' dirty work. GRIP bemoans the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 415

7 November 1986

Reaganite Racists, Nazis, Zionists

Contras' Godfathers

Defend Nicaragua!

NOVEMBER 3—In northern Nicaragua, one mile south of the small village of Pantasma, the daily truck transport was blown up by a land mine October 20, killing six people, including a seven-year-old child, and wounding 40. Many of the victims were over 60, several were children; seven had to have limbs amputated. Two were evangelical pastors, one of whom lost his leg, the other his life. These are the latest casualties of the CIA's contra mercenaries, who have been unleashed against the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime. Ronald ("I'm a Contra") Reagan calls his hired killers "freedom fighters." The Nicaraguan people call them beasts. Over the last six years, the contras' U.S.-backed dirty war has cost almost 15,000 casualties, mostly civilians like those on the crowded Pantasma transport. And now, following mammoth exercises for a U.S. invasion of Central America, a senior officer of the 82nd Airborne Division remarked, "We hope Danny Ortega gets the message."

In every battle with the Sandinista armed forces the contras just cut and run. Like dictator Somoza's National Guard, from which the contra command was reconstituted, like the death squads that terrorize the oppressed throughout Latin America, they are only good for torturing and shooting unarmed civilians. They are Reagan's *Einsatzkommandos*, the Nazi SS killers who savagely murdered Jews and Communists throughout the areas of East Europe and the Soviet Union occupied by Hitler's armies in World War II. Today they are the hit men for the "Reagan Doctrine" of striking at the Soviet Union through proxy wars, from racist South Africa's contras who want to turn Angola and Mozambique into bantustans, to Afghan feudalists who want to restore the veil and bride price, who murder teachers for teaching little girls to read and write. Now, with Washington's $100 million, voted for by Democrats and Republicans alike, the Nicaraguan contras are on the front line of the anti-Soviet war drive.

The contras' specialty is blowing up schools, childcare centers, health clinics,

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El Canadiense

Walker/Time

Barricada

Contra terrorists (above) take their orders from U.S. war criminal-in-chief Reagan, meeting with contra leaders at White House. Nicaraguan mothers (below) display photos of their children killed in CIA's dirty war.

America Needs Its Bolshevik Party

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

November 7 is the 69th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. To commemorate this world historic victory for the proletariat, we print below excerpts from a talk by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour in San Francisco, September 20.

"My fellow Americans. I'm pleased to tell you today that I've signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes." This is a statement actually made a few years ago by the commander in chief of the United States armed forces, a man who literally at any time can press the button to start nuclear World War III. Of course, Ronald Reagan said it was all a big joke, he didn't know that the microphone was on for his weekly radio chat. It's not a joke. In a very crude way it's the program, the goal, the intent of the present American government. The intent of the multibillion-dollar so-called Strategic Defense Initiative, popularly known as "Star Wars," is precisely to win a nuclear war against Russia.

Supposedly, there will be space-based weaponry which will provide a kind of Gardol shield over the United States, so the United States can bomb the hell out of Russia without fear of retaliation. Star Wars is supposed to be the most modern, state-of-the-art technology which will work with pinpoint accuracy the first time. Yet every aspect of this program in the last year has been a spectacular technological failure. In August of 1985, a Titan rocket carrying the latest spy satellite for the CIA had to be destroyed by its controller when it veered off course. Then in January, one had on prime time television the blowing up of the Challenger space shuttle, killing all seven astronauts aboard. And two months later another Titan rocket carrying another spy satellite blew up, producing a half-billion-dollar fireworks display over Vandenberg Air Force Base. Well, comrades, let's face it: Reagan just can't get it up.

Nevertheless, Reagan's program to "outlaw Russia forever" decisively affects almost every aspect of American society and American foreign policy. Take the Wall Street panic, the week before last. One might say, what the hell does the stock market, its ups and downs, have to do with the subject of this talk, which is the Russian Revolution? The answer is quite a bit. You have all these right-wing Reaganite types: they groove on Rambo movies,

continued on page 8

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Smash the McCarran-Walter Act—

Give General Dragunsky A Hero's Welcome!

On September 21, for the second time, Soviet General David Dragunsky was denied permission to enter the United States to attend a dinner sponsored by *Jewish Affairs* magazine in his honor. Earlier, in June 1985, one month after Reagan saluted SS graves at Bithurg, Dragunsky and two other prominent Soviet Jews, Lev Kaufman and Andrei Belaev, were denied entry visas to attend a celebration (also sponsored by *Jewish Affairs*) of the 40th anniversary of V-E Day. Dragunsky, twice decorated with the Hero of the Soviet Union medal, lost his family to Nazi terror in World War II. The PDC sent the following telegram of protest to Secretary of State George Shultz:

"23 September 1986

PDC condemns second McCarthyite exclusion of Jewish Soviet General David Dragunsky, hero of Red Army triumph over Hitler, as outrage to every victim of and fighter against fascist terror."

Not only Soviet officials are barred from the U.S. under the anti-communist McCarran-Walter Act. On August 28, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) judge Martin Spiegel ordered American-born, left-wing/feminist author Margaret Randall to be deported because her writings "advocate the doctrines of world communism." The PDC has contributed to her defense and on September 9 sent another telegram to the INS commissioner protesting that, "Increasing use of anti-communist McCarran Act confirms Administration's identification with reviled McCarthy era...." More recently the U.S. government denied entry to Patricia Lara, a reporter for *El Tiempo*, one of Colombia's leading newspapers.

The deportation of immigrant trade-union militants under the McCarran-Walter Act was a significant component of the red purges of the 1950s. This witchhunting legacy is reflected in the labor bureaucracy's prostration before union-busting givebacks. The just-enacted immigration law will fill the hellish immigration jails with additional thousands of Guatemalans, Salvadorans and Haitians fleeing desperate poverty and government-sponsored terror at the hands of U.S. puppets. International class solidarity demands that the McCarran-Walter Act and racist immigration policies be smashed! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!

* * *

Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the 13 May 1985 Philadelphia MOVE massacre, informed us that she has been told by a parole board representative that any offer of parole would impose the condition that she be barred from associating with MOVE family members. Ramona stormed out of the meeting. She has told us she would not accept these inhumane conditions. The PDC sent a letter demanding her immediate unconditional release: "The condition that one not be permitted to associate with family is the hallmark of the world's most barbaric societies, from the antebellum South to apartheid South Africa." Protests should be sent to: Herman Tartler, Board Secretary, Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 3103 North Front St., Harrisburg, PA 17110.

Janet Holloway Africa and Consuewella Dotson Africa have been added to the class-war prisoners to whom the PDC sends monthly stipends. They are among the nine MOVE members still in prison for defending themselves from the 1978 attack by 600 cops ordered by notorious racist mayor Frank Rizzo. Janet told the PDC that until recently she and other MOVE prisoners spent the past three years in solitary! She added, "since May 13th when this Govt. dropped that bomb on our family, our financial situation is very poor so I really appreciate the donation that you sent me."

* * *

Class-war prisoner Ruchell Magee sent us the following election day message:

"Democrat or Republican? Some poor choice given the millions of working class. Flim/Flam.... Voting these days has become like exchanging one boot for another with spurs to kick your own self in the ass with...."

* * *

Supporters of Progressive Labor/InCAR still face felony charges for attempting to stop the fascists in the streets of Chicago on June 28. On July 17 the PDC sent a $100 contribution for their defense. We sent a second $100 contribution on September 27 defining our anti-sectarian defense policies and rebuking PL for its own anti-solidarity and history of physical attacks on other left organizations including the Spartacist League. PL returned this second contribution without comment. Contributions may be sent to: PLP Chicago Fund, GPO Box 808, Brooklyn, NY 11202.

Progress Publishers

General David Dragunsky, Hero of the Soviet Union.

* * *

Attorney General Edwin Meese has leveled a new attack on the Constitution and Supreme Court in the government's march toward turning public schools into Jim Crow, fundamentalist Christian parochial schools. Asserting that Supreme Court decisions on constitutional issues may be disregarded by legislators and lower courts, Meese singled out for attack the landmark Topeka and Little Rock desegregation cases of the 1950s. Meese's diatribe underlines the issues posed in the *amicus curiae* brief submitted to the Supreme Court by the Spartacist League and PDC opposing the State of Louisiana's attack on the teaching of evolution. The *amicus* brief points out, "The current battle poses the defense of the gains of the American Revolution, Civil War—and the Enlightenment." For a copy of the brief send $4.00 to: Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116.

* * *

The PDC has just published the second issue of our newsletter, *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, featuring updates on class-war prisoners, including a letter from Geronimo Pratt. We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Sustaining contributions, donations and requests for the first two issues of the newsletter can be sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Russian October and World Revolution

In answer to the bloody carnage of the first imperialist world war, the Russian Revolution of 1917 opened the road to a socialist future for mankind. Addressing the Petrograd Soviet on November 7 (October 25 on the old-style Russian calendar), right after the Bolsheviks took power, Lenin called upon the international working class to wage war on the world capitalist system of exploitation and oppression.

Comrades, the workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished.

What is the significance of this workers' and peasants' revolution? Its significance is, first of all, that we shall have a Soviet government, our own organ of power, in which the bourgeoisie will have no share whatsoever. The oppressed masses will themselves create a power. The old state apparatus will be shattered to its foundations and a new administrative apparatus set up in the form of the Soviet organisations.

From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins, and this, the third Russian revolution, should in the end lead to the victory of socialism.

One of our urgent tasks is to put an immediate end to the war. It is clear to everybody that in order to end this war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalist system, capital itself must be fought.

We shall be helped in this by the world working-class movement, which is already beginning to develop in Italy, Britain and Germany....

We must now set about building a proletarian socialist state in Russia.

Long live the world socialist revolution! (*Stormy applause.*)

—V.I. Lenin, "Report on the Tasks of the Soviet Power" (7 November 1917)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 415 **7 November 1986**

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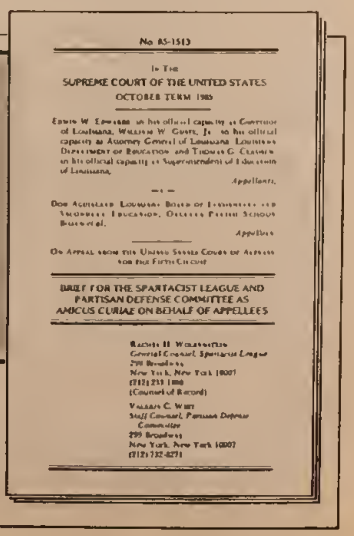

No. 85-1513

In The

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER TERM 1985

BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

10,000 Out in Northern California

Kaiser Hospital Strike: Stop the Scabs!

OAKLAND, November 1—Ten thousand hospital workers have struck the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan in an important labor battle against union-busting givebacks. Kaiser is the granddaddy of the "health maintenance organizations" (HMO), and its first concern is not health care but making big bucks. They're trying to ram a two-tier pay structure down the workers' throats, with a whopping 30 percent pay cut for new hires outside the Bay Area, a wage freeze for all existing employees and gutting seniority protection. But the strikers, mainly organized in SEIU Local 250 Hospital and Institutional Workers Union, voted down this rotten proposal 4-to-1. Local 250, encompassing clerical and housekeeping workers, LVNs and medical technicians, as well as the striking Optical Workers Local 505 and engineers and scientists (MEBA), make up nearly half of Kaiser employees. The strikers, 80 percent women and 40 percent minorities, have set up large and spirited picket lines at 27 Kaiser facilities throughout Northern California.

Kaiser services 2.2 million residents here, including 650,000 union members and their families, and this strike has evoked widespread support. Workers know that as bad as Kaiser hospitals can be they'll get a lot worse if Local 250 loses. An impressive number of members of the eight non-striking unions at Kaiser are honoring the picket lines. An estimated 75 percent of the registered nurses are staying out, in the face of a ruling handed down by the NLRB against the California Nurses Association. The sentiment for a united strike of all Kaiser workers runs deep. Even the more conservative craft unions, the Carpenters and Stationary Engineers, have given ten-day strike notice, but in the meantime their misleaders are despicably telling the members to cross the picket lines and work.

In Oakland many truck deliveries have been turned away as the pickets know that food, linen, etc. is what Kaiser needs to keep operating. On cue the cops and courts have moved in to aid the Kaiser bosses. The cops have arrested numerous strikers and are issuing citations for obstruction, jaywalking and "public nuisance." On October 31 Kaiser got an injunction limiting pickets to four per entrance, only one of whom may actually picket! Some scab supervisors and doctors have plowed their cars through the lines and struck several strikers. One picket reportedly suffered a broken knee. Bay Area workers remember 20-year-old Gregory Goobic, brutally run down and murdered on the picket line by a scab truck driver in the 1984 Union Oil strike in Rodeo.

WV Photo

"Let's Win This One!" WV supplement calling for militant class struggle against union-busting was welcomed by striking Kaiser workers.

This strike is an important battle to defend organized labor in the medical industry. Kaiser workers must stand fast against concessions and all of Bay Area labor must back them up, not with empty words of "solidarity" but on the picket line. Let some fancy-dan doctor try gunning his Mercedes at a burly contingent of longshoremen and Teamsters. A few scabs hobbling around on crutches will quickly spread the word that scabbing is hazardous to your health. Labor's strength is in its numbers, organization and discipline. Kaiser must be shut down tight by mass picket lines that *nobody dares cross*.

The strike leadership, however, is engaging in a variant of consumer boycott and "corporate campaign" strategy to bring pressure on Kaiser. They've been encouraging patients to cross the picket lines and demand benefits due them and calling on unions to get their members to drop Kaiser coverage if Kaiser refuses to settle. But strikes are won or lost on the picket line! Ever since the union bureaucrats let PATCO be smashed rather than call out the Machinists and pilots unions—backed by the full strength of labor—to shut down the airports, the bosses have been waging a one-sided class war against labor. The pro-capitalist union leadership in this country consistently capitulates to injunctions and restraining orders against strikes and mass pickets instead of rendering them worthless scraps of paper by mobilizing the heavy battalions of labor. Remember, the only "illegal" strike is one that loses!

Despite the militancy and combativity displayed by Hormel meatpackers, Phelps Dodge copper miners, PATCO air controllers and TWA flight attendants, their strikes lost because the union misleaders are committed to playing by the bosses' rules and relying on the Democratic Party. But the Democrats as well as the Republicans are committed to cutting jobs, slashing social benefits like medical care and attacking the unions as part of their anti-Soviet war drive.

Workers Vanguard has been well received on the picket lines. Hundreds of the *WV* supplements "Let's Win This One!" with our call for militant class struggle to bust the union-busters have been distributed to strikers. Picket captains in Oakland where the lines are predominantly black have taken stacks of supplements to distribute to other shifts of picketers. A xerox blowup of Jack London's definition of a scab from our supplement was prominently displayed outside the room where Kaiser workers in San Francisco gathered for their strike vote meeting. And so far ten strikers have taken subscriptions to *WV*.

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent SEIU Local 250 a telegram supporting their strike. This union has come forward on numerous occasions to support striking workers and defend victimized militants. In December 1984 Local 250 made a solid $500 donation to striking British miners. In November 1983 they donated $200 to the Phone Strikers Defense Committee's successful defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. These CWA members were facing a racist frame-up for defending their picket line against an assault by a racist scab supervisor during a national phone strike. Local 250 also donated generously to PDC campaigns to defend Chilean working-class militants Mario Muñoz and Fernando Marcos against the bloodthirsty Pinochet dictatorship.

The Local 250 strikers want to win this battle. A black woman picket captain with 20 years at Kaiser expressed the sentiment of many unionists when she told *WV*: "This strike could be a landmark, if we win, to fight the two-tier thing. They are trying to break the union. I refuse to give back 20 years of hard work and benefits. My seniors fought and died for the union and now it's my turn to fight for the unions for the next generation." Victory to the Kaiser strikers! ■

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Strikebreaking Mercenaries in the Coal Fields

Volunteering for hire abroad in Reagan's worldwide crusade against communism can be a risky business, as Eugene Hasenfus might testify. But professional strikebreaking in the U.S. is a lucrative and growing business. During the bitter 15-month battle between the United Mine Workers and the A.T. Massey Coal Company, imperialism's dogs of war flocked into West Virginia and Kentucky to enlist for some big-time union-busting.

In addition to the usual services rendered free of charge by the cops, Massey spent millions of dollars to train and arm a private army of scabherders. The company surrounded its mines with miles of chain link fence, with cement observation posts manned by uniformed guards with cameras, M16s and reportedly machine guns. Massey also deployed helicopters, armored personnel carriers and an armored locomotive nicknamed the "Bull Monse Special." The September issue of *Soldier of Fortune*, in an article entitled "Guerrilla War in the Hills—Mercs Come to Appalachia," gives an insider's view of the operation.

Apparently Massey fired Pinkerton and contracted with Vance International to handle its "security." Vance is headed by Chuck Vance, a former Secret Service agent who later married Gerald Ford's daughter. No doubt utilizing his "contacts," Vance selected his gun-toting scabherders:

> "One Massey mine at Oceana had 30 Vance guards under the direction of a retired Special Forces captain. Each unit had at least one or two Green Beret veterans assigned, sources said, and several veterans of Rhodesia, Central America and the Middle East—soldiers of fortune and veterans of foreign armies—were sprinkled among the Vance ranks."

Mark Francis

Professional anti-communist terrorists: scabherders for Massey Coal.

Imperialism's mercenaries in dirty, losing colonial wars come back home to make the U.S. "free" of unions. We recall that Lieutenant Calley's first public act was as a strikebreaker on the railroads in Florida. From there it was a short step to butchering Vietnamese women and children at My Lai. American miners should take note: the anti-Soviet war drive means war on workers at home. Same enemy, same fight—workers of the world unite!

Young Spartacus

Join Us in the Fight for a Socialist Future!

Chicago, Madison Spartacus Youth Clubs Founded

Young Spartacus is pleased to announce the formation of Spartacus Youth Clubs in Chicago and Madison. Through organizing a protest against CIA recruiters at the University of Wisconsin campus, reading *Workers Vanguard* and the Marxist classics, and through their political experiences as individual radicals, several new comrades have been won to the politics of proletarian revolution. We print below selections from their application letters.

Active in building a united-front demonstration against CIA recruiters in Madison on September 22, comrade Judith—formerly of the Progressive Student Network—explained in her application:

> "In putting together the anti-CIA demonstration...I too had to learn how to defend my politics against liberal anti-communism. It was tough because I witnessed a lot of my acquaintances turn into enemies on a level I never expected—POLITICAL enemies, people with no spine, people who aren't even willing to argue....
> "I got good advice. I was told to read *Ten Days That Shook the World*, *The Revolution Betrayed* and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Accompanied with mountains of *Workers Vanguard*, I gained a great knowledge about other parties and realized that the Spartacists were THE only revolutionary party....
> "So now I want to do more work. I want to, especially, come into more contact with workers and minorities. I want to get other students interested in Trotskyist-Leninist politics before they give up the struggle.... I agree with the program and will abide by the discipline. Does this make me a comrade?"

Young Spartacus

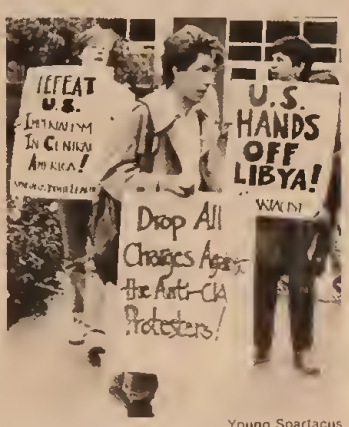
Spartacist youth activist on picket line during Yale campus workers strike, 1984.

A long-time subscriber to *Workers Vanguard*, Nick was one of the "Yale Six" students arrested for protesting CIA recruiters. Previously, during the 1984 Yale campus workers strike, he refused to cross the workers' picket lines unlike the rest of the campus "left" which scabbed on the strike. Noting that what attracted him to Spartacist politics was our "Leninist program and mode of organization," Nick explained that:

> "Leninist intransigence did not give way to stupidity or adventurism. As I talked with comrades, watched them sell papers to workers and students at Yale, I realized that the SL knew not only what program to win people to, but also how to do it....
> "The SL and *WV* had a sense of humor—I laughed at the jokes. This was important to me because the fact that I shared the same sense of humor meant that I shared its elements: a certain sense of irony about history and the way things are, and a certain vision of how I really want things to be.... There wasn't any big turning point for me, more like a lot of little ones....
> "At a certain point I realized that these ideas that I had been struggling with and that had been shaping my political understanding were necessarily embodied in a party. Without a party they would have no meaningful existence—no way of developing further or impacting on individuals like myself, on the working class or humankind.... I want to build that party and program that led a workers revolution to victory in October, 1917 and will, I hope, do so again. The first step for me is to join the youth club."

Another student activist at Yale, particularly involved with anti-apartheid protests, had earlier worked in the campaign for Democratic Chicago mayor Harold Washington. In his application, comrade Jonathan discusses both of these experiences. After Washington's election to office:

> "I became dimly aware that the machine was going to stay intact.... Harold Washington was not lifting a finger to fight the Klan or defend the right of black Chicagoans to live where they choose..."



Young Spartacus

Madison Spartacus Youth Club protests CIA recruiters, September 22.

At Yale:

> "As divestment activity heated up through the building of shanties and the administration's threats to suspend and arrest us all, Nick and I began to work together politically and I was won over to his program of tactical militancy and struggle against the various CISPES/DSA/pacifist types who just wanted to get it all over with as quickly as possible by sitting down and getting arrested singing 'We Shall Overcome Someday' for the 40th time. The pressures of this situation spun us into a pretty classic left centrist trajectory, until finally we started to split out of the divestment stuff and work to present propaganda with an openly revolutionary perspective.
> "Reading *What Is To Be Done* on 'Amateurishness' convinced me that it was necessary to go beyond infantile student groupings and work with an experienced revolutionary group... Marxism does not exist today because some professor assigns the 1844 Manuscripts, but because there are a few hundred Spartacists around the globe diligently fighting for independent, revolutionary working class politics."

So-called left organizations working at Yale and peddling their respective reformist schemes turned out to be "frauds" according to Jonathan—but he did check them out. "The ISO, for all its grad student pretension, was a pack of know-nothings and liars. SPARK was a weird moralistic crew who could not explain their fake positions on the deformed workers' states and who think workers are children. The RCP [Revolutionary Communist Party], Workers League and SWP [Socialist Workers Party] were simply not interested in talking to anyone who asked hard questions."

In Chicago, a city targeted by the racist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan for recruitment and the fomenting of race war, it is crucial to win young fighters to our program. In 1982, a Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization was able to stop a Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day. Such anti-fascist actions are urgently necessary today. We solidarize with comrade Jonathan's concluding remarks: "For a fighting youth club and the rebirth of the Youth League! For the rebirth of the Fourth International!"—that is, the international party of world socialist revolution. ■

CIA Off Campus!

OBERLIN—On September 23, some 60 students rallied in Oberlin College's Wilder Bowl to protest against CIA recruitment on the Oberlin campus. Chanting "CIA Off Campus!" the demonstrators marched to Peters Hall where the recruiter was doing his dirty work. Oberlin's top cop Chief McDaniels stood guard, blocking militants from entering the placement office. A number of students picked up the Spartacus Youth Club's chant, "Drive the contras into the sea! Overthrow the bourgeoisie!" while a group of would-be flower children solemnly murmured "Love, not hate."

The Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club was the only organization to actively participate in the protest, and surprisingly few students from last year's successful anti-CIA demonstration were present. The demonstration was built by a group of freshmen who picked up the hall and energetically covered the campus with flyers and large posters

continued on page 5

Goldberg/Oberlin Review

September 23: Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club demonstrates against CIA recruiters for counterrevolution from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan.

Support Builds for Guillermo at S.F. State

Spartacist activist Guillermo Bermúdez is to go on trial for the "crime" of passing out a Marxist leaflet on the San Francisco State University campus. Guillermo was slapped with a South Africa-style "banning" order in November 1984. SFSU's "ban" came on the heels of arresting Guillermo and other members of the Red Avengers of the underground Spartacus Youth League for rallying in defense of Nicaragua. (The Red Avengers were born in a fight against the anti-red witchhunt unleashed by the SFSU administration, student bureaucrats, "progressive" Democratic Party careerists and their fake-left camp followers.) While the charges have been dropped against all the other Red Avengers who were arrested or "banned" in the course of their just struggle against beansprout totalitarianism, the bourgeois authorities continue to prosecute Guillermo. On November 10, he goes back to court to set a new date for trial.

In a letter to the campus newspaper, SFSU faculty member Sam Wellbaum, a lecturer in the Speech Department, wrote:

> "I propose that the administration withdraw its charges (a simple enough step, one would think) and I propose further that this campus rally around the Bermudez case, not because it loves SYL, but because it loves civil liberties. In a time of growing campus protest over President Reagan's Central America and South African policies, it is particularly important to protest outrages like the Bermudez prosecution. If a little group of radical Trotskyists can be squelched today, more 'respectable' protesters will be tomorrow. That's one of those lessons of history we forget at our peril."
>
> —*Golden Gater*, 21 October

The witchhunt against us in 1984 was enthusiastically joined by all manner of racists and bigots and paved the way for the emergence on campus of the racist punk "Residents' Liberation Army." We took on the RLA scum and their provocations against blacks, gays, Hispanics, Jews and leftists last school year. When the largely Hispanic student government was targeted for a potential fascistic mobilization, we turned out a number of trade unionists who, along with concerned community members, were determined to defend the student government meeting. This fall, the president of the Associated Students reserved a room for a Spartacist event on campus when we were being subjected to petty administration harassment, a democratic gesture inconceivable two years ago, when the student bureaucrats were in a frenzy to drive us off the campus.

Guillermo at March 1985 Berkeley rally against apartheid butchery and UC cop rampage.

On October 9 Carlos Baron, a Chilean instructor in La Raza Studies at SFSU, invited Guillermo to speak before his class. Baron recalled that in Chile, following Pinochet's rightist military coup against the Allende Unidad Popular government in 1973, his own home "became the safety house for different people" from a number of left groups including the Communist Party and MIR. "Dialogue that should have taken place long before the military coup was taking place after," he noted and, in the spirit of debate and discussion, introduced comrade Guillermo. "Guillermo Bermúdez... has been on the news most recently because of a violent act that was committed against him. His arm was broken by a policeman in Berkeley about a year ago when he was demonstrating against a table set up by Marines on UC Berkeley campus," Baron explained. He was referring to the now infamous case in which trumped-up charges of "assault on a police officer" were brought against Guillermo at Berkeley. In a hard-fought victory, these charges were beaten back in court. That fight was important to all student activists at Berkeley, hundreds of whom were beaten and arrested in a massive cop rampage against anti-apartheid protest. Vindictive in defeat, UC Reichschancellor Ira Heyman suspended Guillermo despite the fact that the university's case had failed in court.

Guillermo discussed the context of his case at SFSU, noting that it's "important because it affects everyone here and it affects your rights to protest, to voice your opinions against the criminal policies of the U.S. government." Why are the powers that be so intent on prosecuting this case? "What they are afraid of especially is that when this country invades Central America... they don't want students to protest. They don't want workers to go on strike."

Guillermo explained that the SFSU witchhunters were enraged in 1984 by our intransigent defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state—the ultimate target of Reagan and the Democrats' war drive—as well as our Marxist opposition to the racist, imperialist Democratic Party and its candidate Walter "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale. A lively discussion followed Guillermo's presentation, which smoked out some supporters of the slavishly pro-Democratic Party League of Revolutionary Struggle/*Unity*.

It took repeated prompting from Baron before the *Unity* supporters would finally speak up. When a *Unity* supporter finally took the floor, it was to defend the Democrats: according to her, Democrat Jesse Jackson, the shill for Mondale, ran a "significant campaign; that's where a lot of people were at." Virulently anti-Soviet, *Unity* has supported the South African/CIA-backed puppet army of Joseph Savimbi against the Cuban troops defending black Angola. Here, too, *Unity* finds itself where a "lot of people" are at: with Reagan against Russia and in bed with Botha. In contrast to these Maoist has-beens, the SL's forthright call for a socialist revolution in this country led one student to comment that, despite differences with us, "I do like the fact that unlike a lot of other groups on the left you guys do have the balls to say, 'Hey, we want a Soviet America'."

Urgently needed funds for Guillermo's defense should be made payable/mailed to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, earmarked for Bermúdez defense. ■

Oberlin...

(continued from page 4)

describing the CIA's murderous crimes. A statement of purpose drafted by some of these students concluded, "Because we feel strongly that the CIA should not be allowed to continue its acts of international terrorism, we are willing to try to keep it from recruiting today and from returning tomorrow."

Oberlin DSA (Democratic Socialists of America) honcho Kevin Brown had lamented that Oberlin students were too "uninformed" to want to demonstrate against the CIA, but the students' activities belied the DSA's attempt to justify its own default. One lone DSAer, Jonathan Perry, broke ranks to build the anti-CIA protest, but as a group, these "State Department Socialists" limited their "actions" to a teach-in, and were notable only for their conspicuous stayaway from the demonstration against these killer spies.

Hatred of the CIA, the government's terrorist "Murder, Incorporated," is widespread on the Oberlin campus, but a division exists between those militants who wanted to send the imperialist henchmen packing and other students constrained by liberal moralism and patriotic illusions in the "American way." One student called for defending the CIA's right to "free speech." This was angrily contested by Oberlin activist Jon Nissenbaum who said that that view distorted what the CIA is all about. Another student thought the CIA could be reformed if some "good people" joined it. And Perry, who had earlier cited the CIA's crimes, showed true DSA colors when he claimed that the U.S. needed an "information" agency because it is an "evil world" out there. As Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Dave Cardarelli pointed out, what was at stake was not a question of "free speech," but taking a side with the world's workers and peasants who are the victims of bloody CIA terror. Dave argued that driving the CIA off campus would strike a real if symbolic blow in defense of the oppressed.

These debates continued throughout and even after the demonstration. Student protesters questioned the career placement director as to why the administration would help the CIA. A Spartacist supporter pointed out that the Oberlin administration was not "neutral" when it came to the CIA. The universities and colleges are very much a part of the capitalist system and are a training ground for capitalist managers, technicians, ideologues, and spies.

DSAer Perry was reminded of this by the Oberlin powers that be after naively signing up for an interview in hopes of "debating" the CIA' recruiter. The recruiter, however, was not there to debate, but to sign up future cloak-and-dagger assassins. After a brief "interview," Perry spilled a container of a mixture of ketchup and his own blood on the table. In its determination that the CIA be able to recruit at Oberlin for its bloody terror and murder campaigns, the administration brought Perry and WOBC reporter Dan Jaffee (whom Perry had asked to record the interview for possible broadcast) up before the "Judicial Board" on charges of "interference with the essential educational process of the College"! They also demanded that Perry clean up the mess in the recruitment office, which, to his credit, he refused to do. While Perry's moralistic protest is not our strategy, he did graphically point out that the CIA is up to its eyebrows in the blood of workers and peasants, saying to the disciplinary hearing that "I spilled my blood in solidarity with the CIA's victims." Both Perry and Jaffee were put on disciplinary probation. Down with Oberlin's reprisals against Perry and Jaffee!

Several students expressed frustration that driving the CIA off campus wouldn't stop the activities of the CIA. That's why it's important for students to link up with the power of the working class in socialist revolution to put an end to the CIA's heinous crimes once and for all.

The Spartacus Youth Club's forthright opposition to the CIA and program for class struggle against U.S. imperialism has struck a chord among Oberlin student militants. Many have bought subscriptions to *Workers Vanguard* and *Women & Revolution*; some ten have registered for our class, "The Fight for Socialism." Join the Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club! ■

Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Tuesdays, 8:30 p.m.
Next class: November 18

King 235
Oberlin College

For more information (216) 621-5138

OBERLIN

Young Spartacus Club Class Series

ABCs of Communism

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next class: November 18

Student Union, Room B-119
SF State University

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SAN FRANCISCO

Spartacus Youth Class Series

Principles of Communism

Alternate Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.
Next class: November 8

Baldwin Lounge, Tubman Quad
Howard University

For more information (202) 636-3537

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Seymour Hersh Joins Reagan's Cover-Up

THE SPECTRE OF KAL 007

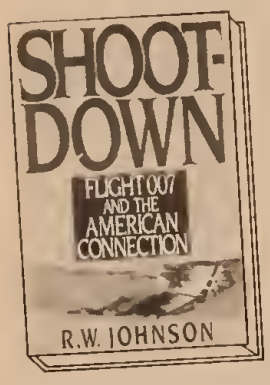
As soon as it became known that Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007 had been shot down by a Soviet fighter on the night of 31 August-1 September 1983, the White House began screaming about the "barbarism" of the Soviet "Evil Empire." Brushing aside the fact that the unidentified intruder had overflown key Soviet air and naval bases on Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin island, refusing all Soviet attempts to warn the craft, Reagan hypocritically declared that "shooting down...hundreds of innocent men, women, children and babies, is part of their normal procedure." This line, now known as "spin" in Reaganspeak, was codified in a secret 5 September National Security Decision Directive 102 calling for using the "opportunity" to expose so-called "Soviet brutality." It was the disinformation job of the decade.

Immediately, the entire American media and both parties began blaring out the administration's Russians-eat-babies-for-breakfast lies. Most of the lake "left" fell into lock step behind the anti-Soviet marching band. In those first few weeks and months we were virtually alone in pinning the blame for the tragedy on the criminals in Washington. "Reagan's Story Stinks!" we headlined our first article on the crisis (*WV* No. 337, 9 September 1983), sketching the outlines of a provocative U.S. intelligence mission directed against the Soviet Union. Where the Communist Party's *Daily World* initially denied the Soviets had downed the plane, we published the TASS press releases pointing to a U.S. mission provocation. That October we issued our pamphlet, *KAL 007: U.S War Provocation*. It was clear the trail led to the White House, even though all the pieces of the puzzle were not yet in place.

Over time, doubts have spread over the Reaganites' Big Lie. One particular group has grown increasingly bitter at the U.S. government: the Families of American Victims of the KAL 007 Tragedy. This past August 31, the group held a third anniversary memorial service at the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine in Manhattan. Several relatives rose to give moving personal accounts, and complained of KAL and State Department disinformation. Nan Oldham asked some pointed questions:

> "Your children and my son were torn from the skies over a Soviet military base. My peace-loving son, who had studied Chinese and French, economics, politics and law, in order to be able to help this world to be a better place for all of us to live, was discovered flying above a Russian military base. How did this happen? What chain of events took those precious children there? Our children died during peacetime above the most critical military site in all of Russia. Why? How?"

In their press release, the families ask why the U.S. claimed in court the relevant Air Force radar tapes had been destroyed, why the National Transportation Safety Board was ordered off the case, why the Federal Aviation Agency told Anchorage air controllers to keep quiet. They conclude that "the moral integrity of the current Administration must be seriously questioned. We feel betrayed by our government whose silence in this case...is beginning to resemble a deliberate cover-up."



R.W. Johnson's Shootdown was panned in media for telling truth about Reagan's KAL 007 plot. "Free but responsible" press praised Hersh for covering up White House complicity.

KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane

A mountain of evidence has now accumulated reinforcing our charges and filling in critical holes in the puzzle. It took a year for the first peep of protest from American liberals, when Yale scholar David Pearson's painstaking examination in the *Nation* demonstrated that the errant course of KAL 007 could not possibly have been an "accident." By 1985 two books had come out—one by anti-Soviet academic Alexander Dallin and another by political science professor Oliver Clubb—suggesting that the provocative flight was part of a U.S. plot. But readers of *Workers Vanguard* have been able to get the truth from the beginning. As Trotskyists, who defend the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism while denouncing the bureaucracy's dangerous détente illusions, we were able to penetrate the smokescreen of war propaganda over KAL 007.

We followed up our October 1983 pamphlet with an article, "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels" (*WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984), providing evidence that the KAL 007 flight was coordinated with a U.S. spy satellite (as the Soviets had alleged). In *WV* No. 357 (22 June 1984) we published corroboration that the American space shuttle was also involved in the plot. In *WV* No. 362 (14 September 1984) and *WV* No. 369 (21 December 1984) we reported on "*Nation* Liberals Hit KAL 007 Cover-Up," and why the Democrats went along with it. The article "KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane" (*WV* No. 379, 17 May 1985) provided a point-by-point exposure of the lies written by that "journalist"-for-hire Murray Sayle in his *New York Review of Books* piece intended to serve as a government white paper/whitewash. And in "Skeletons in the White House Basement" (*WV* No. 394, 3 January 1986) we sketched out the sinister connections between former National Security Adviser William Clark and the 007 affair.

In May 1986, Oxford scholar R.W. Johnson published *Shootdown*, a well-researched book which remarkably verifies what we have been saying about the KAL incident, including pinpointing the likely target: the Soviets' powerful new radar at Abalakova in central Siberia. (However, Johnson doesn't deal with the purpose of this probe, to map Soviet radar as part of Reagan's "Star Wars" nuclear first-strike plans.) Drawing on massive evidence from numerous sources, the book demonstrates that the flight of KAL 007 was calculated to serve as "a passive probe aimed at getting the Russians to turn on radars further toward the Soviet interior, radars about which previous 'tickling' had failed to provide any information." Johnson's American publishers, Viking Penguin, took out a large ad in the *New York Times* boldly accusing the White House:

> "The evidence is overwhelming. It points to one inevitable conclusion the Reagan Administration deliberately provoked a Russian response by sending a Korean airliner with 269 unsuspecting passengers on a perilous mission deep inside sensitive Soviet airspace."

"If you're not convinced" by the book, the ad promised, "we'll give you your money back."

Yet the American media do their best to keep the lid on the KAL Pandora's box, seeing it as a matter of "national security." Typical was the *New York Times Book Review* (20 July) on *Shootdown*: in six snotty paragraphs the reviewer dismisses Johnson's massive research on the grounds that the author's "strident tone" shows that he "treats the major figures in the Reagan Administration with disdain bordering on contempt"! The *Times* prefers to kiss Reagan's keister. Even détente-minded liberal muckrakers have shied away from KAL 007 because it goes to the heart of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive—and exposing a lie so monstrous would threaten the imperial presidency still trying to recover from Watergate and Vietnam. R.W. Johnson confesses in the foreword to his book: "I was also undoubtedly guilty of the normal cowardice which suggests that a reputation for objectivity in the West means one has to avoid reliance on Soviet sources."

Moreover, the Reagan administration has made it clear that the cover-up is to be enforced by the mailed fist of the state. When in September 1983 two former Air Force intelligence officers revealed that the American RC-135 spy planes (one of which rendezvoused with KAL 007) regularly monitor Soviet electronic activity in "real time" (i.e., the U.S. had to know), they received threatening visits from the FBI. More recently, CIA director William Casey has taken the unprecedented step of phoning authors and publishers of books about KAL 007 to "warn" them they could be "violating the law." Casey noted that *Shootdown* was on the list of items to "look at" for "violations." And Johnson noted that even before his book was published he "received a strongly denunciatory letter from Mr Tom Maertens of the US State Department.... It was not clear how Mr Maertens had read my book before it was published" (*Time Out*, London, 30 July-5 August).

SMERSH Hersh, or Why Can't Seymour See More?

Finally the long-announced book on KAL 007 by Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Seymour Hersh has appeared. Hersh, the dean of Washington muckrakers, is highly respected by the media establishment and liberal intelligentsia for his Vietnam-era exposés of government cover-ups—including the My Lai massacre and Nixon's use of the CIA against antiwar protesters. His new book, *The Target Is Destroyed*, was billed as the final word on the KAL plot. Instead, Hersh advances the most minimal criticism of the Reagan administration, with the transparent purpose of absolving the White House of the more serious charges. Like the RCA Victor dog, he has his head cocked for his master's voice, and that master is the American ruling class. Hersh labored mightily, and produced a cover-up for Reagan that has as many holes as a Swiss cheese.

Hersh says the Soviets "did not know" they were shooting at a civilian airliner—they thought it was a U.S. military craft invading their airspace. And that the Reagan White House soon

WV Photo

Memorial service for KAL 007 dead in New York, August 31. Families of victims say U.S. government silence "is beginning to resemble a deliberate cover-up."

learned this but chose to "look the other way," continuing to spread the lie that the Russians deliberately "murdered" civilians for the sheer pleasure of it. But the *New York Times* admitted as far back as 7 October 1983 that "U.S. Experts Say Soviets Didn't See Jet Was Civilian"... which didn't keep the *Times* from joining the anti-Soviet slanderfest. Hersh dredges up this old news just to establish his anti-Reagan credentials for the main purpose of the book, to permanently lay to rest all "conspiracy theories"—something only an ostensible "critic" could do. Not surprisingly, the media which gave Johnson's book short shrift have enthusiastically embraced Hersh's opus for "its sense of responsibility" (*Washington Post*, 14 September).

AP

Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov at 9 September 1983 Moscow news conference pointing to provocative rendezvous of KAL 007 with American RC-135 spy plane.

Hersh's book is not a serious investigation of the facts at all. It is a giant, self-serving "leak" of supposedly secret information fed him by an anonymous crowd of intelligence officials and operatives. Much of the "leaked" information comes from the National Security Agency (NSA), which should raise eyebrows right away, since the NSA has always been the most secretive of all U.S. intelligence agencies. So now, in a period when the Reagan/Meese gang are threatening ordinary reporters with prosecution under the Espionage Act, we are supposed to believe that a crowd of NSAers and other intelligence people decided to open their hearts to Seymour Hersh.

Predictably, the "leaked" information is supposed to show that the NSA had no pre-knowledge of KAL 007's aberrant flight, Washington was in the dark as it was occurring, and was unable to figure out what happened until after the fact, when they reviewed their tape recordings. In other words, the prime suspects claim they're "innocent"—big news!—and we're supposed to simply take their word for it. Even NSA technicians in the ultrasecret Project CLEF, stationed at the Wakkanai intelligence base in Japan (allegedly without the knowledge of top Japanese government officials) and who admittedly *did* monitor the flight and shootdown of KAL 007 in "real time," were unable to alert anybody in time, we are told—though Japanese Defense Agency operatives were "just a few feet away"!

The many other U.S. "assets" in the region that night are simply disappeared from Hersh's book: the massive phased-array radar known as Cobra Dane and the over-the-horizon radar Cobra Talon on Shemya Island in the Aleutians; the U.S. Navy's radar spy ship *Observation Island* in the North Pacific; the U.S. "ferret" spy satellite orbiting overhead; the U.S. Navy frigate *Badger* on combat patrol off Vladivostok; the U.S. Orion P-3 search planes in the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk and off Kamchatka; the *several* additional RC-135 spy planes (besides the one Hersh acknowledges) reported by the Soviets to be aloft in the region in those five-plus hours; and so on.

Omitting all that and more, Hersh instead spends endless pages building up his hero, Major General James C. Pfautz, then commander of U.S. Air Force Intelligence, who reportedly claims that it was all the result of Soviet sloppiness in confusing KAL 007 with the RC-135 spy plane. Hersh tells us that American technicians searched through "thousands of feet of NSA recordings" and could find no "side by side flying" of the planes as Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov claimed in the Moscow press conference. So where are these "thousands of feet" of tapes? When the families of the KAL victims suing the U.S. government asked for Air Force radar tapes in court, government lawyers claimed they had been "accidentally" erased! You just have to take Langley/Fort Meade/Hersh's word for it, because the government won't release one inch.

UPI

Vought

Reagan surveys North Korean defenses in 1983 (above). From "Star Wars" space weapons to high-tech multiple launch rockets (right), White House is planning nuclear blitzkrieg.

In September 1983 Soviet air marshal Pyotr Kirsanov noted the presence of a U.S. "ferret" spy satellite coordinated with the flight of KAL 007. Independent Western experts have verified that at least one such U.S. "ferret," with the international designation 1982-41C, fit the Soviet description (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *SIPRI Yearbook 1985*). We have also shown that at least one other U.S. "ferret" (designated 1983-60C) was launched from a Big Bird satellite put up specifically to look at the Abalakova radar, barely two months before 007's flight. But Hersh baldly claims: "there was no American reconnaissance satellite orbiting within range of Sakhalin" at the time of KAL 007's intrusion. Again no proof, no refutation of the published claims to the contrary. Hersh's sources told him so, and so be it.

Hersh simply dismisses any possibility of a U.S. conspiracy in a footnote, claiming there was "no evidence of any advance word on the Korean flight." When Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov and Deputy Foreign Minister Georgi Kornienko, interviewed at the start of his "investigation" in May 1984, suggested investigating the "CIA's role," Hersh says he responded "with a laugh" about their "trying to be my editor." So much for the thorough "investigative reporter." The fact that Hersh's "intelligence community" contacts allege having no pre-knowledge of the KAL 007 flight proves nothing, even if they're telling the truth. Only a relative handful of people at the top would "need to know"; the rest would merely go about their normal activities of monitoring the Soviet Union (which were heightened by an expected Soviet missile test that night).

Seymour Hersh certainly didn't have to skulk around Watergate garages to get this kind of disinformation. He could have walked in through the front door of Fort Meade, which is probably what he did.

"Leap of Faith"... in Reagan

Those who claim the provocative flight of KAL 007 was an "accident" must explain away the embarrassing deviations from a straight course made by the plane that night, especially the sharp right turn and evasive maneuvers over Sakhalin island. Murray Sayle stupidly tried to claim the turn never happened, it was just an illusion in the eye of an "unwary" Russian radar operator. Hersh, however, admits there were at least three separate Soviet radars tracking KAL 007 at that point (not to mention the Japanese radars, which also recorded the turn, as reported in the evening edition of the Tokyo *Asahi Shimbun* the next day). This destroys Murray Sayle's "accident" hypothesis. Enter Harold Ewing, billed by Hersh as an experienced pilot in the Far East, who conjures up a new "accident" scenario. Supposedly the turn over Sakhalin was caused by computers of the plane's Inertial Navigation System, with the help of an incredible series of "mistakes" by the cockpit crew. This "explains Flight 007 in terms of what is known and what has not yet been revealed," says the inscrutable Hersh.

The Ewing/Hersh thesis is such a bizarre concoction it makes Sayle look almost rational in comparison. It begins with "the fatal finger error" as the KAL flight engineer enters the wrong coordinates into the captain's INS computer at the start of the flight; then during the flight Captain Chun decides to take a minor shortcut by entering an extra, unauthorized waypoint into his computer in order to save on fuel; and when putting in the additional waypoint, Chun gets the coordinates wrong. "Ewing acknowledged that his scenario calls for a leap of faith at this point," Hersh says. That's a leap that would make Baryshnikov blush. To explain the failure to notice the compounding errors through nine checkpoints when amber lights go off on the INS, Hersh has the captain taking a powder from the cockpit for five hours. (As in Sayle's tale, he supposedly gets caught up in conversation with ultrarightist Congressman Larry McDonald who was traveling on board.)

With this kind of "investigation" one could discover the moon is made of green cheese. Even columnist Tom Wicker, desperate to get off the hot seat for being one of the rare voices to question the Reagan line on KAL 007, while hailing the Hersh book admitted he found the loony Ewing scenario "less than satisfying" (*New York Times*, 21 September). A far simpler explanation for the plane's deviation is that it was *deliberate*. But this is the one hypothesis Hersh refuses to even entertain. Why? And why should NSA and CIA types tell him the truth where the government has stonewalled to the hilt? Hersh claims in his introduction that "Those who chose to talk to me did so out of a conviction that political abuse of communications intelligence has become a reality in the Reagan administration." Supposedly, the White House had been playing by Marquis of Queensbury rules until the Great Corrupter came along. (What about the mythical "missile gap," for instance, which served as JFK's

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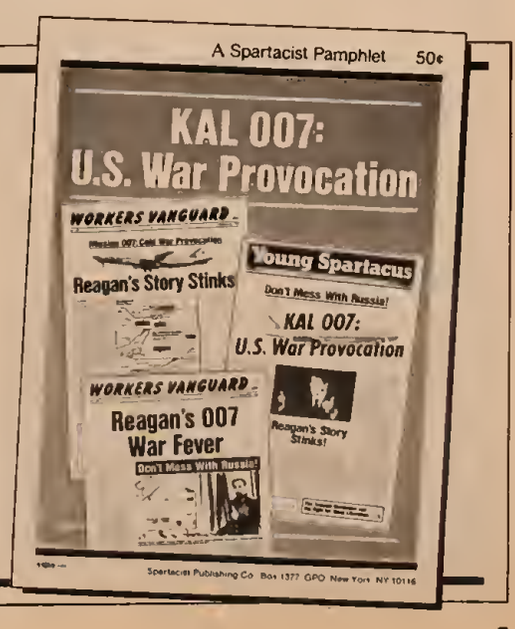

Penguin Books

Leon Trotsky (center) speaking in Moscow's Red Square, 1920.

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

(continued from page 1)

they love Jeane Kirkpatrick's speeches, they're all gung-ho for a crusade against Russia. Except they don't want to pay for it. I mean, they hate Communism, true, but they hate taxes even more. As far as I can tell, all the right-wing students I've known are all majoring in tax dodging.

So that here you have the biggest military buildup in American history, financed to a large extent through foreign borrowing. Reagan's America, not Brazil, not Mexico, is the world's biggest international debtor. Well, after a while foreign investors, the Japanese, the Germans are beginning to wonder whether it's a good investment. So what happened last week is that the Germans and the Japanese refused to roll over their loans to the U.S. government unless the Treasury paid them a lot higher interest, and that's what triggered the stock market panic.

Gubb/JB Pictures

South African black militants carry red flag of communism. Russian Revolution continues to inspire struggles of the oppressed throughout the world.

Everywhere you look, you find the Russian question. South Africa is a totalitarian police state, the likes of which has never existed on the face of this earth. This is a country in which the black African majority are stripped of *every* democratic right and human dignity. Yet South Africa is an important part of the "free world," indeed, it is the leading U.S. ally in that part of the world. What's behind it is that in South Africa, as in everywhere else, Russia is seen as the main enemy. In Reagan's major speech on South Africa last July, he made this quite clear: "If this rising hostility in southern Africa between Pretoria and the front line states explodes, the Soviet Union will be the main beneficiary and the critical ocean corridor of South Africa and the strategic minerals of the region would be at risk."

You already know the American government in general, and Ronald Reagan fanatically so, is hostile to the Soviet Union and sees Russia as the enemy on all fronts. What we want to talk about is *why*. What is the nature of the Cold War? Is the Cold War, as the American ruling class says, a war between democracy and police-state totalitarianism? Is it a conflict between two equally militaristic, equally imperialist world powers? In West Europe this is a fairly common view, especially in social-democratic circles; a kind of curse on both your houses, yes, America is bad in Central America and the Soviets are bad in Afghanistan. You know, the two biggest bullies on the block theory of the Cold War. What we want to assert is that the Cold War, which really began in Russia in 1917, is at bottom a *class war* between world capitalism and proletarian revolution.

Bolshevik Revolution Shakes the World

Communism as a reality—not simply as a program, an idea—begins in Russia in 1917. For the first time the program of socialist revolution, which many generations of workers had fought for and died for, and which the ruling class had dismissed as pie in the sky, the second coming of Christ, just a pipe dream, was realized in reality in Russia, a backward but important country in Europe. For the first time the workers took political power into their own hands, in the form of *soviets*, which is simply the Russian word for councils—workers, peasants and soldiers councils. For the first time (granted, under the worst possible conditions of war and civil war and terrible economic devastation) the capitalist class was expropriated and a government consciously controlled the economy in the interest of the toilers. So that the Bolshevik Revolution was the greatest victory for the proletariat in history and the greatest defeat for the bourgeoisie. That's why Reagan and the rest of them hate Russia.

In Reagan's America of 1986, there's a point worth emphasizing: that the liberating effect of the Bolshevik Revolution went far beyond the narrow conceptions of politics and economics. Take for example sex. A few months ago, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the outlawing of sodomy. And then there is all this hysteria about AIDS: in California there's a genuinely fascistic referendum to put AIDS victims in concentration camps. You want to know what was the first country to outlaw all laws against homosexuality, against so-called sexual deviation? Soviet Russia, in 1920 or '21.

Now, the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevik Revolution, was made in Russia. It was not, however, made simply *for* Russia. It was not just the top leaders of the Bolshevik Party—Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Sverdlov—but the advanced workers of Russia themselves who saw themselves beginning the world socialist revolution, that is, breaking imperialism at its weakest link. The Bolshevik Revolution, as no event before or since, inspired the workers of the world, even in the United States where the working class was relatively backward.

Moreover, the impact of the Russian Revolution was not limited to the U.S. and Europe. One of the weaknesses of the working-class socialist movement before World War I was that it was limited to the imperialist countries, it did not extend to the colonial masses. But the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution not only went West but it also went East. No event awakened the colonial masses in the struggle against imperialism and their own *anciens régimes* more than did the Russian Revolution. One thinks for example of the founding leader of the Chinese Communist Party, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, who saw in Russian Bolshevism a model for the liberation of his own country.

But while the Bolshevik Revolution inspired revolutionary movements around the world, these movements did not succeed in taking and consolidating state power. The central reason is that there did not exist outside of Russia a party like the Bolsheviks, a party which had been built over the course of a decade and a half precisely to take advantage of a revolutionary crisis. A party with a revolutionary program, a tested leadership, a hardened cadre, a solid organization. Throughout Europe in the wake of World War I there was enormous revolutionary ferment, but the revolutionary energy of the masses tended to be dissipated because there was not a central guiding force to direct it in the seizure of power.

Now within Soviet Russia the impact of the failure of the revolutionary wave to extend itself beyond Russia was catastrophic. That is, the Bolsheviks won the civil war—they drove out the 14 imperialist armed forces, including that of the United States, which aided the White armies, the counterrevolutionary armies—but they were victors over a devastated and broken country. The economy was shattered. Industrial production was a mere fraction in 1921 of what it was in 1914. Famine and pestilence stalked the country, in some regions cannibalism appeared.

So there opened up in the early 1920s a seemingly unbridgeable gulf between the liberating goals of the Russian Revolution and the stark everyday reality of Russia. A government which proclaimed itself, in Marx's words, to be the first step in the transition from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, was forced to sell religious artifacts to the West, to appeal to Western charities, simply in order to feed its own people. And under these conditions you began to get a tendency toward demoralization and depoliticization on the part of the masses. Within the leadership of the revolution, you began under those same conditions to develop a tendency toward complacency, corruption to a certain degree, bureaucratic commandism.

And that tendency culminated in a factional struggle within the leadership of the Soviet Union, a factional struggle which pitted a bureaucratic nationalist faction, which came to be headed by Joseph Stalin, against a revolutionary internationalist faction led by Leon Trotsky. Predominantly for objective reasons, the bureaucratic nationalist faction won, in what Trotsky later termed a political counterrevolution, in 1924. He called it "political" because the overthrow of capitalist property, the socialization of the means of production, that is, the objective basis for the transition to socialism, still existed. Trotsky himself was first exiled to Soviet Central Asia and in 1929 expelled from Russia altogether. He spent the next decade seeking to build the world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International. In 1940 Trotsky was

Boni and Liveright

American, French, British and Japanese forces intervene to crush Vladivostok Soviet, 1918. Trotsky's Red Army drove Imperialist invaders out of Russia.

assassinated by a Stalinist agent in Mexico.

The Revolution Betrayed

The Stalinist political counterrevolution was carried out under the slogan of "socialism in one country," a slogan diametrically counterposed to the program of the Bolshevik Revolution. At one level this was a travesty of what everyone had always regarded as socialism, not only Marxists but non-Marxists. That is, a socialist society was conceived of as a society of social equality and economic plenty in which there was no state coercion—in Engels' words, the state had withered away. It was also conceived of as an international order in which there was no war, no threat of war, no mass organized violence. Stalin promised to build socialism in a country far more backward, still largely peasant, than West Europe, under conditions of hostile encirclement in which the threat of war totally dominated the life of the Soviet Union, as it still does today. And in fact war did come to the Soviet Union in 1940. So this was a cruel parody of socialism.

Trotsky also pointed out that the program of "socialism in one country" in a sense represented social reality as perceived by the new Soviet bureaucracy. They no longer believed in, to be more precise, they feared proletarian revolution in the West, in West Europe, in the United States, in Germany. So they sought to neutralize the imperialist threat, to buy peaceful coexistence. Now as every capitalist knows, in order to buy something, you have to sell something. What did the Soviet bureaucracy have to sell to the Western imperialists? Well, as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution there were throughout the world mass parties and movements loyal to Russia. So the Soviet bureaucracy sold other people's revolutions.

One of the most extreme and important cases was that of Spain during the mid-1930s. Here was probably the greatest opportunity for proletarian revolution in Europe in that period. However, Stalin wanted an alliance with Britain and France against Nazi Germany, so he was anxious to assure the British and the French ruling classes that he was not going to export communism to Spain, that the Spanish Revolution would not go beyond the bounds of liberal democracy. As a result of which, the Stalinists set up an apparatus of terror in Spain, they killed scores of militant Spanish workers, assassinated some of the more radical leaders of the Spanish proletariat, suppressed any attempts at organs of proletarian power. This paved the way for Franco's victory and therefore strengthened and emboldened Nazi Germany. But proletarian revolution in Spain could well have set off a chain of events that would have overthrown Hitler before he launched Operation Barbarossa.

There is a fundamental truth and a fundamental lesson here. Which is that no matter how hard the Kremlin bureaucracy and the parties loyal to it try to conciliate imperialism, no matter how hard they try to maintain the status quo, and promise they will not upset the bourgeois order, world capitalism is not conciliated. They will not accept peaceful coexistence. In the late '30s, Trotsky wrote:

> "For the bourgeoisie—fascist as well as democratic—isolated counterrevolutionary exploits of Stalin do not suffice, it needs a complete counterrevolution in the relations of production and the opening of the Russian market. So long as this is not the case, the bourgeoisie considers the Soviet state hostile to it. And it is right."
>
> —"Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937)

In Reagan's America the truth of this position is, I think, undeniable and indisputable.

The Klan Doesn't Ride in Moscow

I have talked about "Reagan's America." Reagan is, after all, the supreme commander of U.S. imperialism and undoubtedly the most single-mindedly, fanatically anti-Soviet president in American history. Partly for that reason there are many people, especially black people, who hate and fear Reagan and they look to the Democratic Party as an alternative.

Now, it's hard to make an argument that the Democratic Party is in opposition to Reagan's policies on Russia. They voted for everything, the Nicaraguan contras, the Afghan contras, the Angolan contras, you name it. They voted for Star Wars, for the MX, right down the list. But you still get the lesser evil argument. Those of us radicals who were around during the Vietnam War don't buy it because we remember Kennedy and Johnson launched the Vietnam War and the Bay of Pigs. And if you look at it, every war that the United States has fought in the 20th century has been fought under a liberal Democratic president. World War I under Woodrow Wilson, World War II under Franklin Roosevelt, the Korean War under Harry Truman, and Vietnam, its initial major stages under Kennedy and Johnson.

Why is it that the so-called liberal party of American capitalism is the war party and not the rightists? In fact, the Democratic Party can mobilize those sections of the population who are most likely to oppose those wars. I think this is most striking when we come to the question of blacks in the United States today. In the past presidential election, 90 percent of blacks voted for the Democrat Mondale, in part because Jesse Jackson campaigned for him, in a half-hearted way. At the same time, if you look at the American army, especially the combat units, it's very disproportionately black, in some cases 20 and 25 percent blacks. Is it because blacks are gung-ho Rambo types, just itching to fight for Reagan? Quite the contrary, blacks are the least anti-Soviet, the least anti-Communist and the most anti-Reagan.

So why do they join the army? Because the conditions of ghetto life are so hellish, so desperate, that it's the one group to whom the army looks good. At least they get a chance to learn a job skill, earn three square meals a day and get a warm place to sleep. You know, your Reaganite college youth don't want to join the army. This creates a certain problem for U.S. imperialism. It means that if the United States invades Nicaragua, for example, it is much more effective to have Jesse Jackson as U.N. ambassador justifying this policy than to have Jeane Kirkpatrick or Vernon Walters justifying this policy.

To generalize, U.S. imperialism cannot in the present conceivable period effectively conduct a war, if we leave aside nuclear Armageddon, without the support of the black Democrats. It is simply impossible. Just as U.S. imperialism cannot administer the big cities, cannot impose all the racist cutbacks without black Democratic mayors. Look at the mayors of the big cities: Wilson Goode of Philadelphia, who ordered the MOVE bombing; Harold Washington in Chicago, Coleman Young in Detroit, Lionel Wilson in Oakland. So it is the Democratic Party which forms the key link between the black ghetto and organized labor and the Pentagon war machine. Whenever I argue about the Democrats and Republicans, I'm always reminded of a Woody Allen joke, in his "Speech to the Graduating Class": "Today mankind stands on a crossroads. One path leads to demoralization and despair. The other to total annihilation." Except in this case they both lead to total annihilation.

Reagan's program of "outlawing the Soviet Union forever" brings with it not merely the danger of total annihilation or a bloody military adventure in Central America like that of Vietnam, but it also means a Cold War at home against increasingly large sections of the American population. First and most immediately under attack are the black and Hispanic poor. We have seen in the Reagan years that the limited and even the token gains of the civil rights movement, and in some cases of the Civil War, have come under attack, have been reversed. This is captured in a nice cartoon I saw. There's a bus carrying a bunch of black people, and alongside the bus is this car with a bunch of white racists who are stoning the bus. One of the blacks says, "Call the Civil Rights Commission." And another black replies, "What do you mean, that *is* the Civil Rights Commission."

Socialist Appeal

American Trotskyists' Socialist Appeal (1938) documented Stalin's extermination of the Bolshevik leadership that made the October Revolution.

Avenge PATCO—Bring Down Reagan with Labor Action!

If blacks had no illusions about what Reagan meant, many white workers certainly did. He got about half the votes of white, unionized workers in 1980. One of the few unions who actually endorsed Reagan was the air controllers union, PATCO. That is, this was a union of predominantly, overwhelmingly white, highly skilled people. They thought they were Reagan's people. So shortly after Reagan took office, they went on strike. Next thing you know, Reagan has leaders literally in chains like antebellum slaves and fires the entire 13,000 membership of that union. Why did Reagan act so brutally to what appears to be his own constituency? It was also a message to the Russians, to the Nicaraguans. It says, look, if I'm going to do this to skilled white workers, Americans, imagine what you're going to get from me.

The PATCO strike was a turning point in recent American labor and social history. It was intended to be a brutal, frontal challenge to the entire organized labor movement. I remember we sold *Workers Vanguard* with the headline: "Labor Shut Down the Airports!" at a big labor rally on Labor Day in New York City, and then a half-million labor rally in Washington, D.C. a few weeks later. And I saw that there were hundreds of thousands of workers, many of them quite socially and politically backward, many of them flag-waving people who hated Russia. But at that moment, they were *enraged* about what Reagan was doing to their

continued on page 12

Detroit city workers strike last July against Mayor Coleman Young, black Democratic front man for Reagan's racist cutbacks.

Contras' Godfathers...

(continued from page 1)

buses...and trucks. Patricia Manning, a Witness for Peace volunteer, arrived on the scene two hours after the blast at Pantasma:

> "Seeing the truck absolutely destroyed, the scene littered with clothes, pieces of broken shoes, everything soaked in blood. And I'm thinking, why isn't anyone covering the war here, they're all sitting in a comfortable room in Managua listening to an American talk about happening to get shot down while he's transporting arms that wreak this kind of carnage."
>
> —WBAI News, 31 October

World attention is currently focused on the trial, before an Anti-Somozaist People's Tribunal, of American mercenary Eugene Hasenfus, for running guns to the contras. Not even this dog of war contests his guilt: Hasenfus told *Time* (3 November), "I was caught helping the enemy (of the Sandinistas), killing their people through this aid." But when 19-year-old Sandinista soldier José Fernando Canales shot the American cargo plane out of the sky with a hand-held Soviet SAM rocket launcher, they not only bagged this contract "merc." The documents strewn on the ground and Hasenfus' testimony exposed the whole international network of CIA killers, European fascists and Latin American death squad terrorists who make up the support network that's run straight from the White House.

Insight

Der Spiegel

General John Singlaub (left) with contra henchman Enrique Bermúdez. Singlaub's World Anti-Communist League—cabal of leftover Nazis, Kuomintang and South Korean thugs, and Latin American death squad hit men—meeting in Dallas, 1985.

Morgan/Picture Group

Morrison/AFP

Reagan's unlucky Hasenfus (above), after mercenary plane supplying arms to contra terrorists was shot down by Sandinistas.

Hasenfus admitted working for the CIA, based in the heavily guarded Ilopango air base in El Salvador. His boss was "Max Gómez" (aka Felix Ismael Rodríguez, "El Condor"), a gusano veteran of the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, who later worked for the CIA during its Vietnam debacle. "Gómez" was put in place by the former CIA Saigon station chief, Donald Gregg, now national security adviser to (ex-CIA boss) Vice President Bush; he currently reports to Marine Lt. Colonel Oliver North, in the National Security Council. A clear chain of command, except that when Congress cut off direct U.S. military support to the contras two years ago, after the CIA got caught "secretly" mining Nicaraguan harbors, the Reagan administration supposedly "privatized" the war. Finally, Hasenfus got the word from Washington, through "Reagan's Democrat" Griffin Bell, to keep his trap shut, or else. But by then it was too late.

Trying to get off the hot seat, Reagan administration officials talked of a "good ole boys" network of former CIA employees left over from Vietnam days, and pointed the finger at retired Army Major General John Singlaub, head of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). Singlaub denied all: his Council for World Freedom (CWF) front only sent 8,000 "freedom fighter kits" to the contras, containing shaving cream, non-melting candy and Bibles (admitting transporting arms and ammunition to the contras could affect the CWF's tax-exempt status). While Singlaub was a convenient decoy, there's no doubt about the existence of a network of "private" aid groups run by former top-level military officers and intelligence operatives, Cuban gusanos and ultrarightist political groups. Reagan tried to compare them with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade which fought for the Spanish Republic against Franco in the 1930s. With his usual historical accuracy, no doubt he got them mixed up with Hitler's Condor Legion.

Zionists Whitewash Nazis

In the center of the bewildering array of shadowy organizations is the World Anti-Communist League. The WACL was originally founded in 1966 as a propaganda outlet for two of the world's more savage police states, South Korea and Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang regime in Taiwan. Moreover, it is crawling with leftover Nazis and violent fascist torturers and killers, to the point that it is known in Latin America as the Death Squad International. Belatedly, someone on the White House "spin patrol" figured out that this gang could be an embarrassment to the administration. So...in jumped the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League to declare that "We are satisfied at the very least that substantial progress has been made since 1981 in ridding the organization of the racists and anti-Semites" (*New York Times*, 14 October). 1981 was when an earlier B'nai B'rith report had denounced the WACL as a nest of anti-Semitic vipers, and also when Singlaub took command.

The World Anti-Communist League cleansed of anti-Semitism and racism? Impossible. Not only does the WACL incorporate the rhetoric of Hitler's Anti-Comintern Pact, but it's the biggest collection of fascist killers in the world. What about Ukrainian fascist leader Yaroslav Stetsko, premier of the Nazi puppet regime responsible for the mass murder of 7,000 Jews at Lvov in 1941? Stetsko is head of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and a leading member of the WACL. And then there is Chirila Ciuntu, a former member of the fascist Romanian Iron Guard who participated in the notorious January 1941 destruction of the Jewish ghetto of Bucharest in which 800 were slaughtered with axes, knives and meat hooks and many burned to death. And the Croatian Liberation Movement, leftovers from the fascist Ustashi who butchered a million Serbs, Muslims and Jews, is also a section of the WACL. This is what the ADL gives its stamp of approval to!

According to *Inside the League* (1986) by Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, its Central American leading lights were Mario Sandoval Alarcón, head of the Guatemalan MLN, known as "Godfather" for his role in spawning other terrorist outfits; and his student Roberto D'Aubuisson, head of the Salvadoran fascistic ARENA party, known as "Blowtorch Bob" for his favorite interrogation instrument. In Argentina, the WACL affiliate was the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA), notorious for waging the "dirty war" responsible for the "disappearances" and murders of thousands of leftists (and many Jews), both under the Videla junta and the preceding Perón regime. Plus a myriad of fascist terrorists including Klaus Barbie, the Nazi Butcher of Lyons, and Stefano Delle Chiaie, author of the 1980 Bologna train station bombing.

So why is the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League so anxious to whitewash this gang? It's all in the great anti-Soviet crusade, you see. After all, *Israel is a major arms supplier and military trainer for the contra terrorists.* When Congress began to balk at giving more dollars to the contra leaders (who salted it away in Swiss bank accounts and Miami condos), Washington put the arm on its Zionist allies in the Near East to take up the slack. "Senior Reagan administration officials" told the *New York Times* (21 July 1983):

> "Israel, at the request of the United States, has agreed to send weapons captured from the Palestine Liberation Organization to Honduras for eventual use by the Nicaraguan rebels.... The arms shipments, which began recently, include artillery pieces, mortar rounds, mines, hand grenades and ammunition."

According to the North American Congress on Latin America, these shipments included an estimated 2,000-3,000 Soviet AK-47 assault rifles captured from the PLO in Lebanon (NACLA *Report on the Americas*, July/August 1986). And *Time* (7 May 1984) reported:

> "Israeli intelligence experts have helped the CIA train the *contras* and retired or reserve Israeli Army commandos have been hired by shadowy private firms to assist the rebels. 'The Israelis,' says a U.S. intelligence expert, 'know how to run a secret operation'."

In early 1984, according to Americans for Middle East Understanding, former CIA deputy director Vernon Walters, then Reagan's roving ambassador and now chief U.S. delegate at the UN, met with Israel's ambassador in Washington, Meir Rosenne, to press for greater Israeli involvement in "defending the free world" on the Central American battleground (*Link*, November 1985). This was when the U.S. Congress was cutting off the CIA's contra funds, and after the Argentine generals pulled out their "trainers" following the junta's defeat in the Falklands/Malvinas war.

Other U.S. allies who pitched in include Taiwan, South Korea and South Africa. Christian fundamentalist televangelist Pat Robertson, the big-mouth bigot now running for president, boasted to reporters earlier this year: "The contras are being supplied by Israel and South Africa" to serve the cause of "defeating communism worldwide by the end of the 20th century" (*PCNA Monthly*, September/October 1986). The Tel Aviv/Pretoria axis has long been a key link in the "free world." Rather less to the Israelis' liking was that Washington also muscled Saudi Arabia into funneling several million to the contras, as a kickback for the AWACS radar plane deal. (The Saudi monarchy also kicked in an estimated

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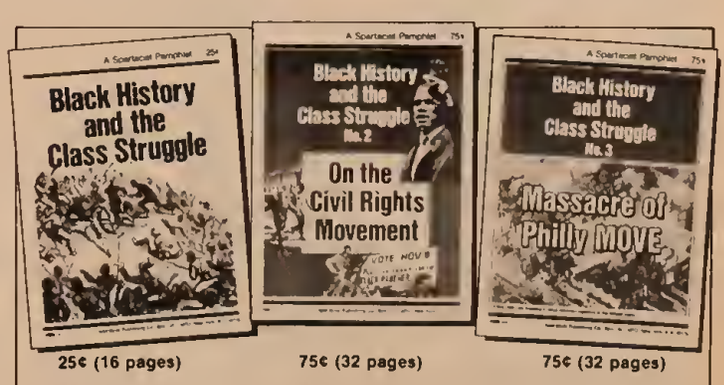

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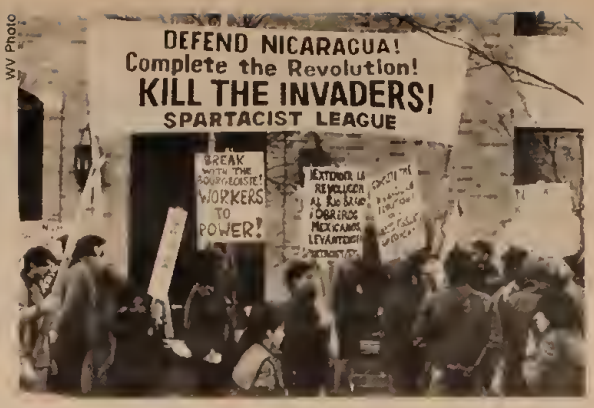
$250 million a year to the Afghan contras' war chest.)

So while B'nai B'rith apologizes for the WACL anti-Soviet fascist cabal, Israel is supplying guns and advisers to the contra terrorists along with just about every racist, fascistic and feudalist regime in the world. But this unholy alliance of Zionists and anti-Semites is nothing new. In the 1930s the Zionist "Revisionists" collaborated with Mussolini, and a leader of the Stern Gang, Yitzhak Shamir, today Israeli premier, offered to Berlin to forge a Zionist "New Order" in Palestine on the model of the Third Reich. No less sordid were the "Labor" Zionists, who collaborated directly with the Nazis. Shortly after Hitler took power in 1933, for example, Histadrut secretary Chaim Arlosoroff concluded an agreement on behalf of the World Zionist Organization, whereby Nazi Germany would transfer a million reichsmarks to Zionist settlements in Palestine. Hitler, however, had a different "final solution" to the Jewish question in mind.

Today, anti-Semitic propaganda is broadcast into the Soviet Union on the CIA's Radio Liberty... from a transmitter in Israel. Israel's present friends and allies—Singlaub's WACL, the Nazi-loving Afrikaner Nationalists in Pretoria, Christian fundamentalist bigot Pat Robertson—would also like to see a world without Jews, if only they could get rid of the reds first.



WV Photo

Spartacists say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

The Loser International

They're plenty sinister, but this spider's web of intrigue is a collection of *losers*. The people who lost World War II, who lost China, who lost the Vietnam War, are now united in backing the contras, who even with their WACL Bibles haven't got a prayer against the Sandinista army and a population determined to defend their revolution. "$100 Million Won't Begin to Buy a *Contra* Victory," headlined *Business Week* (25 August). All this only makes sense as preparation to a provocation, opening the way to bring in American forces. Already the Hondurans are being offered advanced U.S. F-5E fighters or the Israeli-built Kfir (which that dirt poor banana republic couldn't possibly buy on their own). And the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division has just completed its "most extensive" exercise in 15 years, preparing for a "forced entry" into a Central American country (guess which).

Still, they've got a big obstacle in this war drive on the home front. From liberals proclaiming "sister city" arrangements with Nicaraguan towns to Puerto Rican nationalists bombing army bases to protest plans for training contras on the island, there is little support for Reagan's terrorists. And even less for anything that smacks of dragging the U.S. into another Third World adventure, like Vietnam. While Democrats and Republicans vote $100 million in contra aid, the mass of the population is consistently against it. The Spartacist League looks to the working class to smash the war on Nicaragua and the anti-Soviet war drive before the imperialists trigger a thermonuclear holocaust. ■

WV Sub Drive Over the Top!

Congratulations to all the comrades who contributed to the success of the 1986 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. The six-week campaign brought in 4,182-1/2 points in new and renewal subs to our press: *WV*, *Women and Revolution*, and the Spanish-language *Spartacist*. This figure is 139 percent of the national quota.

The *WV* sub drive is an annual event which coincides with the opening of schools. Every year after quotas are set, each local establishes its priorities and makes a schedule for the different kinds of necessary work: trips to important regional campuses, contacting subscribers for renewal subs, door-to-door work in selected neighborhoods, etc. This year, though, the best-laid plans of the East Coast comrades in particular went out the window when the International Longshoremen's Association went on strike.

WV Photo

At Brooklyn's Caribbean Day.

The ILA is a strategic union and, especially in the South, historically a stronghold of black workers' power. *WV* crashed out a special four-page supplement, "Let's Win This One!" Teams of Spartacist supporters hit the streets and union halls and distributed a quarter-million copies. Black ILAers in particular were friendly and many were enthusiastic about the supplement, while many other working people in all parts of the country were itching to see a major industrial union like the ILA really take on the union-busters and the racist labor-hating Reagan government. Subs sold through this work totaled 211 points: 29 in the North, 170 in the South and an additional 12 points from people who clipped the coupon and subscribed by mail.

Comrades who sold subs on campuses noted that "this was a rather less activist year than last." Last fall, a significant number of students wanted to "do something" about the apartheid regime in South Africa, but now that university administrations have adopted the program of "divestment," one comrade noted, this milieu "doesn't have much to do except applaud the college's moral progress." A report on the Boston sub drive noted that comrades' attempts to open up a conversation by raising South Africa were often met with an "indifferent shrug." The report added:

> "But if there was indifference, there was also serious concern on the part of many students about racist terror, Reagan's war drive, the drug witchhunt and the insidious undermining of science ['creationism']. ... Subs were also sold on the basis of getting the truth. People were aware of Seymour Hersh's 'new revelations' on KAL 007 and liked the fact that we had told the real story long before any of the bourgeois liberals had decided to dissent from a few of Reagan's more egregious lies. Our coverage of the Daniloff case and the disinformation flap intersected gnawing suspicions...about the role of the media in abetting Reagan's plotting for war."

Among Boston-area campuses, the most lucrative were Harvard (74 points) and U Mass Amherst (53-1/2). Door-to-door work in Mattapan, Roxbury and Dorchester yielded 44 points. Washington, D.C. got 79-1/2 points at Howard University and sold 28-1/2 on trips to the Tidewater, Virginia area.

Atlanta led all locals by selling 218 percent of its quota. At Atlanta University, 92-1/2 points were sold. In addition, comrades from Atlanta, Boston and New York sold 102 points on a tour to North Carolina campuses; 80-1/2 points were sold at Chapel Hill.

The New York sub drive got off to a good start on Caribbean Day: 31-1/2 points and 375 individual pieces of literature. Of New York's 1,117-1/2 total points, 436 came from in-city and regional campuses, while 156-1/2 points were sold to transit workers. Door-to-door work in Queens netted 95-1/2 points. New York's points included 24 subs to Spanish *Spartacist*.

Door-to-door work in the Engelwood section of Chicago yielded 83 points, while Chicago transit workers bought 51 points. Chicago comrades sold 57 points at in-city campuses and 69 in Madison, Wisconsin. Comrades from Cleveland, Chicago and Toronto joined forces to sell 107 points in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Two trips to Detroit by Cleveland comrades brought in 42 points; 51 points were sold at Oberlin.

Los Angeles' best campus was UCLA with 85-1/2 points. One comrade from L.A., one from San Francisco and three from Oakland toured campuses in the Pacific Northwest, where 237-1/2 points were sold, including 97 at the University of Oregon, 54 at Reed College and 45 at Evergreen State.

Included in the points listed in the chart as "At-large" are 202-1/2 points in subs to SL/U.S. publications sold by comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada as part of their *WV/Spartacist Canada* sub drive.

In the comradely competition for most points, the winner was comrade Paula from SF with 124-1/2 points. Honorable mention: Guillermo, Oakland (93-1/2 points); San, Oakland (92); Debbie H., New York (87); Janis, Oakland (77); and Marc V., Chicago (72). Special thanks also to the sympathizers who participated in making the sub drive a success, led by Gordy with 65 points.

We welcome our new readers. ■

Final Totals

Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Atlanta	125	273	218
Boston	250	312	125
Chicago	350	483	138
Cleveland	200	311½	156
Los Angeles	125	186½	149
New York	900	1,117½	124
Oakland	550	709½	129
San Francisco	350	385	110
Washington, D.C.	150	172½	115
At-large	—	232	—
National Total	**3,000**	**4,182½**	**139**

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Russian Revolution...

(continued from page 9)

class brothers and they wanted to bring him down.

And it would not have been hard, because if any one of three unions—the Teamsters, the Machinists or the pilots—had honored the air controllers' picket lines, you would have had a national airlines strike in this country. (I think the refusal of the Machinists was particularly worth commenting on, because the head of that union, William Winpisinger, is also a leader of the Democratic Socialists of America.) Imagine the impact of a national air strike, of shutting down the airports, on the American economy, especially on the ruling class. I mean, they fly all over the place, all these business meetings and million-dollar deals would be totally disrupted. It would probably take less than a week and Reagan would have rehired these people and bowed to their demands. A defeat for Reagan, by labor, at that moment and in that way, would have gone far beyond what is called "labor relations." It would have helped derail the entire program of political and social reaction, from the arms buildup against Russia to the attack on abortion rights, the whole bit.

WV Photo

UPI

Left: During 1981 PATCO strike, labor should have stopped union-buster Reagan by shutting down the airports. Right: A taste of workers power—ILA strikers educate scabs while shutting down East Coast ports last month.

Why didn't the labor bureaucracy do anything, why did they let PATCO go down the tubes? It's because they understood that to humiliate the President of the United States, to defeat and humiliate him in a massive show of labor power, would open up a period of very considerable social struggle which they could not control and which could well sweep them away. So that they would rather see the unions broken and defeated than to disrupt capitalist law and order. The outcome of the PATCO strike was a green light for the American capitalist class to have open season on the unions. In the past four or five years, four million workers have gotten give-back contracts, their wages have been cut, their benefits have been cut. Union gains won over the course of decades have been taken away.

There exists in this country the raw material, the anger, the economic desperation, the sense of oppression and injustice, for big class struggle, big social struggle. In the black ghettos there is a deep-felt hatred of Reagan and everything he stands for. In the past year or so, we've seen some very hard-bitten, long, bitter strikes, mainly defensive—the Hormel meatpackers battling the National Guard and scabs for months, the mainly Mexican women cannery workers in Watsonville. Certainly the will to fight, the kind of diehard will to fight, is there. What's lacking is how to win. So all these struggles and the potential for struggle have been atomized, isolated, misled and betrayed. And it is here that a revolutionary party is indispensable.

A party of the kind that the Bolsheviks created in tsarist Russia, because only such a party can take the raw material of anger and desperation, the partial, militant, explosive struggles, and weld together the potential militancy and combativity of the working class with the anger and hatred of the black ghetto, and direct it against its real enemies on Wall Street and in Washington.

We are the party of the Russian Revolution because we intend to be the party of the American Revolution. Join us! ■

PATCO and Russia

Reagan's destruction of the PATCO air controllers in 1981, a few months after taking office, was also intended as a message to Moscow that the American president is out to break anyone who gets in his way. The imperial president wants to bust the Soviet Union and to bust the unions at home. Discussing the Reykjavik summit on ABC's *Nightline* (14 October), Secretary of State Shultz bragged that PATCO first learned the "lesson" of how Reagan "negotiates":

> "And the first people to learn it were the air-controllers, who felt they had the country right in their hands all the time. And you remember they walked off the job, and the President said, 'It's very simple, they walked off the job in violation of their oath, and they're not welcome back.' And nobody thought he could make that stick, but he did. So, everybody learned a lesson, and it has been a marker throughout his presidency. And maybe the Russians learned a lesson in this, too."

The mark of the Reagan presidency is that the gang in the White House thinks it can get its way by bullying everybody. But if the American labor movement had shut down the airports to defend the striking air controllers, Reagan would have learned a lesson about workers power. There's another lesson he should keep in mind, too: Russia isn't PATCO. Remember what happened to Adolf Hitler!

KAL 007...

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excuse for a nuclear arms buildup?)

Seymour Hersh has always served the interests of U.S. imperialism. Along with Watergate reporters Woodward and Bernstein, he helped the liberal Democrats restore the leash on the "rogue" intelligence agencies, which had gotten out of hand under Nixon. Their services culminated in the Church committee and similar investigatory "reforms" of the CIA/NSA/FBI. Today the Democrats march to Reagan's beat, although they would perhaps prefer a more measured pace in the march toward war. So Hersh gets his assignment: pull the reins a little on the Reagan bandwagon, but don't tip it over.

Der Spiegel

Japanese military radar at Wakkanai was locked onto KAL 007.

The KAL 007 affair is a propaganda landmark on the road to World War III. In a panel discussion in New York on September 1, *Shootdown* author R.W. Johnson commented:

> "The comparison which does come to mind for me is the *Lusitania* disaster during the First World War—innocent civilian craft, torpedoed by the Germans, terrible loss of life, major thing behind the ultimate American entry into the war. The Germans at the time said it was loaded with munitions. This got no sort of hearing at all—it was 'German propaganda.' And so on. It took many, many years before we discovered that in fact the British *had* loaded it with munitions."

Reagan's KAL provocation ranks up there with all the other infamous fabricated incidents that have served as pretexts for imperialist war. Then, as now, the "free but responsible" press did the bidding of their warmongering capitalist masters.

Seeking justice for their deceased kin, the Families of American Victims of the KAL 007 Tragedy have gone along with the strategy of the liberal Fund for Constitutional Government which seeks a Congressional investigation. But to no avail. At their September 1 discussion, two of the four panelists expressed misgivings about appealing to Congress, calling instead for a presidential commission of "experts," like the one which investigated the Challenger disaster. This is even more futile—do they expect Reagan to investigate himself? (The Challenger commission issued a blatant whitewash.) These liberals cannot face the central reality: it is impossible to raise the issue of KAL 007 without challenging the anti-Soviet "consensus." For the Reagan regime sacrificed the innocent passengers on that ill-fated flight to stoke the flames of war.

In his *History of the Russian Revolution* (1932), Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "When the ancients said that Jupiter first makes mad those whom he wishes to destroy, they summed up in superstitious form a profound historic observation.... The impersonal Jupiter of the historical dialectic...withdraws 'reason' from historical institutions that have outlived themselves and condemns their defenders to failure."

He described the final days of the Russian autocracy, when the "spirit of medievalism thickened" in the empire, the imperial court was consumed in frenzied frivolity, the tsarina bewitched by a degenerate Black Hundreds priest, the tsar embarked on a European war Russia could not win. Today for the mad priest Rasputin the Reaganites have the likes of Jerry Falwell who preaches the imminence of a nuclear Armageddon in which "Russia will be ...ultimately totally destroyed" while Christian "true" believers will be saved. The head of the Pentagon vows to "prevail" in a thermonuclear war, and the imperial president "jokes" about "outlawing Russia forever" and pushing the button to destroy the Soviet "Evil Empire" in "five minutes."

In the death agony of imperialism, the American rulers are truly war crazy. Suffering a humiliating defeat in Vietnam, the wounded beast lashes out wildly, sending more than 200 innocent passengers plunging to a watery grave, threatening and attacking Soviet "surrogates" from Nicaragua to Libya, thinking it can intimidate the Russian bear with an endless stream of provocations, hallucinating about "victory" in a nuclear first strike. As Trotsky noted of imperial Russia, perishing in the carnage of the first imperialist world war, the slaughter will not be stopped by the ousting of a single madman, but only by sweeping away the dying capitalist class, through world proletarian revolution. ■

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South African Workers Strike for Their Jobs

General Motors Divests

South African black auto workers have struck General Motors in the wake of GM's announcement that it was "divesting" itself of its operations there. Following a meeting with GM's managing director Robert White on October 29, some 2,000 workers staged a sit-in at the company's two plants in Port Elizabeth. Called by the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU) and joined by members of the Motor Assembly and Component Workers of South Africa, the strike effectively shut down GM's production in Port Elizabeth.

Now that "divestment" is here, the first effect is that the workers are fighting for their jobs. While GM says no jobs will be lost through the sale of its operations to a South African outfit, the workers rightly don't trust such "assurances." There is, moreover, no guarantee the new owners will recognize the union. The union is also demanding payment of pension funds, and severance pay of one month for each year worked for GM upon its withdrawal. In the face of the strikers' militancy, the company is reportedly hardlining it, trying to get the apartheid rulers to declare the strike illegal.

In an Op-Ed column in the *New York Times* (30 October), General Motors' chairman of the board Roger B. Smith said GM was quitting South Africa, deploring Botha's efforts to end apartheid as "too little too late." But the bottom line is the dollar sign. "The basic problem," Smith said, "one which all corporations must pay attention to—is the fact that our South African operations have been losing money for several years." In any case, GM's "divestment" does not mean it is pulling out of South Africa. GM cars that are assembled in South African plants will still be in the showrooms, and the company said it will continue to sell automotive components to its former subsidiary.

Smith obscenely justified GM's 60-year history of superexploitation of South African black labor: "We believe our efforts to promote social progress and racial equality justified our being there." He was talking about a "code of ethics" devised by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, black Philadelphia clergyman and General Motors board member, in which American companies doing business in South Africa were supposed to improve housing, health care and other social services for black workers. Well, so much for the "Sullivan Principles," smashed up on the bedrock of capitalist profits.

The ruthless drive for capitalist profits routinely kills black workers just as surely as if they had been executed. In September, 177 miners were killed when poisonous gas from a fire filled a mine shaft. Only last week another six black miners were crushed to death when an elevator cable snapped, sending a cage and tons of cable plunging half a mile to the bottom of the shaft. How could this happen? Clearly no inspection, no testing, no back-up safety devices. Whether South Africa's mines and factories are owned by Americans, British or Afrikaners, the lives of the superexploited black workers will be held cheap.

The announcement by General Motors and IBM that they are selling off their South African operations has been hailed by American liberals and reformists as a great triumph for their divestment campaign. Similarly with Congress' recent override of Reagan's veto of sanctions against South Africa. Behind all the divestment/sanctions business is the attempt to imbue U.S. imperialism—the greatest exploiter and oppressor on the face of the planet—with a "moral mission" in the world. As revolutionary socialists, the only "divestment" we fight for is the divestment of the American capitalists and their South African junior partners by the working class in power.

In South Africa a number of black unions have been equivocal about the effects of divestment. Alec Erwin, former organizer for FOSATU, now merged into the giant COSATU black union federation, explained that his organization opposed the withdrawal of assets from South Africa "because we view them not as the simple property of foreign companies, but as assets which have been built up through the sweat and labour of South African workers...." Nonetheless, black unionists have in large part supported sanctions due to the ideological hold of petty-bourgeois nationalism on the black trade-union movement. Revolutionaries must fight to win black anti-apartheid fighters instead to the program of *proletarian internationalism*.

Jordan/Time

On the line at GM Port Elizabeth plant.

American auto workers' best defense of their striking black union brothers in South Africa is militant labor action against the auto magnates at home. From Durban to Detroit, workers to power! Not imperialist "sanctions" and capitalist "divestment" fraud, but expropriation of capitalism by a victorious workers revolution. To paraphrase Marx, apartheid has created in a six-million-strong black, coloured and Indian proletariat its own gravedigger. The wealth of South Africa belongs not to the capitalists, be they Wall Street, Frankfurt and London bankers or Johannesburg industrialists—but to the toilers belong the fruits of their labor! ■

Philippines...

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> "'It was like switching from Coca Cola to Pepsi Cola,' said one disappointed Cory fan."

Corazon Aquino is herself a member of the old landed aristocracy which has dominated Filipino society for centuries, both under Spanish and American colonial rule and following "independence." Cory is a Cojuangco, and the family estate "Luisita" is one of the largest haciendas in the country, with more than 7,000 hectares, 6,100 workers, a golf course and racetrack. During the election campaign, Aquino promised to make Luisita a model of land reform, but later reneged. Meanwhile, the Jacintos got back their steel factories, the Lopez family recovered its TV stations, newspaper and banks seized by Marcos. Terzani summed up:

> "Rather than a revolution, what occurred in Manila last February was a restoration: the reinstatement of the old aristocratic oligarchy of Spanish descent, with which Marcos clashed and which he partly replaced by his own clique of relatives and hangers-on."

One of the popular slogans of leftist demonstrators before the overthrow of Marcos was "Yesterday Nicaragua, tomorrow Philippines." Instead, it's as if Somoza was replaced not by the radical-nationalist Sandinistas but by the Chamorro oligarchy, with the direct backing of the U.S.

Cory is the widow of Benigno Aquino, a millionaire bourgeois politician assassinated by the Marcos regime in 1983. "Ninoy" spent practically his entire career working for the American Central Intelligence Agency, first helping them crush the Communist-led Hukbalahap rebellion in the late 1940s-early '50s, and later attending the CIA's elite school in Quantico, Virginia. After Marcos declared martial law in 1972, Washington carefully cultivated Aquino to run the Philippines in case their puppet could no longer keep things under control. When Ninoy was gunned down on the tarmac at Manila airport in 1983, Cory took his place. By November 1984, the National Security Council was calling for Marcos "to set the stage for a peaceful and eventual transition to a successor government." And that's what eventually happened, though it took some hard talk from the White House to shoehorn the aging dictator out of Malacañang Palace.

AP

22,000 workers struck Clark AFB and Subic Bay Naval Station last March.

However, the fraud of "people power" is not just the product of the Aquinos' intimate relations with the CIA and of Cory belonging to the landlord/capitalist oligarchy. In the epoch of capitalism's decay, the native bourgeoisies of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, junior partners of the imperialists, are incapable of carrying out the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. As Leon Trotsky summed up the experience of the three Russian Revolutions (1905, February 1917 and October 1917):

> "...the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution* (1929)

In order to complete the democratic tasks, in particular agrarian revolution to abolish the feudal-derived servitude of the peasantry, the proletariat in power, led by its communist party, will necessarily undertake "deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a *permanent* revolution."

Nowhere is this more vividly confirmed than in the Philippines today. Aquino's "February revolution" achieved neither democracy nor agrarian reform (much less revolution), and talk of national emancipation is a hoax. Conquered by emerging U.S. imperialism in the Spanish-American War of 1898, ever since "independence" in 1946 the Philippines has been a very special American neocolony in the Far East. Ninety percent of the Philippine officer corps have trained in the U.S. There are 40,000 U.S. military and support personnel at Subic Bay and Clark Air Force Base, which were main staging areas for the American war on Vietnam. Today, as the axis of the ASEAN alliance of anti-Communist Southeast Asian regimes, one of their key tasks is to keep Soviet naval forces from using Cam Ranh Bay to break out of U.S. encirclement. No bourgeois regime will be allowed to close down these bases. Indeed, Washington dumped Marcos for Aquino hoping that Cory's popularity would make the bases more secure. But the U.S. bases have become a lightning rod for popular protest pitting the Philippine masses against the Aquino regime. On July 4, a rally of 5,000 outside the U.S. embassy demanding removal of the bases was dispersed by police.

The economic ties of the Philippines to U.S. imperialism are no less binding than the military ones. American capitalists hold over half of all foreign investment and rake off two-thirds of all profits in manufacturing. While Aquino begs handouts from Reagan and Congress, half of all the country's foreign exchange earnings go to pay off Wall Street, the City of London and Tokyo banks just for the *interest* on the Philippines' $25 billion foreign debt. Much of this debt was built up to pay for Marcos' corrupt and brutal regime, yet it is unthinkable that Aquino would repudiate this debt and stop paying the blood money sucked by foreign bankers from the Filipino workers and peasants. To break the chains of imperialism will require a socialist revolution whose influence would quickly spread through the region and hit at the imperialist countries themselves, from second-rate powers like Australia to Japan and the United States.

Philippine Stalinism in Disarray

The present crisis of the Philippine bourgeois order will be resolved by revolution or counterrevolution—there is no middle way. And thus it has led to a crisis of Philippine Stalinism, which in

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its own way is tied to the landlord/capitalist regime. During the last years of Marcos' rule, growing popular opposition provided an increasing stream of recruits for the New People's Army, military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). By late 1984, the NPA claimed 20,000 full- and part-time fighters in 45 guerrilla fronts operating in 56 provinces. The purpose of this armed struggle, however, was not to achieve a military victory that would sweep aside landlord/capitalist rule, but as pressure for a popular front with the anti-Marcos bourgeois opposition.

While the NPA insurgency along with mass protests and workers strikes in the cities fatally undermined the Marcos regime, the Aquino opposition was expressly aimed at *excluding* leftist influence. When, under pressure from Washington, Marcos called a "snap election" for February 7 in order to legitimize his rule, the Communist Party was caught in a dilemma. Damned if it did and damned if it didn't in terms of bourgeois electoral politics, the CPP leadership narrowly decided to boycott

AP

U.S. imperialism's darling Corazon Aquino with Stalinist nationalist Jose Sison.

the vote, which the party's legal front, the National Democratic Front (NDF), called a "sham, that is mainly designed to blunt a rapidly developing popular protest movement." Nonetheless, some prominent CPP supporters and fellow travelers in the Bayan coalition campaigned as individuals for Aquino.

What Marcos intended was indeed a sham election, but when as usual he stole it, the Philippines erupted in mass protests. When the Aquino forces and their American patrons moved to get rid of the tottering dictator, the CPP found itself on the sidelines and hardly intervened at all. Commenting on the Stalinists' disarray at the time we wrote:

> "The reason for this confusion is simple: fighting not for a socialist program but on a purely 'democratic' platform, the main left groups had difficulty explaining their political differences with [Aquino's] Laban. Yet they could not participate, because the whole sham 'democratic exercise' was designed to defeat the Communists. And in fact, the yellow flags of Aquino/Laurel managed to gain ascendancy over the red flags of the left in the streets of Manila and elsewhere."
>
> —"Reagan Pulls Plug on Marcos," *WV* No. 398, 28 February

Left out in the cold, some Communist Party leaders defended the February boycott, denouncing Aquino as little more than an American stooge. But upon being released from prison, CPP founding leader Jose Maria Sison declared, "The Aquino Government has done a lot in just a few days to democratize the situation," adding, "I might even volunteer my help to her Government" (*New York Times*, 6 March).

The contradiction between the Stalinists' appetite to cohabit with the "progressive" bourgeoisie and Aquino's CIA anti-Communism has since produced a seismic rift within the CPP. Sison launched a "correction" faction to join the "people power" mass movement, i.e., to hop in bed with Cory. The result was a public self-criticism in the May issue of the party organ, *Ang Bayan*, which "characterized the boycott policy as a major political blunder":

> "In large measure the Party and its forces were on the sidelines, unable to lead or influence the hundreds of thousands of people who moved with amazing speed and decisiveness to overthrow the regime."

Instead, they advocated "critically participating in the snap election"—i.e., voting for Aquino. "The people were almost entirely left out from the composition of the new government," they lamented the next month. The new CPP line was for a "democratic coalition government" which would achieve "emancipation of the people from imperialism and feudalism" (*Ang Bayan*, June 1986).

Apparently, Sison & Co. think the boycott cost them cabinet posts. But they aren't giving up. In pursuit of this goal, the CPP has recently set up the Partido ng Bayan (People's Party), which, said Sison during a recent speaking tour in Australia, "will seek to take over the reins of government or share power in a coalition government through elections and other legal means" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 September). But this right turn has not gone down without strong internal resistance. Two reputed hardliners in the CPP leadership, chairman Rodolfo Salas and secretary general Rafael Baylosis, were deposed as a result of the "rectification" campaign. (Salas was arrested in Manila in late September and remains in prison.) Opposition to the pro-Aquino line is apparently also strong among sections of the party cadres and ranks. If pressure continues to build in the Philippines, the CPP could undergo a major left split.

From its origins in 1968 as a pro-Chinese split from the old Moscow-line Philippines Communist Party (PCP), the initially Maoist CPP has always been wedded to the Stalinist schema of a "two-stage" revolution. Indeed, Sison earlier criticized the PCP for *overemphasizing* the class struggle at the expense of Filipino nationalism: "the matter of national liberation was obscured by the slogans of class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class" (*Struggle for National Democracy* [1967]). "We should not confuse the national-democratic stage and the socialist phase of the Philippine Revolution," he declared in 1970 in his major political work, *Philippine Society and Revolution* (written under the name Amado Guerrero). "Only after the national-democratic stage has been completed can the proletarian revolutionary leadership carry out the socialist revolution as the transitional stage towards communism."

From Chiang Kai-shek's China in the 1920s to Allende's Chile, this anti-Marxist call for "democracy now, socialism later" has led to bloody defeat for the workers. Many a Third World nationalist regime has sought to protect its left flank by bringing the Communists into a "democratic (or anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, etc.) coalition government," only to set them up for a massacre on the morrow. Would-be communists in the Philippines need only look next door to Indonesia and recall the 1965 slaughter of *half a million* or more Communists, the bloody tab for the PKI's participation in the Sukarno regime. Significantly, as the situation heats up in the Philippines, in October the Suharto regime in Jakarta executed 17 of the Communist prisoners who had languished in jail these last 21 years (*Asiaweek*, 19 October).

If Sison and his "correction faction" are pushing for a coalition with Aquino, what perspective can CPP dissidents offer? A purer version of a "national-democratic" government? The present regime is the closest thing to bourgeois democracy the Philippines is ever likely to see. To oppose Aquino while still seeking a bloc with the mythical "progressive" bourgeoisie is to place oneself in a political no man's land. The only progressive alternative to Aquino and Enrile is a workers and peasants government. And this is a burning issue today as the workers and peasants have massively undertaken to struggle against their exploiters and oppressors.

Filipino Workers, Peasants On the Move

The upsurge in labor activity led by avowed leftists has both the Philippines bourgeoisie and its American big brothers worried. *Business Week* (15 September) headlined "The Philippine Left Has Washington Spooked," complaining of illegal strikes and unions conducting "Marxist teach-ins":

> "The leftist gains are far more serious than the fading challenge from diehard Marcos supporters.... In addition to their rural insurgency, the leftists are taking advantage of what they call the 'democratic space'.... The left is scoring its biggest gains in labor. More strikes have occurred so far this year than all of last year under Marcos."

The head of the American Chamber of Commerce vituperated against "'people power' run amok." The principal object of the capitalists' ire is the leftist labor federation Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), or May 1st Movement, which has mushroomed from 35,000 members in 1980 to over 600,000 today. That makes it three times as large as the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP), notorious for its ties to the Marcos dictatorship and sweetheart contracts with employers. The TUCP is also a major recipient of U.S. dollars via the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute, a known CIA front.

With hundreds of walkouts since February, Manila has become strike city. The origins are directly economic: Philippines workers are the lowest-paid in the Pacific Rim. Most do not receive even the minimum wage of 57 pesos (less than $3) a day—32 pesos for agricultural workers—and real wages have been falling under the hammer blows of inflation. Aquino's labor minister, Augusto Sanchez, a "human rights" lawyer, has been reluctant to move against strikers, hoping that the strike wave will fizzle out. But businessmen have been getting restless, and in late July Enrile ordered the army in as strikebreakers. On August 1, strikers at Pepsi-Cola's Metro Manila bottling plant fought a pitched battle with company goons. The next day, armed soldiers moved on transit strikers south of the capital. The military has also been used against garment workers, hotel workers, phosphate workers and to militarize sugar estates on the island of Negros.

KMU general secretary Rolando Olalia told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (28 August) his union's goal was "socialism." And the May 1st Movement repeatedly spearheaded mass protests against the tyrant Marcos. Last February 26, it had scheduled a nationwide *welgang bayan* ("people's strike") against the dictator—who fled on Reagan's orders the night before. However, on May Day this year when the KMU mobilized for a huge rally estimated at 250,000 in Manila, on the platform together with CPP leaders Sison and Buscayno sat Cory Aquino and General Ramos! The May issue of the CPP's *Ang Bayan* declares, "Part of the workers' antiimperialist struggles is alliance with national capitalists," and calls for "a bigger voice for the national bourgeoisie in the economy and in the formulation of economic policies"! In the concrete, rather than mobilizing political strike action to achieve the workers' demands, the KMU has called for defending Labor Minister Sanchez and ousting Defense Minister Enrile.

Meanwhile, peasants are demanding land reform, a touchy subject for Aquino. When 20,000 supporters of the National Peasant Movement of the Philippines recently marched on the presidential palace, their way was blocked by thousands of heavily armed soldiers behind barbed wire barricades, recalling the tumultuous anti-Marcos protests. A spokesman for the demonstrators said of Aquino: "We feel that she is not listening, and that instead, she is worrying about losing Hacienda Luisita" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 22 October). It's all in the family: her close relative Eduardo Cojuangco was the "coconut king" under Marcos, and owned 25,000 acres on Negros policed by his private army. The Aquino agrarian "reform" plan calls for reducing *landowners'* debt by recovering money illegally skimmed off profits of the sugar marketing board by Marcos cronies, and *selling* idle land to landless rural workers!

In the countryside, things are at the point of explosion on the sugar island of Negros. Bacolod bishop Antonio Fortich calls it a "social volcano." As the price of sugar fell from 65 cents a pound in 1974 to *four* cents today, a third of the actual production cost, the planters have fired tens of thousands of workers. But social unrest has spread apace. In the last few years the National Federation of Sugar Workers (NFSW), affiliated to the KMU, has grown rapidly among the 300,000 sugar workers on Negros. Protection by the NPA guerrillas has been essential for the NFSW facing the planters' hired guns who regularly "salvage" (disappear) union organizers. The *San Francisco Examiner* (11 August) reports that in "the southern half of the island [Negros], the NPA controls large parts of the countryside, according to local priests."

Cease-Fire with the NPA?

The "counterinsurgency" experts at the U.S. embassy had hoped that with Marcos out of the way, the guerrillas would stream down from the hills, leaving only a "hard core" that could be easily wiped out. Wasn't Marcos the "best recruiter" for the Communists, having driven even bourgeois opposi-

Marquez/AP

October: Police block 20,000 protesting Philippine peasants, in largest leftist demonstration in Manila since Aquino came to power last February.

Cenela/Black Star

Leftist guerrillas of New People's Army control an estimated 20 percent of Philippine countryside.

Insurgency in the Philippines

Sporadically active in large areas of the Philippines, the New Peoples Army, Moro National Liberation Front and Cordillera Peoples Liberation Army are composed mainly of small guerrilla units. Except for the city of Marawi on Mindanao, guerrilla activity is confined to the countryside

- Active presence of New Peoples Army (Communist)
- Active presence of Moro National Liberation Front (Moslem)
- Active presence of Cordillera Peoples Liberation Army (local insurgency led by a former priest)

New York Times

tionists into the arms of the CPP? However, the amnesty netted only some 100 guerrillas, most of them probably previously planted "zombies" (agents). Guerrilla operations have continued, from Cagayan province in northern Luzon to the island of Mindanao in the south, though at a reduced level. Meanwhile, Pentagon estimates of NPA strength have grown from 16,000 to 22,000, controlling an estimated 20 percent of the countryside.

The military has also continued its customary bombing, strafing, shelling and burning villages, killing and looting the peasantry. In late September, NPA top military commander Rodolfo Salas was arrested when he was in Manila in connection with cease-fire negotiations. Clearly this was a move by Enrile/Ramos to scuttle Aquino's attempt at negotiations with the rebels. They want a free hand for a bloodbath, using an army whose officers from top to bottom are still running rackets while their soldiers often have no boots, little food and defective equipment. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) of Enrile/Ramos invites comparison with the puppet army of Thieu/Ky which was routed in South Vietnam. "It will take a lot more time before they have a capable combat force they need," commented U.S. ambassador Richard Bosworth (*San Francisco Examiner*, 24 September).

Given Marcos' failure to crush the NPA despite a bloated 250,000-strong army and a dozen years of martial law, the Aquino forces aim to isolate the Communists politically and use the cease-fire negotiations to buy time. But if Aquino lacks the military wherewithal to crush the NPA, neither does she have the political and economic means to buy them off. Not that the nationalist Stalinists of the CPP won't play ball. Sison has called for a "lasting cease-fire in connection with the formation of a coalition government," suggesting that the NPA could become a "strength in reserve" to defend Aquino "in the face of an armed forces that she does not fully control" (*Washington Post*, 6 June). The CPP leader even said, while touring Australia, that his party would *retain* the U.S. bases, only demanding that the Pentagon cut back its personnel!

Washington's instructions to Cory, emphatically reiterated during her recent trip to the U.S. where she begged Congress for more aid, are to crush the leftist insurgency. For the CPP/NPA to lay down their arms for the mere promise of amnesty would be suicidal, especially when Aquino could be ousted by a right-wing military coup in the near future. So while the government is using negotiations to buy time, the CPP is using them as a pressure tactic to gain a "popular front" with liberal elements of the Aquino regime.

Where Stalinist/nationalist guerrilla struggles have reached the level of civil war, proletarian revolutionaries give *military support* to the leftist insurgents against the bloody armies of bourgeois reaction and imperialism. But we give *no political support* to their petty-bourgeois leaderships. The Trotskyists seek instead a socialist revolution centered on the urban working class and based on organs of proletarian power (soviets, factory committees, workers militias). In El Salvador we call for military victory to the leftist insurgents of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), to smash the armed first of the bourgeois state and open the road to proletarian revolution. (However, the popular-frontist FMLN leaders are instead bent on pursuing an illusory "negotiated solution" with Duarte's death squad "democracy.")

In the Philippines, the NPA's peasant insurgency remains at the level of widespread but relatively small-scale guerrilla operations, and the center of social conflict has shifted to the working class, both urban and rural. Were the CPP's hoped-for "national democratic coalition government" to materialize, it would strengthen the bourgeois state, leading in time to savage repression against the workers movement as well as Communist cadres. A general truce or cease-fire by the NPA would take the pressure off the army and give Philippine capitalism a breathing space to restabilize. As long as the present situation of neither-peace-nor-war continues, with the NPA holding down the neocolonial army in the countryside and prolonging the state of disarray, it will buy precious time for the proletariat to take advantage of the limited "democratic" opening, which cannot last for long, to organize for seizing state power.

For a Philippines October!

When the U.S. Air Force flew Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos and their numerous retinue to Hawaii, with another cargo jet to haul the crates of bonds, currency and shoes, the rulers in Manila and Washington breathed a collective sigh of relief. But in the aftermath, class polarization in the Philippines has progressively sharpened. Yet, ironically, as the Filipino masses have grown increasingly disillusioned in the hoax of "people power," the bulk of the Philippines left has grown increasingly desperate to hitch their cart to Cory's ox. Thus the struggles of the worker-peasant masses have not been guided by a revolutionary program, but undercut by their leaders' reformist capitulation to the CIA's latest puppet. What is dramatically clear is the *absence* of a Bolshevik-Leninist vanguard fighting to turn the phony "February revolution" into an authentic Philippines October.

Upon his release from Marcos' prison, CPP leader Sison declared that "he was prepared to support the 'positive aspects' of the Government of President Corazon C. Aquino" (*New York Times*, 6 March). This is precisely the line taken by Stalin and Kamenev in 1917 toward the "democratic" Provisional Government in Russia following the overthrow of the tsar, which unlike the February coup d'état in Manila was a genuine political revolution. Lenin cabled on March 6 from Switzerland with a counterposed line of revolutionary opposition: "Our tactics: no trust in and no support of the new government; Kerensky is especially suspect; arming of the proletariat is the only guarantee...." Upon arriving in Petrograd, Lenin went on to state in his famous "April Theses":

> "The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that the country is *passing* from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to its *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution" (7 April 1917)

Where Lenin warned in his March telegram, "no rapprochement with other parties," today the CPP calls for a "democratic coalition government" with Aquino herself plus assorted impotent liberals.

(When some months later, the tsarist general Kornilov marched on Petrograd to overthrow the weak Kerensky regime, aiming to crush the soviets and the left, the Bolsheviks took the lead in mobilizing the workers against the rightist threat. This set the stage for the Bolsheviks to take power, ousting Kerensky, within a matter of weeks. Likewise, in the Philippines the working class and its allies must mobilize independently to quash any coup attempt by Enrile and his fellow right-wing militarists whose aim is to unleash a bloodbath of the left, labor and peasant guerrillas.)

Lenin's call in the April Theses for constructing "a state of the Paris Commune type," a government of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, was congruent with views earlier advanced by Trotsky, whose theory of permanent revolution envisioned a dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the peasantry, to carry out the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution and consequently undertake the socialist tasks of the proletarian revolution. It is striking that those forces internationally who besmirch the tradition of Trotskyism have grievously failed to call for a program of permanent revolution in the Philippines today. Thus Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" issued a declaration on March 2 which nowhere mentions proletarian revolution—or the need for a Trotskyist party—and only calls on "the democratic and anti-imperialist movement" to "continue to organize and struggle for its aims" (*Intercontinental Press*, 7 April).

The American Socialist Workers Party, in turn, which today denounces Trotskyism as "ultraleft" and cheerleads for the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua, calls for "extending" the Aquino "revolution" of "people power" (*ibid.*). And the U.S. Workers League publishes a four-part series by Nick Beams, Australian acolyte of the WL's dubious David North, which after much verbiage about the "Fight for Trotskyism" advocates "a critical vote for Aquino" in the February elections (*Bulletin*, 20 May)! This parliamentary cretinist support for the bourgeois, pro-imperialist standard-bearer of CIA "democracy" is counterposed to everything Lenin and Trotsky ever fought for. In contrast, we wrote at the time:

> "But for the Filipino people, the replacement of the corrupt, brutal Marcos dictatorship with the 'clean team' of Aquino and [vice president] Salvador Laurel will mean the substitution of one set of American lackeys for another. Marxists say: beware of coups 'Made in U.S.A.'...
>
> "A fight against imperialist domination and the anti-Soviet war drive which determines the life of the Philippines, described by the London *Economist* as an 'archipelagic aircraft carrier,' requires *class* struggle against popular-front illusions and for workers revolution, led by Trotskyist parties, from the Philippines to the U.S."
>
> —*WV* No. 398, 28 February

The Stalinist program of "two-stage" revolution seeks to resuscitate the Menshevik line in tsarist Russia, whose bankruptcy was demonstrated by the Bolshevik October Revolution—the greatest victory for the international proletariat in history. In the imperialist epoch, there is no room for the emergence of an independent national capitalism, and all the more so in America's Philippine neocolony where Kennedy liberals intertwine with the old landlord families. But at the same time, uneven and combined development has produced a modern working class alongside the age-old exploitation of the peasantry. The bloody U.S. imperialists, who slaughtered two million in Indochina, will not let their Philippine fortress go lightly. Thus victorious workers revolution in the Philippines would strike a powerful blow against the global anti-Soviet war drive, smash the imperialist encirclement of heroic Vietnam, and spark a revolutionary upsurge throughout the region.

For a workers and peasants government in the Philippines! Forge a Trotskyist party, Philippines section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

Tom Fawthrop

Embattled sugar workers on island of Negros show fighting spirit, May Day 1984.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Aquino Regime Unraveling

Philippines Workers Must Fight for Power!

U.S. Bases Out!

NOVEMBER 1—The Philippines is today the weak link of U.S. imperialism in the Far East. Last February, Washington dumped its long-time puppet dictator Ferdinand Marcos when popular hatred for his corrupt and brutal rule threatened to get totally out of hand. Hundreds of thousands swarmed into the streets of Manila under the slogan of "people power," but the White House was pulling the strings, engineering the rebellion by top military leaders and removing Marcos at the crucial moment. His replacement, the "liberal" Corazon Aquino, is beholden to the United States and the army for putting her in power. All wings of the American ruling class were exultant over this happy outcome. Secretary of State Shultz declared he was "bullish about the Philippines." Liberal Democrats congratulated Reagan for bringing "democracy" to the former American colony and site of the two largest U.S. military bases in the world outside North America.

Edwin Tuyay

May Day in Manila: workers march under red banners. Fall of Marcos dictatorship aroused expectations among masses which cannot be fulfilled short of socialist revolution.

However, Aquino's "February revolution" is now in deep trouble, and Washington is worried. The bourgeois state apparatus has been thrown into disarray by clashes between Aquino supporters and Marcos loyalists as well as squabbling in the cabinet, a den of Byzantine intrigue made up of hardline militarists, conservative businessmen and liberal reformers. At the same time, the end of Marcos' 20-year reign has aroused expectations in the masses which cannot begin to be satisfied short of socialist revolution. After eight months of "people power," 40 percent of the working population is still unemployed and three-quarters of all Filipinos go to bed hungry every night. Cory Aquino herself admits: "Many people believed that in the short space of six months, many of our problems would be solved. I guess this has disappointed some of them" (*Washington Post*, 14 September). To say the least! Mass peasant and worker unrest is mounting while the leftist insurgency is now rooted in 62 of the 73 provinces.

Currently, Manila is nervously watching a power play by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, a long-time Marcos crony. Enrile has demanded that liberals in the cabinet be fired and cease-fire talks with the Communist-led New People's Army (NPA) be broken off. He has made no secret of his ambitions to be a new Marcos, and his people in the officer corps are full of coup talk. Enrile has threatened to resign and "do a Rambo" if his demands are not met, and recently toured the islands denouncing Aquino as "soft" on the guerrillas. While the American embassy and State Department declare "complete and unequivocal" U.S. support for Aquino, Enrile wouldn't be up to these tricks without backing from some section of the Reagan administration. And while "Cory" tries to make up with "Johnny," making a show of tough talk to the NPA in order to appeal for military support, all eyes turn to armed forces chief Fidel Ramos, another former Marcos henchman, to see which way he will jump.

Tucci/Gamma-Liaison

Defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile (center) threatens to "do a Rambo" if Aquino doesn't crack down on Communist-led insurgency.

At the top of Philippine society, the government is unraveling. In the countryside, the state apparatus has been upended with Aquino's wholesale appointment of "officers in charge" to replace Marcos' local flunkeys. The OICs have little power against the entrenched patronage bosses and warlords, who commonly retain private armies of thugs. When these goons terrorize Aquino's appointees, the army just stands aside. Meanwhile, the NPA guerrillas are more than holding their own against the corrupt and demoralized military. Last June, Pentagon spokesman Richard Armitage told a Senate committee that the "military situation [in the Philippines] is serious and getting worse, with Communists enjoying the initiative and assuming de facto control in areas where government influence has eroded over the years" (*Philippine Report*, June-July 1986).

The disarray of the state apparatus, along with severe economic distress caused by falling commodity prices on the world market and an enormous international debt, have led to an upsurge in labor struggle, both in urban and rural areas. In Metro Manila, there is an explosive strike wave, including transit workers, air traffic controllers, garment workers, hotel workers. And in the outlying provinces, sugar workers unions on Negros are rapidly extending their organization, banana plantation workers walk out on Mindanao, industrial and service workers strike in Cebu City. Most unnerving for U.S. imperialism was an eleven-day strike last March of 22,000 workers at the Pentagon's giant Subic Naval Station and Clark Air Force Base, the linchpin of the anti-Soviet war drive in the Pacific. Sensing the weakness of the Aquino regime, the Filipino masses have moved against their oppressors and exploiters.

In short, there now exists in the Philippines a rare moment and exceptionally favorable opportunity to organize for proletarian socialist revolution. The ruling class and its state apparatus are unable to rule as before, while the masses are no longer willing to live in misery and are fighting as best they can for a better future. But the present prerevolutionary situation is fragile in the extreme, and will not last for long. Under orders from Washington, the Philippine military will move to restore capitalist order by seeking to crush both the militant workers movement and leftist insurgents. The only question is whether Aquino, like El Salvador's Duarte, will serve as a "democratic" figurehead for the right-wing butchers, or be overthrown by the military. The situation cries out for a revolutionary vanguard party, such as the Bolsheviks forged in Russia, to lead the Filipino proletariat, supported by the peasantry, to fight for its own class rule.

The Fraud of "People Power"

Last summer the liberal West German *Der Spiegel* (7 July) published a perceptive article titled, "Philippines: The Revolution That Wasn't." (The author, Tiziano Terzani, was the *Spiegel* correspondent in Indochina both during the U.S.' dirty colonial war and after the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution in 1975.) Pointing to the crowd of hawkers around the Malacañang Palace selling T-shirts with the slogan "People Power," the article notes that these cost 35 pesos apiece, a full day's wages for the average worker in Manila. So most of the poor are still wearing the shirts handed out by the old regime by the thousands during the last election campaign with the slogan, "Vote smart, Vote Marcos." Clearly, it was not the people who came to power in February:

> "The social order has remained inviolate. Those who were on the bottom have not come to the top. The rich are still rich, the poor are still poor.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 416 | 21 November 1986

AP/Wide World

Reaganites Squirm Over Iran

Bonzo's Gonzo Diplomacy

Irish passports, Israeli go-betweens, cakes and Bibles, American hostages, the National Security Council, byzantine intrigue in Teheran and the White House basement: it's Ronald Reagan's gonzo diplomacy. This glimpse into what passes for U.S. imperialist policy is brought to you live and in color with former national security adviser Robert McFarlane and his bunch of wild and crazy guys. And it looks like it's turning into a major blowout for the administration: "probably one of the major mistakes the United States has ever made in foreign policy," said Republican conservative standard-bearer Barry Goldwater. NATO allies are upset about being lied to, "moderate" Arab kings and emirs are livid over the U.S. arming Khomeini's fanatical Shi'ite mullahs, while Secretary of State Shultz publicly dissents and floats rumors of resigning (don't hold your breath).

Since the administration "spin control" on the Iranian junket has spun pretty far out of control, Washington does not now deny, "plausibly" or otherwise, that McFarlane undertook a secret mission to Iran. White

Sloane/Gamma-Liaison

Secretary of State Shultz.

House chief of staff Donald Regan now cynically refers to his media managers as a "shovel brigade that follow a parade down Main Street cleaning up." They managed to turn around the flap over U.S. disinformation on Libya, instantly repackaged

continued on page 10

What Are They Doing with 200 A-Bombs?

Zionist Madmen Target Russia

On November 9 the Israeli cabinet issued a terse statement, without further details, that one Mordechai Vanunu was being held somewhere in Israel. Later, police and prison authorities were quoted as saying that "the suspect" was not in a regular jail or detention center. The London *Guardian* (10 November) reported:

> "Mr Vanunu is expected to face a secret trial in which neither the precise charge nor the final outcome will be made public on the grounds of national security."

Mordechai Vanunu is a 31-year-old technician employed for nearly ten years at Israel's Dimona nuclear facility. His "crime" against "national security"? He was the source for a blockbuster exposé splashed across the front page of the London *Sunday Times* (5 October) under the headline: "Revealed: the secrets of Israel's nuclear arsenal." The *Sunday Times* article trumpeted that it was "the first direct evidence that Israel has the bomb." More to the point, it has *many, many bombs.*

Vanunu had been dismissed along with 180 others in a cutback a year ago and subsequently left Israel, appearing in London in late September to sell his story (reportedly for $456,000). Shortly after he finished his business with the *Sunday Times* on September 30, Vanunu dropped from sight. There were reports he had been kidnapped by the Mossad (the Israeli CIA) in Britain, or alternatively lured onto a yacht in the Mediterranean, and secretly brought back to Israel. In any case, this Deep Throat seems to have been silenced.

It's hardly new news that Israel has the bomb. As far back as 1974, the CIA had noted in a memorandum that "Israel already has produced nuclear weapons" (*New York Times*, 29 October). Indeed, a public United Nations

Chicago Tribune

Israel-U.S. alliance aimed at Soviet Union. American F-15, above, used by Israelis in 1,500-mile bombing raid on Tunisia last year.

report last year estimated Israel's nuclear bomb capability at "15 to 20 warheads." The real bombshell in the *Sunday Times* exposé was the revelation that the plutonium production at Dimona has been 40 kilograms a year, a figure far above all previous estimates. This means that "at least 100 and as many as 200 nuclear weapons of varying destructive power have been assembled" by Israel.

Two hundred nuclear weapons? This would make tiny Israel the world's sixth-largest nuclear power after the U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China. And it means they've probably got more nukes per capita than anyone. The article also presents evidence that the Israelis might have thermonuclear H-bombs, far more destructive than A-bombs. How did they get them, and what do they intend to do with this arsenal? A dozen or so A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital and make Hitler's Holocaust look like child's play. Anyhow, the Jerusalem regime has always managed to get away with dropping murderous conventional bombs on peoples it didn't like, from Iraq to Tunisia.

What's going on here? Vanunu's story raises plenty of questions, and Rupert Murdoch's scab paper is no paragon of accuracy (they bought the bogus Hitler diaries, for instance). But 200 nukes would mean the warmongers in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem have a much bigger target in mind: *Russia.* Is this a joint operation with Washington in preparation for nuking the Soviets? (They're already in league with the White House in secretly supplying the Iranian ayatollahs with American arms.) Or are the Israelis preparing to go solo? The Zionist madmen could very easily—and perhaps deliberately—trip over the trip wire for World War III.

Secrets of Dimona

In the late 1950s, Israel with the help of the French government (her ally in the Suez War against Egypt) began construction of an alleged "textile" plant in the Negev desert near the town of Dimona. When an American U-2 spy plane discovered in 1960 that the Dimona plant was really a nuclear reactor, Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion swore that it would be used only for "peaceful" purposes, and even agreed to allow international inspectors into the plant to verify his claims. Over the years stories circulated about the Israeli nuclear "bomb in the basement." Supposedly it was "only a screwdriver away" from being operational. Now it appears that they have been turning those screws all along.

According to Vanunu, alongside the "peaceful" reactor at Dimona there is a building known as "Machon 2," whose two innocuous floors above ground serve to hide a six-level concrete underground bunker. Here, spent fuel rods from the reactor are processed in order to separate out the vital plutonium for making A-bombs. False walls

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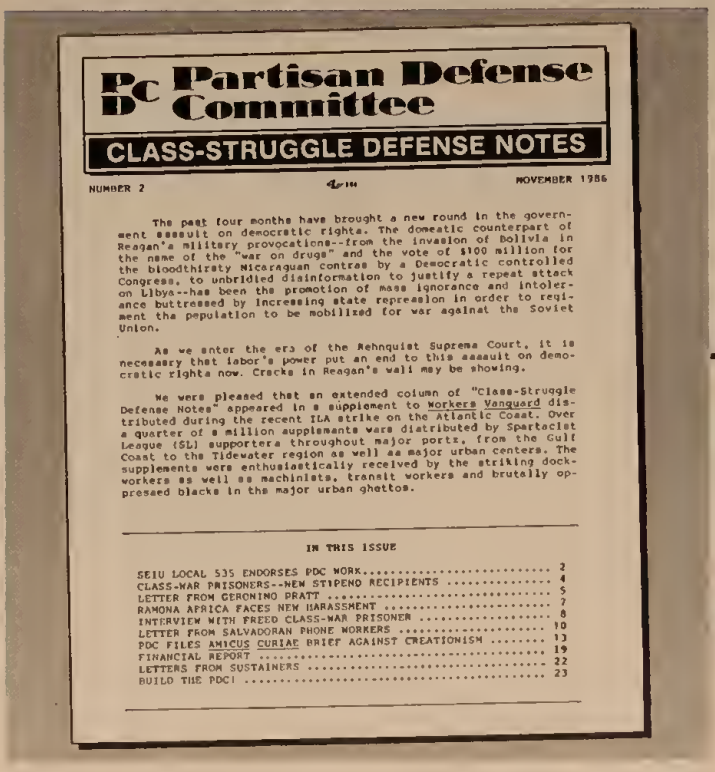
Was El Al Bomb a Mossad Plot?

SEE PAGE NINE

Get Your Class-Struggle Defense Notes!



Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

NUMBER 2 NOVEMBER 1986

The past four months have brought a new round in the government assault on democratic rights. The domestic counterpart of Reagan's military provocations--from the invasion of Bolivia in the name of the "war on drugs" and the vote of $100 million for the bloodthirsty Nicaraguan contras by a Democratic controlled Congress, to unbridled disinformation to justify a repeat attack on Libya--has been the promotion of mass ignorance and intolerance buttressed by increasing state repression in order to regiment the population to be mobilized for war against the Soviet Union.

As we enter the era of the Rehnquist Supreme Court, it is necessary that labor's power put an end to this assault on democratic rights now. Cracks in Reagan's wall may be showing.

We were pleased that an extended column of "Class-Struggle Defense Notes" appeared in a supplement to Workers Vanguard distributed during the recent ILA strike on the Atlantic Coast. Over a quarter of a million supplements were distributed by Spartacist League (SL) supporters throughout major ports, from the Gulf Coast to the Tidewater region as well as major urban centers. The supplements were enthusiastically received by the striking dockworkers as well as machinists, transit workers and brutally oppressed blacks in the major urban ghettos.

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The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. In the tradition of the International Labor Defense (ILD) under James P. Cannon, its founder and first secretary from 1925 to 1928, the PDC has revived the tradition of monthly stipends to class-war prisoners as a message to those whose freedom is the cause of the workers movement that they are not forgotten.

Class-Struggle Defense Notes, the newsletter of the PDC, contains letters from class-war prisoners and reports on those cases and causes of vital importance to the workers movement. Help publicize these cases. Get your copy now! Circulate it in your union locals and community organizations. Help us reach thousands of new readers. Build a mass organization of class-struggle defense. Send your contribution to the PDC and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy of issue number 2, send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

WV Photo

Geronimo Pratt has spent 16 years in jail, a victim of racist cop/FBI frame-up conspiracy against Black Panthers.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Trotsky On Secret Diplomacy

On 23 November 1917, two weeks after the Bolsheviks took power, they began to publish in Izvestia *and* Pravda *the secret diplomatic correspondence between tsarist Russia and its imperialist allies, exposing their predatory war aims. As Soviet Russia's first commissar for foreign affairs, Leon Trotsky wrote the preface for this publication, stating:*

In undertaking the publication of the secret diplomatic documents relating to the foreign diplomacy of the tsarist and the bourgeois-coalition governments,... we fulfil an obligation which our party assumed when it was the party of opposition.

Secret diplomacy is a necessary weapon in the hands of the propertied minority which is compelled to deceive the majority in order to make the latter serve its interests. Imperialism, with its world-wide plans of annexation, its rapacious alliances and machinations, has developed the system of secret diplomacy to the highest degree.... The Russian people as well as the other peoples of Europe and those of the rest of the world should be given the documentary evidence of the plans which the financiers and industrialists, together with their parliamentary and diplomatic agents, were secretly scheming....

Abolition of secret diplomacy is the first essential of an honorable, popular, and really democratic foreign policy. The Soviet Government has undertaken to carry out such a policy, and that is why, having offered to all belligerents an immediate armistice, it at the same time publishes the treaties and agreements which are no longer binding on the Russian workmen, soldiers, and peasants....

The government of workers and peasants abolished secret diplomacy with its intrigues, ciphers, and lies. We have nothing to hide. Our program expresses the ardent desires of millions of workers, soldiers, and peasants. We desire a speedy peace on the basis of honest relations with and the full co-operation of all nations. We desire a speedy abolition of the supremacy of capital. In revealing to the whole world the work of the governing classes as it is expressed in the secret documents of diplomacy, we offer to the workers the slogan which will always form the basis of our foreign policy: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

—Leon Trotsky, "Publication Of The 'Secret Treaties'."
Izvestia, 23 November 1917

Geronimo Pratt: "From the Torch of the PDC"

The Partisan Defense Committee has just published the second issue of its newsletter, Class-Struggle Defense Notes, *a 24-page report on the work of the PDC during the past four months. From behind prison walls Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt wrote about the importance of the PDC:*

How do you like my new typewriter? It's really something especially for an "ol timer." Still learning to operate it properly so bear with me. Hope these letters be getting to you. Anyway, what i want to address is the importance of the Partisan Defense Comm. to prisoners who cannot get key documents, papers, books and generally the basic information that one needs in order to grow and develop in every way possible under these adverse conditions. There are so many "stranded" Brothas and Sistas thruout these dungeons who are additionally deprived of certain needs because of political reasons...and when assistance is given from the P.D.C. and other such concerns, it definitely makes a clear and inspirational difference. i have nothing but praise for such deeply rooted humanc gestures which is manifested in such profound collectives as the P.D.C., and want to encourage more and more exchange between "the streets" and the prison for it is essential to the survival of the entire community that these compassionate acts continue to be realized. For me personally, when i received my first embrace from the P.D.C., it reminded me of a certain night while i was locked deep within folsom's hole (4-A) back in 73, i had not seen any outside nor any artificial light for a long time, then suddenly while doing Yoga, i began to see out of the corner of my eye, a vivid reflection of the full moon thru a cracked glass across the catwalk from the cage i was in.... The feelings were too immense to try and state here, but the warmth, when i received your helping hand was very much the same. The Ray of Light still shines...from the Torch of the P.D.C., from every heart that repels injustice and every hand that secks to slay the vultures that prey on the blood of the people...the Torch warms as it enlightens...pass it on and on and on. i Salute you.

In Struggle,
geronimo

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 416 **21 November 1986**

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CP Sabotages Defense of Soviet Union, Again

"When the leaders speak of peace, the common folk know that war is coming. When the leaders curse war, the mobilization order is already written out."

—Bertolt Brecht

To commemorate the 69th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, we published on the front page of the 7 November issue of *Workers Vanguard* an article headlined, "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!" On the same date, the *People's Daily World* printed a not too competent polemic by Communist Party Political Bureau member Jim West against the Spartacist League titled, "The Trotskyites again betray the struggle for disarmament." For the CP, disarmament's the goal, talk of revolution is a provocation, and defense of the Soviet Union is not to be mentioned.

West sneers at revolution with a disdain worthy of a bourgeois politician: "What is the answer of the Trotskyites to the nuclear war danger? Not peaceful coexistence, but 'world-wide proletarian revolution.' You can hardly get more r-r-r-revolutionary than that, can you?" Permanent revolution is dismissed as a "fantasy theory." And of course there are the usual Stalinist denunciations of

DAILY WORLD

SOVIETS DENY DOWNING PLANE

Radar supports denial

CPUSA press, 2 September 1983: cringing falsification in face of U.S. KAL 007 spy provocation.

"Trotskyites" as splitters, disrupters and "crazies" driven by "hatred of peaceful coexistence."

The *People's Daily World* was attacking our article on the Iceland summit ("Limits to Betrayal?", *WV* No. 414, 24 October) in which we warned that Kremlin concessions to U.S. belligerence only embolden the Reaganite reactionaries. West makes an amalgam of the "far right" and "phony left," declaring "peaceful co-existence" to be the "bane and the nightmare of the ultra-right and militarists." He inveighs against "Trotskyite splinter groups," chiefly the SL, "portraying the Soviet Union as making one concession after another to Reagan 'initiatives'." Funny, but we don't recall any right-wingers raising *this* complaint.

Compared to the villainous "Caspar Weinbergers, the ultraright and military-industrial complex," Ronald Reagan almost comes off as a good guy in the CP's view. The favorites of the "détente"-blinded reformists are, of course, "peace-minded" Democrats. Another article in the issue proclaims a "Peace movement agenda for new Congress" following the Republican defeat in the November 4 elections. Actually, the Democrats' chief spokesman on "defense" (i.e., war), Sam Nunn, attacked Reagan *from the right* over Reykjavik for even suggesting giving up nuclear weapons.

To give the CP's liberal politics a "left" cover, West refers to a supposed "Soviet opposition on principle to the export of revolution and its advocacy of peaceful coexistence from Lenin's day on." This is an invention of the crudest sort. Repeatedly during World War I, Lenin denounced pacifist "disarmament" delusions:

> "A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, fundamental and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society. And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to 'demand' 'disarmament'! That is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class-struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie.... Only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able...to consign all armaments to the scrap-heap."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "The 'Disarmament' Slogan" (October 1916)

On "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, Lenin would certainly qualify as a "crazy" in the CP's book. In March 1919 he proclaimed: "The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable. In the end one or the other must triumph."

It was J.V. Stalin who proclaimed the myth of "peaceful coexistence," a corollary of his anti-Marxist dogma of building "socialism in one country." This was the antithesis of Lenin's program of world socialist revolution, on which the Communist International was founded. As for opposition "in principle" to the "export of revolution," even Stalin didn't dare proclaim that until a decade after he usurped power, politically expropriating the Soviet working class. In 1936, after Stalin allowed Hitler to march unimpeded to power, and prepared to behead the Spanish Revolution, the Great Organizer of Defeats told an American bourgeois reporter, "The export of revolution is nonsense. Every country, should it so desire, will achieve its own revolution...." It was Stalin's epitaph for the Comintern he had destroyed.

To buttress one historical fabrication, West invents another, claiming it was "Trotsky's demand" that the Soviet Union "impose a workingclass revolution on Poland after its own revolution in 1917." This is completely bollixed. In 1920, the Red Army under Leon Trotsky repelled a surprise attack by Pilsudski's Polish army. When they reached the border of Poland, the issue was posed whether to keep on going. *Lenin* was strongly for continuing the offensive, seeing the historic opportunity of linking up with the German workers; *Trotsky* had reservations, fearing the Polish workers and peasants would not rise up to greet the Red Army as

continued on page 4

PEOPLE'S DAILY World — 7 November 1986

The Trotskyites again betray the struggle for disarmament

JIM WEST

The Reykjavik summit has served to bring the overriding issue of our times into sharp relief: the imperative need to free the world of the danger of nuclear omnicide.

So long as this cataclysmic threat and the tremendous costs entailed hang over the world, a brake is put upon progress in solving the great contemporary social problems and a black-out imposed on the hopes for a better future.

That is why all eyes everywhere were turned to the capital of Iceland when Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev met for the second time.

When Ronald Reagan pulled back from the brink of agreement on the historic end-the-nuclear-arms-race proposals of Mikhail Gorbachev, he signaled his intention to continue the slide to the brink of nuclear war by pressing ahead with the disastrous Star Wars program.

The Caspar Weinbergers, the ultra-right and military-industrial complex heaved a great sigh of relief. Reagan's rejection of the historic opportunity for real bilateral nuclear disarmament clouded out the spectre of peaceful co-existence, the bane and the nightmare of the ultra-right and militarists.

There was more than a jest involved when a senator said, in effect, that the far right would have banned Reagan from re-entering the U.S on the McCarran-Walter grounds that he had met with and had dealings with a Communist in Iceland.

The extreme right attack on the issues-clarifying, positive side of the summit has its counterpart in the attacks from the phony left. To be more precise, from the Trotskyite splinter groups.

According to the "Workers' Vanguard," Mikhail Gorbachev is a "betrayer," one who is selling out to imperialism for meeting with the president of the imperialist U.S A. in order to advance the Soviet quest for peace. The sheet of the Trotskyite Spartacist League distorts what happened at the summit by portraying the Soviet Union as making one concession after another to Reagan "initiatives"! (The far right was pointing to the "danger" of Reagan yielding to Soviet pressure!)

One can bear a demagogic "Amen!" from the extreme right and the militarists upon reading in "Workers' Voice" these words: "The world, in short, would become a far more dangerous place if the proposed 'disarmament' deal were signed."

What is the answer of the Trotskyites to the nuclear war danger? Not peaceful coexistence, but "world-wide proletarian revolution." You can hardly get more r-r-r-revolutionary than that, can you?

This is the "solution" that all the Trotskyite splinters offer in one way or another From handbills and papers that littered the streets on the route of the Great Peace March on Oct. 25th, we read:

"Those who today want an end to war can only want revolution." This from a group calling itself "The Spark."

The "Workers' Advocate" (Marxist-Leninist Party, USA) attacks the Soviet Union as "social imperialists," shouts that superpower talks are a smokescreen to hide increased armaments, and demands "bring down the imperialists once and for all." And so it goes from one Trotskyite outfit to another.

All of these phony-left sects have their feet firmly planted in the cement-block foundation stone of Trotskyism: the fantasy-theory of "permanent revolution." By this they mean that once a socialist revolution starts anywhere it must be continued without interruption until the whole world is socialist. Because the Soviet Union refused to impose a workingclass revolution on Poland after its own revolution in 1917, despite Trotsky's demand, the Trotskyites have denounced "the betrayal of the Soviet bureaucrats" ever since To them, the Soviet opposition on principle to the export of revolution and its advocacy of peaceful coexistence from Lenin's day on, is betrayal and capitulation to capitalism!

So it was not surprising that the Trotskyites opposed a negotiated peace in the U.S. war on Vietnam. They wanted the war to go on until U.S. imperialism was overthrown no matter how many Vietnamese people and U.S. youth were killed. How much havoc they tried to create in the peace movements of that time!

It is this same bed-rock fantasy theory of permanent revolution, against which Lenin strongly polemicized and rejected — that impels the sundry Trotskyite phony-left groups to play a disruptive, splitting role in the peace movements and in whatever movements they penetrate. Hatred of peaceful coexistence and of the quest for a peaceful world in the nuclear age is endemic to Trotskyism. Little wonder that in the broad peace movements they have earned the designation of "Crazies."

Jim West is a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, USA, and chairman of its Central Review Commission.

Hands Off Izvestia!

U.S. Breaks Into Home, Robs Soviet Reporter

On November 13, two U.S. marshals, without warning, barged into the Washington, D.C. private residence of *Izvestia* correspondent Leonid Koryavin. These government thugs with badges grabbed the Soviet reporter's typewriter, the principal tool of his work. And they threatened to return with a truck and haul away his desk, filing cabinets, bookcases and even his television set!

This Gestapo-like raid on the home of a foreign correspondent grew out of a so-called "libel" settlement awarded California "businessman" Raphael Gregorian. Gregorian claimed he lost a $10 million operation in the Soviet Union after an 18 November 1984 *Izvestia* article accused him "of 'contraband operations' and of selling outdated medical equipment" (*New York Times*, 14 November). The Soviet bureaucracy, enamored of mythical "peaceful coexistence," is, if anything, oversolicitous of Western capitalists who in return routinely use their men in Moscow to engage in espionage.

Gregorian launched a $320 million damage suit against *Izvestia* and the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade which revoked his trade license with the Soviet Union, in a *U.S.* district court in California. In June the federal judge awarded him $413,000. Not content with using the courts to violate the rights, invade the privacy and steal the property of Soviet journalists, Gregorian's attorney has also subpoenaed the Soviet press agency TASS and asked the judge to seize the U.S. bank accounts of the Soviet Bank for Foreign Trade.

The Soviet embassy sent a diplomatic note to the State Department protesting this grotesque violation of human rights, press freedom and the international conventions protecting foreign journalists. When on the basis of considerable evidence the Soviets arrested and charged *U.S. News & World Report* "correspondent" Nicholas Daniloff with espionage, the American media raised a smokescreen of righteous indignation over freedom of the press. Where is the hue and cry over the U.S. government when it tramples upon elementary democratic rights in robbing an *Izvestia* reporter in his home?

This sinister and provocative attack on a Soviet journalist is of a piece with the mass expulsions of Soviet diplomats, repeated incursions into Soviet waters and airspace, and arming cutthroat mullahs and feudalists fighting the Red Army in Afghanistan: a pattern of provocation aiming at war. The wackos and witchhunters in Washington had better be stopped. Hands off *Izvestia*!

S.F. Black Firefighter Victimized For Fighting Racist Attack

SAN FRANCISCO—Hugh Smith is a firefighter, an ex-Marine who was commended for bravery last year by the city fire department. But this is racist, capitalist America, and Smith is one of a relative handful of black firemen in the city run by Democratic mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein. When Smith confronted a white racist fireman who called him a "nigger" in his station house last June, Smith's superior officers covered up the incident and ordered him to lie about it. When Smith blew the lid off, he was charged with making a "false report" and ended up with a "letter of reprimand" in his file—to be removed in six months if he "keeps out of trouble"! This is an outrage! As Smith bitterly commented, "A guy attacks me racially, and they put me on trial. I feel I was a victim" (*Chronicle*, 23 October).

During the Fire Commission's farcical hearing, the three officers involved in the cover-up defended themselves by claiming Smith agreed to go along with it. When the black fireman first demanded action from his superiors, one simply ignored him while another tried to pretend he was "kidding." Smith testified that he was ordered to report that a hand injury received in his scuffle with the racist resulted from a fall in the shower. The racist creep, Jack Fitzpatrick, said he used the word "nigger" frequently to include people other than blacks and defined the word as "the lowest element of any race or people."

SF Chronicle

Hugh Smith

Even the commission was astounded by his brazen claim he meant no racist insult. This disgusting racial epithet is a fighting word. It's Klan talk, the language of the lynch rope. Smith's response—that of any self-respecting black person—was more than justified.

Two of the three officers involved in the cover-up ended up with short suspensions, the third with a "letter of reprimand" to be removed in six months, but unlike Smith's without the insulting "stay out of trouble" condition. Fitzpatrick was suspended for 30 days. This token punishment of the racists and egregious slap at the victim gives the green light to racists throughout the city. Smith's case has become a focal point for a racist mobilization in the department. At the Fire Commission hearings, white firemen sat on one side, blacks on the other. A statement circulated by John Flaherty, president of the San Francisco Fire Chiefs Association, and signed by 34 of the 62 chiefs, denounced the token punishments meted out to the four whites as "extraordinarily unfair and inconceivably harsh," and Smith's punishment as "absurdly lenient"!

Far from being an isolated episode (as Feinstein tried to claim, blaming "a few bad apples"), the incident exposed the pervasive racism in the city's fire department, 85 percent white in this multiracial city with large minority populations. Today there are only 79 blacks in the force of some 1,500, which has long been a job-trusted, ethnic white, largely Irish preserve, with jobs passed on to relatives. A lawsuit is currently in the process of being settled, challenging the civil service tests used to hire and promote firemen as racially and sexually biased (93 percent of whites and 55 percent of blacks passed the last one). As Robert Demmons, president of the Black Firefighters Association, told a Board of Supervisors committee hearing in October, racial harassment on the job began when San Francisco's first black firefighter was called a racist name his first day on the job in 1955 and has continued ever since.

Hugh Smith got a firsthand taste of what can be expected from the bosses' state. In this city it's run by Feinstein, who flew the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror in front of her city hall for two years before the Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense tore it down. Her cops posted a Nazi swastika poster in a police van at an anti-apartheid demonstration in 1985. Democratic Party administrations have been doing the dirty work for Reagan in cities around the country—like black Democrat Wilson Goode, mayor of Philadelphia, who ordered the 1985 MOVE massacre in which eleven black people, including five kids, were murdered. While the courts may order some cosmetic changes in the SF fire department's discriminatory hiring practices, the state generally takes an interest in "equal employment" in the labor movement only as a cynical cover for union-busting schemes.

The American proletariat has a vital stake in fighting to integrate the workforce, including the firemen who (unlike the racist union-busting cops) are part of the working class and perform vital social services. We fight for *revolutionary integrationism*, including jobs for all, union-run special recruitment and training programs for minorities and women, an end to racial and sexual discrimination in hiring and on the job. It will take an integrated, class-struggle leadership of Bay Area labor to clean out the bigots from the station house to the suburbs and crush the KKK race-terrorists. That was shown in practice in 1980, when the 1,200-strong ANCAN mobilization led by the Spartacist League stopped the Nazi scum from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in the San Francisco Civic Center. And this means a workers party to struggle against the capitalist parties, for a workers government to put an end to the racist, capitalist system of exploitation. ■

Again, CP Sabotages...

(continued from page 3)

liberators. But *Stalin* did everything he could to sabotage the offensive, diverting crucial forces from the drive on Warsaw, which ultimately stopped the Red Army on the Vistula (see "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution'," *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Summer 1980).

Continuing the method of the amalgam, the CP tries to equate us with every manner of minuscule anti-Soviet sect, such as the social-democratic "Spark" group and the "Marxist-Leninist Party" (MLP), erstwhile acolytes of Enver Hoxha's Albania. The MLP would certainly object to being labeled "Trotskyite"—indeed the various ex-Maoist groups are merely Stalinists without a country. And in treacherously equating the USSR with the USA as two imperialistic "superpowers," they scab on the defense of the gains of the Bolsheviks' October Revolution. West, of course, doesn't mention that our article prominently declared: "Defend the Soviet Union!"

In fact, West doesn't *mention* defense of the Soviet Union—and for good reason. West tries to claim the Soviet mantle by hailing the "historic" disarmament proposals of CPSU general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. But we've pointed out before how the CPUSA's "détente" illusions have led it to abandon defense of the Soviet Union on several occasions. For example, when the KAL 007 jetliner was shot down overflying some of the most sensitive Soviet military installations in the Far East, the *Daily World* (2 September 1983) published a banner headline: "Soviets Deny Downing Plane." They not only invented a Moscow denial, but refused to believe the Soviet Union would defend itself against the unidentified intruder.

What about when the *New York Times* (2 November 1984) asked Gus Hall where the CPUSA disagreed with the Soviet Union—Hall replied that Polish Solidarność was "a positive step," and, "The other socialist countries should learn a lesson from it...." This was the favorite "union" of Reagan, the pope and the Wall Street bankers! The Spartacist League said: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" Or when Hall told the CPSU congress that Gorbachev had a duty to come to a summit in the U.S. no matter what provocations the Reaganites threw up. "Do you suggest," the astounded Soviet leader asked, "that I come to your country without conditions?" Hall replied, "Without conditions" (*New Times*, 24 March). This was *Reagan's* line! At least the Kremlin said no to that one.

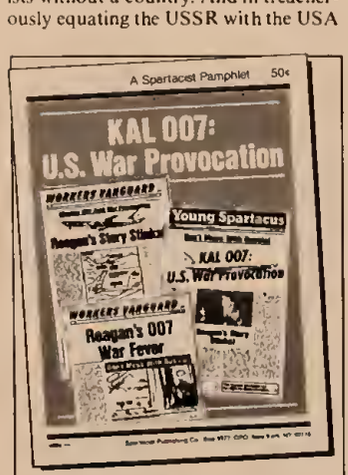
Appeasement is not the way to deal with these capitalist warmongers, who go from one provocation to another, dispatching civilian planes to penetrate Soviet air space over military zones, sending U.S. ships into Soviet territorial waters near key naval bases, ramming Soviet submarines, expelling Soviet diplomats en masse. This is not to say that the Trotskyists reject all negotiations with the imperialists. West takes us to task for opposing a "negotiated peace" in Vietnam: "They wanted the war to go on until U.S. imperialism was overthrown no matter how many Vietnamese people and U.S. youth were killed." We denounced the CP and its reformist and liberal cohorts for calling for negotiations in Vietnam instead of fighting for the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution. But we did not call the 1973 Paris accords a betrayal: we said it was a "temporary hargain" and proclaimed: "The Civil War Goes On" (*WV* No. 16, February 1973). The war did go on, U.S. imperialism was overthrown, and we hailed that victory.

As we proclaimed in the article West attacks, as Lenin repeatedly declared, "Workers Revolution Must Disarm the Imperialists!"

One has to ask after all this, why is it that the CPUSA should print such an ignorant and vulgar "polemic." Certainly not in order to expose their "Communist" pretensions to ridicule. Is Gus Hall getting some heat over his groveling pro-détente line from abroad, as when French CP leader Duclos sent a missive (on Stalin's behalf) to Earl Browder suggesting that dissolving the CPUSA was carrying the People's Front with Roosevelt too far? Or could it be that some quite senior CPers are getting a little tired of their crappy organization, and like seeing a genuine communist paper, if only as an external point of reference. ■

WV Photo

CPUSA chairman Gus Hall peddles social-patriotic line of "peaceful coexistence."



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Industrial Murder in the North Sea

LONDON—On November 6, one of the worst helicopter crashes in history took place just off the Shetland Isles in the North Sea. Forty-five men, oil workers working on the offshore oil rigs, died as their Chinook helicopter foundered and broke up in the icy waters of the North Sea, where you're lucky to last two minutes in the near-Arctic conditions before freezing to death. Miraculously, two survived, by clinging to a piece of wreckage and a dinghy and being fortuitously picked up by a coast guard chopper on a training flight within minutes of the crash. Otherwise, they too would have frozen and drowned.

The ill-fated Chinook helicopter was owned by Robert ("Captain Bob") Maxwell, darling of treacherous Labour leader Neil Kinnock and owner of a number of daily papers. His recently acquired British International Helicopters has taken over much of the work involved in ferrying oil workers to and from the various rigs and depots dotted around the North Sea. Having sent these 45 mainly Scottish workers to their deaths, the despicable Labourite millionaire then launched a fund drive for the bereaved families through his newspaper chain. Truly, blood money!

"Accidents will happen," the bosses are saying in chorus. But *why* do they happen? The drive for profit that is intrinsic to capitalism involves systematic negligence and outright, wanton murder. Maintenance engineers insisted on delaying the fatal flight when they discovered an oil leak before its takeoff, and an eyewitness to the crash on a nearby fishing vessel saw one of the rotor blades *fall off* just before the Chinook started its dive into the sea.

Aircraft design experts describe the Chinook as an "engineering nightmare." In February 1983 this same chopper had to make a forced landing when a gearbox bearing failed. Only two of the three improvements recommended in its wake by safety experts—on fire safety, flight deck warning indicator and gearbox design—were ever implemented. In October 1984, the synchronisation shaft failed during maintenance. Given the Chinook's overlapping twin rotor blades design, the synchronisation mechanism is critical to keeping the blades from smashing each other to bits. That was the cause of a similarly horrific crash in Mannheim, West Germany in 1982, in which 46 French and Welsh amateur parachutists aboard a military version of the Chinook were killed. It appears that something very similar happened on November 6.

Der Spiegel

North Sea oil rig: Capitalism creates disaster-ridden, frozen hell for workers.

Conditions on the North Sea oil rigs epitomise the total disdain for the lives and welfare of the workforce that is characteristic of capitalist exploitation. In April 1977, "Red" Adair, the American oil rig troubleshooter, said: "Whatever precautions are taken, there'll be a disaster in the North Sea, sooner or later. There are no proper facilities for coping with it" (*New Yorker*, 27 January). The North Sea oilfield has been plagued with disaster from its inception. In December 1985, 13 men were killed when the *Sea Gem*, one of the first drilling barges, capsized and sank. Several weeks after Adair's prediction, Well 14, on Ekofisk Bravo in the Norwegian sector of the oilfield, blew out. The oil companies had previously rejected Adair's proposal for a specialised firefighting vessel on the grounds of expense.

North Sea oil adds something like £2 million (almost $3 million) *per hour* to the coffers of the oil magnates—every penny of it leached out of the blood of the workforce. The workers, many of them highly skilled and specialised, work straight 12-hour shifts 14 days at a stretch. (You can get a taste of the Dante-like infernal scene, minus the high-tech, from the Sean Connery film *Outland*.) They are forced to work on slippery platforms blown backwards and forwards by gale-force winds in a prisonlike regime—booze and women are banned, newspapers are generally several days old, their only source of relaxation videotapes. Except in the sleeping areas, the deafening din and vibration of the rigs is everywhere and always present. And, unlike onshore oil refineries, workers can't run away from a fire; they can only jump into the surrounding icy sea.

And the helicopters—mostly Chinooks and the smaller Sikorski S-61s—which are central to the functioning of the oilfield are five times more likely to malfunction and crash than fixed-wing aircraft. The pilot must maintain hands-on control of these "unstable platforms" during every instant of flight. And in the North Sea oilfield, they operate virtually without cease, making the air traffic control centre at Brent Log one of the busiest in Europe (at one time second only to London's Heathrow international airport). The *New Yorker* correspondent notes that "The parallel between the North Sea and space has become one of the clichés of the industry." But if the imperialist bourgeoisie is prepared to see seven astronauts blown to bits aboard the Challenger space shuttle, what concern would one expect the notoriously rapacious oil companies to give to their workers?

The North Sea helicopter disaster was fundamentally of a piece with the Kinross gold mine catastrophe in South Africa a couple of months ago, in which nearly 200 black miners were asphyxiated a mile underground. For the capitalist bloodsuckers, the bottom line—literally—is their profit statement at the end of the fiscal year; and to that end, human life is expendable. In particular, the English-centred bourgeoisie has routinely treated Scottish working people as expendable, be it as cannon fodder in the Scottish regiments or as workers on North Sea oil rigs.

The oil workers have considerable industrial muscle. The nascent South African black National Union of Mineworkers organised a powerful memorial strike in outrage over the Kinross massacre. But to the extent the North Sea oil workers are unionised, they have only the pathetic ASTMS, which organises primarily white-collar technicians. Shortly before the recent crash, government official Norman Marguerite wrote to "interested parties" (no doubt including the ASTMS leadership) expressing gratitude for their "patience" over long-postponed reforms in safety conditions.

Union-busting paves the way to industrial murder. Reagan's smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union led directly to a sharp rise in air fatalities. Had the ASTMS struck in support of the heroic British coal miners strike—when oil-fired power stations played a crucial strikebreaking role—they could have made the difference in deep-sixing "Iron Lady" Thatcher, whose revenues depend heavily on North Sea oil. For union control over safety and working conditions! For a strong industrial union of North Sea oil workers under class-struggle leadership!

From Whitehall to the City of London, the ruling class has seen in the North Sea oilfield the saviour that would somehow save clapped-out British capitalism indefinitely from economic disaster. But it has not. And now the one region of Scotland that due to oil has had some measure of alleviation from the all-around economic devastation is finding that this was transient and illusory. As the oil industry goes into decline, it is estimated that 40,000 jobs will be lost, ripping the heart out of this enclave of Scottish "prosperity." It's no accident that a significant number of those killed aboard the Chinook came from Fife, once a rich coalfield, since turned into industrial desert. Acting out a capitalist sequel to the Highland Clearances, Scotland (like Wales) has been viciously ravaged and ripped off by the British bourgeoisie in its epoch of decay. And look what British imperialism has done in Ireland.

Marxists stand for the right of self-determination for the Celtic fringe. We do not, however, urge a course of separation: the Scottish and Welsh proletariat have been in the vanguard of the working class movement in the British Isles. The answer is neither the fool's gold of Scottish nationalism, which would leave the Scottish working class no less brutally exploited, nor the vile "socialism" of Kinnock's Labour Party, which revels in its strikebreaking and treacherous fealty to the English ruling class. Having stabbed the miners in the back, "Judas" Kinnock goes off on a pilgrimage to the Berlin Wall to laud the Nazi effort to fight off the Red Army liberation of Berlin and then lays a wreath for the racist cop killed during the police invasion of London's Tottenham ghetto last year!

A revolutionary struggle for socialism can unite the English working class with the downtrodden peoples of the Celtic fringe and the oppressed black and Asian minorities—who all have good reason to hate and fight the British ruling class. Above all, that requires the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party through splitting the working-class base of the Labour Party from the pro-capitalist tops. Such a party will act as tribune of the oppressed, mobilising all the downtrodden in this society behind the social power of the proletariat and finally sweeping the racist butchers of this senile ruling class into the dustbin of history. ■

Workers Hammer

Striking British miners in 1984 funeral procession for coal miner killed by scab. General strike then could have brought down bloody Thatcher.

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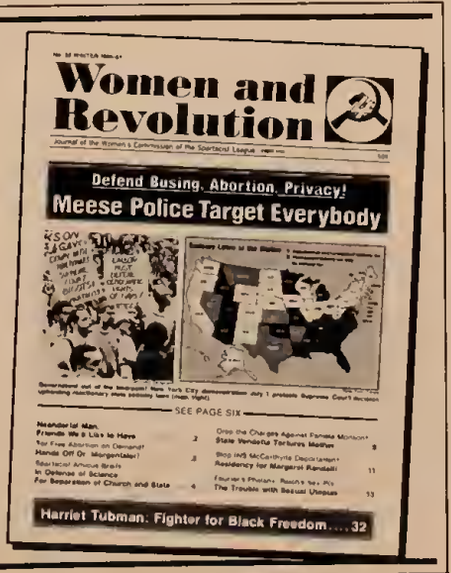


Hundreds of Thousands Homeless After Quake

Salvador Workers: Give Duarte the Somoza Treatment!

The October 10 earthquake in El Salvador struck a heavy blow at the poor and working people of this land who have already withstood six years of civil war. This was no "act of God" divorced from the class struggle: it is the slum dwellers who are homeless today, the rich are not sleeping in the streets! In fact, rapacious Salvadoran capitalists and their bloodthirsty military guard dogs used the opportunity to continue pillaging the country and persecuting working-class fighters. A revolutionary workers party would respond to this disaster by mobilizing the Salvadoran masses against their utterly corrupt and cynical rulers. In Nicaragua, Somoza's looting of relief supplies fueled outrage ultimately leading to the July 1979 Sandinista-led popular insurrection that sent the dictator packing. In El Salvador, where a militant workers movement is recovering its strength after several years underground, the earthquake could be a detonator for proletarian revolution sending shock waves throughout the region.

Within minutes of the first tremor, half the capital lay in ruins. While the Salvadoran government of U.S.-puppet president José Napoleón Duarte tried to downplay the destruction, relief officials estimate that as many as 3,000 were killed, 20,000 injured and 300,000 left homeless (SALPRESS, 13 October). More than 500 died in the Rubén Darío office building, condemned after the last quake but never ordered razed by then-mayor Duarte. Some 30,000 homes were destroyed, not counting the rude mud and adobe structures of the *tugurios* (slums) which were especially hard hit. Compared to last year's Mexico quake, whose force was over a hundred times greater, the number left without a roof over their heads in San Salvador was double that in Mexico City. The astounding toll of homeless victims reveals the precarious existence eked out by the poor and working class who live in shacks teetering along river gullies and clinging to steep ravines. As more than 1,000 aftershocks and torrential rainstorms battered survivors, San Salvador became a veritable hell on earth.

no credit

Militant water workers contront Salvador National Police.

This disaster comes in the midst of the U.S.-backed war to crush a workers and peasants insurgency seeking to throw off the yoke of more than half a century of bloody military rule. Kill-crazy right-wing death squads and uniformed repressive forces have slaughtered more than 61,000 civilians, and in the last couple years murderous governmental aerial bombardment combined with frequent army "search and destroy" sweeps have created an internal refugee population of about 500,000 living in and around the capital. With half the population either underemployed or unemployed and the economy mired in depression, the outlook for the Salvadoran masses was catastrophic even *before* the October 10 earthquake. Their experience since then proves that the class struggle is not suspended for natural disasters; the resulting chaos and victimization of the dispossessed only intensifies it.

The government "relief" operation strips bare the brutal realities of class oppression in El Salvador. In Mexico after last year's killer quake, the military went through the motions of aiding the victims. In El Salvador, the army has done *nothing* outside of the Ilopango air base (center of the CIA's contra gunrunning operation) and protecting government warehouses. Soldiers watched with cold disdain, fingering the triggers of their M16s while Salvadoran and international volunteers feverishly searched for survivors. Treasury Police chief General Rinaldo Golcher told *Newsday* (13 October), "The men are here to keep order." The dust had hardly settled before government death squads resumed their kidnapping and killing. Among the fatalities were seven members of a refugee relief organization and Francisco Méndez, an electrical worker of the STECEL union shot by the army while working as a *brigadista* aiding quake victims.

At the airport, the army deliberately delayed desperately needed relief supplies. These guardians of the bourgeois order went over arriving planes with a fine-toothed comb, grotesquely searching for arms to the leftist rebels! Sandinista Nicaragua sent a delegation with blood plasma, medicine and blankets. However, the Salvadoran government rejected outright an offer by Cuba to supply a fully equipped field hospital and team of doctors. It also blocked aid shipments destined for distribution by unions. A U.S. relief agency denounced the fact that 15 planeloads of supplies were denied landing rights in the days just after the disaster. Two planes from the Los Angeles-based Medical Aid to El Salvador were held on the ground for nearly a week. Inside the city, for days only the Catholic church and international Red Cross distributed limited aid, while hundreds of victims gathered outside the hangar where official relief was centered, clamoring for food and plastic sheets to protect them from the storms.

AP

San Salvador earthquake: a scene of devastation.

The entire disaster relief operation has been political from the start. The U.S. has tried to control supplies in order to strengthen its grip on the capital where a resurgent labor movement had begun to assert itself. Perhaps the most obscene image of this was the photo of U.S. secretary of state George (Let 'em Eat Bullets) Shultz and butcher Duarte surveying the earthquake damage. After his visit, Shultz recommended that the majority of future U.S. aid be destined for the military. Duarte, meanwhile, turned coordination of external disaster aid over to the private sector, partly out of recognition of widespread government corruption and partly to appease the ultraright. The businessmen chosen for the task are leaders of the Salvadoran Foundation for Development, a group directly linked with the U.S. extermination campaign in the countryside through the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Not surprisingly, with this Reagan-style "magic of the marketplace" scant aid reached the victims. Most international donations were siphoned off for private construction projects or hoarded by the army. Striking personnel at the Policlínica Salvadoreña, who worked around the clock performing surgery in the hospital parking lot, complained that medicines were siphoned off by the military hospital. And with mass starvation looming, the Christian Democratic regime announced it would *sell* 2,000 tons of wheat donated by the government of Japan. Meanwhile, with more than 30,000 phone lines down, the military manager of ANTEL (telecommunications) refused to bring back 20 fired technicians, instead contracting a foreign team. And the ANDA waterworks, facing urgent repairs to hundreds of broken mains, advertised for new workers rather than rehire 236 fired union militants. As for reconstruction, some destroyed communities may never be rebuilt as wealthy landlords reclaim the meager parcels on which the poor had put up their squatters' shacks.

As the initial shock of the earthquake wears off, anger is mounting over the criminal exploitation of the relief operation. On November 11 hundreds of students burned an effigy of Uncle Sam and shouted *"¡Duarte asesino!"* when the puppet president tried to set foot on the University of El Salvador to "evaluate damage" from the quake. "Duarte, you have hurt the university more than the earthquake did," came the outcry, recalling that the campus was shut down in 1980 under the Duarte junta after scores of students were murdered by a police and army attack. The Salvadoran masses who have lived through the bloody civil war and this latest infernal calamity must burn with class hatred: there will be no salvation for them without sweeping away the brutal rule of Duarte and his Yankee godfathers, of the insatiable local bourgeoisie and bloodthirsty military.

For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!

During times of crisis nationalists and reformists rally 'round the flag, submerging the class struggle in the name of "national unity." Following the October quake the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the guerrillas' Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) declared a unilateral truce. Having earlier canceled the "dialogue" at Sesori by militarily occupying the site, the government responded by *increasing* military operations in rebel-controlled zones. In the U.S., rad-libs and reformists like CISPES and the Socialist Workers Party take up disaster relief as a form of charity. What's urgently needed is revolutionary struggle against the oppressors! The earthquake was a natural phenomenon; the fact that hundreds died and hundreds of thousands are left homeless is the product of *capitalism*. There should have been militant demonstrations against the government demanding that relief supplies be handed over; the warehouses should have been seized and slum areas turned into "no-go" areas for the military.

In imperial Russia, at the turn of the century widespread famine sparked philanthropic relief efforts by the impotent "Zemstvo" provincial councils permitted by the autocratic regime. V.I. Lenin could have been describing El Salvador today when he noted in October 1901 that "the tsarist government officials hamper and reduce relief, minimise the extent of the distress, impede the opening of food-kitchens, etc." To Narodnik populists and Zemstvo liberals who accused the socialists of "artificially applying the concept of the class struggle" to the issue of famine, Lenin responded that "the Russian Government *excels us all* in the judgement of the profundity of the class struggle." The "increasing exploitation of capital" and "predatory policy of the government and of the landlords" had reduced the peasants to their ruinous state, he wrote. The future leader of the Bolshevik Revolution called for

exposing the government's criminal food policies and insisted:

> "there neither is nor can be any other means of combating unemployment and crises... than the class struggle of the revolutionary proletariat against the entire capitalist system."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "Review of Home Affairs" (October 1901)

The suffering of the hundreds of thousands of homeless in El Salvador will not be alleviated by a truce, but through mobilizing the urban poor and the peasants behind the workers movement in revolutionary struggle. Over the last two years, the combative Salvadoran workers have repeatedly taken to the streets in massive demonstrations and work stoppages. September saw a "broad movement of labor solidarity" showing "increased class consciousness" (*Proceso*, 8 October) around strikes by construction workers, hospital workers and workers at the CIRCA textile plant, who won their economic demands after a month on strike. On September 19 phone workers stopped work for three hours, disrupting communications from Duarte's "peace" charade in Sesori. On October 1 and 2 more than 15,000 teachers and other public employees walked out. And on October 4, 50,000 people from around the country defied a military blockade to march for a "political solution to the national conflict and the demands of the workers."

What "negotiated solution" can there be with the arrogant Salvadoran ruling class, which prides itself on crushing a worker-peasant uprising in the bloody *Matanza* of 1932 without calling in the Yankees; with the racist exploiters who today employ psychopathic killers like D'Aubuisson so they can dispose of the "Indian" toilers like cattle! Communist leader Farabundo Martí understood in 1932 that "until the rich class is forced from power by all of us, we will always be their slaves." Marti's battle cry was for "All power to the workers, peasants and soldiers councils!" The FDR/FMLN nationalist-reformists despair about making a revolution because as nationalists they have no perspective of international class struggle. They look instead to "progressive" bourgeois governments of the Contadora group—like Mexico, whose PRI rulers fear the contagion of social revolution could spread from Central America to their own earthquake victims and the deeply exploited Mexican proletariat.

no credit

Union-called national demonstration of 50,000 in San Salvador defies military blockade, October 4.

In the U.S. the fake "solidarity" brokers look to Democrats like Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale and to "progressive" union bureaucrats such as the National Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, which voted at the October 1985 AFL-CIO convention for a treacherous negotiated settlement in El Salvador *and* Nicaragua—i.e., the FDR/FMLN should sit down with the butchers and the Sandinistas should bargain with the contra killers! The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League call instead for military victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador, and to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution. We stand for a *class* fight against Duarte's death squad "democracy" and its Republican and Democratic paymasters, for a class-struggle workers party and concrete actions of labor solidarity: hot-cargo arms to El Salvador, for material aid to defend Nicaragua, for labor strikes against a U.S. invasion of Central America.

The San Salvador disaster could be a turning point for the Salvadoran revolution, much as the 1972 Managua earthquake was in Nicaragua. Ten thousand people died there, and a quarter of a million were left homeless; the center of Managua was leveled. International aid poured in. Somoza and his cronies saw in the catastrophe a chance to make immense profits. Through ruthless land speculation, raking in huge loans and stealing international relief aid, *El Jefe* and his pals made millions from the suffering of the Nicaraguan people. But the incredible greed and cruelty of these bloodsuckers fueled the Sandinista rebellion which eventually put an end to Somoza's tyranny. In El Salvador today, the avarice of the bourgeoisie and the heinous crimes of the military and their front man Duarte must spark proletarian revolution throughout Central America to bring these bastards down. ■

Sons of Salvadoran Unionist Jailed and Tortured

Free José and Jaime Centeno!

More than 500 trade unionists and other victims of rightist repression in El Salvador are imprisoned under the dictatorial decrees of President José Napoleón Duarte. Among them are the two sons of the Association of Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers (ASTTEL) secretary Humberto Centeno. The seizure of Centeno and his sons José and Jaime by a death squad of plainclothes police in November 1985 provoked a national strike by the 7,000 ASTTEL members. Although the elder Centeno was quickly released, Salvadoran phone workers stayed out until his sons were transferred from the torture cells of the Treasury Police to Mariona prison. While in the hands of the sadistic cops, a forced "confession" was extorted from them of supposed involvement in the kidnapping of Colonel Omar Napoleón Avalos, head of the civil aviation agency, CIA agent and Duarte confidant.

This case of brutal anti-labor repression is part of an offensive against ASTTEL, which has been fighting for its life for the last year. In a 51-day strike by militant telecommunications technicians this spring, 20 strikers were fired, including the union delegates (see *WV* No. 409, 1 August). In the U.S. the Partisan Defense Committee has highlighted their struggle, and locals of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) in Oakland, Cleveland and New York City have expressed solidarity with their class brothers and sisters struggling under Reagan-Duarte's death squad "democracy." As part of our defense of the militant Salvadoran phone workers, *Workers Vanguard* spoke with Humberto Centeno about the circumstances of his and his sons' capture. Following are excerpts from his account:

Centeno: We Salvadoran workers have suffered repression for many years. As government employees, we are completely unprotected by the laws. They can fire us any moment they want. And as in El Salvador there is so much unemployment, everyone initially was afraid of forming their unions. Nevertheless, the very hunger as well as the economic crisis that all Salvadorans suffer led us to form associations. From the beginning [in 1984] we weren't going to be an association that organized fiestas or held raffles. A series of strikes were called—at least by ASTTEL as well as in the Post Office, at the Ministry of Agriculture, at Social Security, by the water utility union. The government realized that we weren't going to be a pro-Christian Democratic Party association, and neither could the leaders of ASTTEL be bought off by the American Embassy with its millions of dollars that it throws away in El Salvador.

On November 8, they seized me in my home. When they arrived they asked only for me. But my sons, on hearing the uproar caused by the entry of many men dressed in civilian clothes—death squad types—came out to see what was going on. The guy in charge asked me who they were. My eldest son (José) is 21 and the younger (Jaime) 18. When I told them that these were my sons, they told me that they should accompany them too. So we left my home in Cojutepeque. They put us face down. They threatened us. They mistreated us. I was very upset. Never in my life had I been in a jail for any reason. I never belonged to any political party. I've never been connected with anyone, except in the struggle for the workers.

no credit

Salvadoran union leader Humberto Centeno.

When we arrived at the Treasury Police, I was taken before Colonel Golcher. He was very annoyed: he told me they had made a big scandal about my seizure. At that point I didn't know that my ASTTEL colleagues had declared a work stoppage, and also that all the radio stations in El Salvador were strongly criticizing my capture. Colonel Golcher told me that I could go home, but that my sons would remain there and that they would hand them over to me in the afternoon. Well, from there we went to the Roma center where the compañeros were meeting. With a great spirit of solidarity they told me that they were going to continue on strike until my sons were released.

Later we went to a congress that FENASTRAS [National Federation of Salvadoran Workers] was holding in a hotel in the capital. Then some Americans accompanied us to the Treasury Police at about five in the afternoon. When we arrived, instead of releasing my sons, they gave me a notification saying that they would be there for 15 days. Possibly during that day that my sons were there, the brilliant idea occurred to them of framing them up in the kidnapping of Colonel Napoleón Avalos. The next day when my wife and I came, my sons didn't recognize us. They were quite drugged. So I called a press conference and reported that they were torturing them, they were drugging them.

CISPES

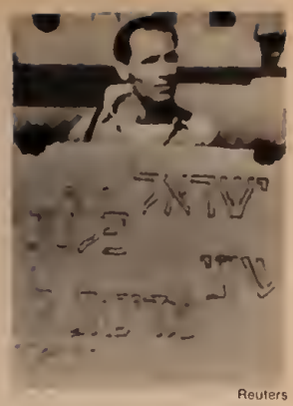
José and Jaime Centeno in Mariona prison, May 1986.

From then on, we waged a hard campaign. They felt obliged, for the first time in El Salvador, to have a picture taken of them. About three days later, they invited the national press on the condition that they take pictures without asking questions. It seemed strange to me that my sons appeared in those photos wearing jackets. Later, when they were in Mariona, they told me that they had put the jackets on them because they had scars from electric shocks on their arms. The important thing was the sentiment of solidarity of all the workers of El Salvador, of all the people. The telecommunications workers felt that they were trying to blackmail me, and therefore the whole union, so we continued on strike some 19 days.

In November, my sons will have been held prisoner for one year, unjustly. As Salvadorans, we don't find that strange, since for more than 50 years they have been violating our human rights. Although my sons are in Mariona, and although they have broken up a home, they haven't lowered our morale to keep struggling in favor of the workers, not only the telecommunications workers, but all the Salvadoran workers. After the capture of my two sons, our work has become greater, 100 percent more. We hope for the day when all workers unite, and that is one of the aspirations of many Salvadorans, so that they respect us as human beings. ■

Sunday Times [London]

Photos (left) of Israeli nuclear bomb factory beneath Negev desert from Sunday Times (London), 5 October 1986.



Reuters

Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu at demonstration for a Palestinian state last year.

Zionist Madmen...

(continued from page 1)

hid the elevators to the secret underground factory from the prying eyes of international inspectors. Vanunu gave the *Sunday Times* more than 60 photographs of the ultra-secret bunker, one showing a component of lithium deuteride (for a thermonuclear bomb with the force of "hundreds" of kilotons). His account was double- and triple-checked by nuclear scientists in Britain and the U.S.

The article noted that one would expect "bigger gaps" in the knowledge of "a mere technician," but this might be explained by the fact that he worked at Dimona for nearly a decade. How come he was left alone to photograph the entire secret complex (there are no people in his photos)? The *Sunday Times* explanation was that British control room technicians are often free to roam around nuclear plants alone to "follow up alarms." Reputable scientists said it would have been possible to secretly upgrade the original Dimona reactor from 26 megawatts capacity to the 150 megawatts needed to produce so much plutonium. But other questions remain—e.g., why did the usually efficient Shin Beth (the Israeli FBI) let Vanunu out of the country shortly after his dismissal, and how did he smuggle out his film?

The story has its bizarre aspects. We are told that while working at Dimona, Vanunu "became a member of the Israeli Communist Party and was active in pro-Palestinian demonstrations" (*New York Times*, 10 November). Also he was reportedly "modeling naked for drawing classes at Beersheba University," in a small desert town where most of the Arabs are pro-Zionist Bedouins. A girlfriend says he "volunteered to be laid off." He then went to Australia, the story goes, where he met a Colombian journalist named Oscar Guerrero, oddly working as a handyman at an Anglican church (where Vanunu was converting to Christianity), who persuaded him to tell his story to the press. Guerrero wanted money, but Vanunu told *Newsweek*, "I'm doing it for peace."

Not surprisingly, the *New York Times* (29 October) reports "there is a school of thought among military analysts in Israel that suggests the entire Vanunu affair is a ruse by Israeli intelligence." Israeli military planners openly talk about the "next war," the one against Syria. The *Economist* (15 November) speculates that Vanunu's story "could have been intended to serve as a deterrent to any attack on Israel the Syrians may have been thinking about." But an Israeli disinformation scheme is unlikely in the extreme because the information is terribly damaging to Israel. This sounds like the Mossad trying to cover an egregious security breach.

The American Connection

One thing is certain: the Israelis didn't develop their nuclear weapons by themselves—they had help from key imperialist allies. The French provided the initial nuclear infrastructure, and then the U.S. came in, with secret help from the West Germans. In 1979, according to CBS News, Israel tested a nuclear bomb in the South Atlantic "with help and cooperation of the South African government" (quoted in Israel Shahak, *Israel's Global Role* [1982]). In the mid-'60s the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission discovered several hundred pounds of enriched uranium missing from the inventory of a Pennsylvania company headed by one Zalman Shapiro who, according to a 1977 exposè in *Rolling Stone* magazine, was supplying Israel with uranium; President Johnson, however, ordered an official cover-up.

Last year reports surfaced that Israel had purchased *800* nuclear bomb triggers from an American firm; U.S. officials had not asked to inspect the sites where these krytrons were in use since "such a request could be construed by the Israelis as an affront to their national sovereignty" (*New York Times*, 16 May 1985). And this past week it was revealed that Department of Energy records document a 1963 shipment to Israel of four metric tons of heavy water—a key ingredient in running the nuclear reactor at Dimona. (NATO ally Norway supplied another 20 tons.) American complicity clearly goes way back.

WV Map

Israelis target Russia: new Lavi fighter-bomber could nuke Soviet Black Sea fleet headquarters at Sevastopol. With refueling, they could reach Moscow.

To be sure, the Zionists' local ambitions sometimes clash with U.S. strategic interests. In the first days of the 1973 October war, when it looked like Israel might actually suffer a defeat by Arab armies, "Israel's Jericho surface-to-surface missiles were armed with nuclear warheads in a frantic three days of activity centred around Dimona" (Colonel William V. Kennedy, *Intelligence Warfare* [1983]). The Kremlin reportedly responded by preparing to send nuclear warheads for Egyptian missiles, whereupon the U.S., at the height of Nixon's Watergate crisis, put its strategic forces on red alert.

So what would the Zionists do with 200 nuclear bombs? Israel Shahak, the courageous Israeli civil libertarian, has translated the following hair-raising musings of Shlomo Aharonson, a prominent supporter of "liberal" Zionist Ezer Weizman (the former Israeli air force chief and then war minister in the Likud government):

> "A sufficient amount of atom bombs... can hit hard all the Arab capitals, and tear down the Aswan Dam. Another amount can hit other cities and oil installations. Thermonuclear bombs (H-bombs) can destroy territorial aims, including concentrations of Palestinians in Lebanon....
>
> "There are a hundred targets in the Arab world, the destruction of which will change the face of the area to the extent of not being recognized...."
>
> —*Ha'aretz*, 14 November 1980

And Israel won't suffer from the fallout?! Yet even in this crazed scenario, what are the *other* hundred nukes for? A writer in the Histadrut "union" newspaper last year vituperated:

> "The Soviet regime is the principal source of international terrorism.... Syria is the root of terrorism in the Middle East, especially against the State of Israel. The western world in general and Israel in particular must cut off the head of this cancer, if necessary by force."
>
> —*Davar*, 1 July 1985

War with Syria is openly projected in the Israeli establishment. And the nuclear delivery systems are in place. The "nuclear capable" Jericho-2 surface-to-surface missiles, with a range of 700 kilometers (about 435 miles), have reportedly been deployed in the Negev and on the occupied Golan Heights overlooking Syria. Israeli Kfir and F-4 Phantom fighter planes can also reportedly deliver nuclear bombs. But what if it's no "six-day war"? If worse comes to worst, it looks like the Zionist generals may be preparing to attack the Soviet Union, and let the Americans pay the price. This may be crazy, but crazy is what they are.

Target Russia?

At first glance, the Soviet Union may appear to be beyond the reach of the Israelis. The delivery of a large number of nuclear bombs onto Soviet territory would require long-range planes or missiles. One should note, however, that the Israelis did manage to send up to eight F-15s on a 1,500-mile bombing run on Tunis in October 1985, apparently by a complicated midair refueling procedure (with the likely connivance of the U.S. Sixth Fleet). Curiously, the Lavi fighter-bomber now being developed by Israel with about one *billion* dollars of American money could fill the bill. The plane incorporates Israel's "unique battle experience and the latest electronic gadgetry to help elude a new generation" of Soviet surface-to-air missiles (*Washington Post*, 6 August).

Most striking is the combat radius of the plane: 1,150 nautical miles "for air-to-ground missions" (*Aviation Week*, 28 July). This reaches far beyond the Arab states. It is, in fact, more than enough to reach Soviet Black Sea fleet headquarters at Sevastopol, and go as far as the Ukraine. With refueling, they could hit Moscow too. Two prototypes of the Lavi now are being tested, and Israel plans to begin production of 300 planes in 1990. Its high cost ($1.7 billion, mostly American money and technology) indicates that the Reaganites clearly have a big stake in this *American* plane. And with the *Sunday Times* exposé, we have to ask: are the Israeli bombs a U.S. reserve arsenal for a "lightning war" (*Blitzkrieg*) on the Soviet Union?

This also adds a more sinister dimension to Israel's campaign to "Free Soviet Jewry." For years, they've sought to milk Russia of some of its most highly trained technical personnel (10,000 engineers, 3,800 doctors and dentists, 7,000 students and 1,200 scientists from 1971 to 1984). The USSR is the last repository of Jews whom Israel could

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Was El Al Bomb a Mossad Plot?

While the "Teherangate" affair was blowing White House credibility to kingdom come, another bombshell exploded when French prime minister Jacques Chirac was quoted, in an interview reported in Sun Myung Moon's *Washington Times*, saying he understood from top German officials that *the El Al bomb plot in London last April may have been a Mossad job*, orchestrated by the Israeli spy agency from start to finish. For the last several years, Reagan's *shtick* in the imperialists' anti-Soviet "state-supported terrorism" campaign has been Libya-bashing, leading to the Americans' March air raid on Libyan SAM sites and Reagan's Tripoli murder raid against Qaddafi in April. Now Britain and Israel are pushing the "Syrian connection," with clearance from Washington. Syria is widely understood to be the target of the Israeli war buildup. But the Chirac revelations cut the ground from under this latest criminal provocation as well.

AP Photos

Gamma

Palestinian Nezar Hindawi, Irish girlfriend Ann Murphy and El Al plane. Imperialists can't agree on what the "real story" is.

From the beginning, the case of Nezar Hindawi and the alleged plan to blow up an El Al jet sounded uncannily like a plot straight out of *The Little Drummer Girl*, John Le Carré's pro-Zionist espionage novel. A high-living Palestinian terrorist in London induces a naïve, lonely Irish chambermaid, just two months off the boat from Dublin, to be his unwitting pawn. Supposedly, Hindawi hands his girlfriend, Ann Murphy, whom he's gotten pregnant and promises to marry (in Israel!), a brown suitcase (which during the trial changes its color to blue) containing a plastique bomb, and a detonator (disguised as a pocket calculator) timed to explode somewhere over the Swiss Alps en route to Israel. After she is left holding the bag, as it were, Hindawi runs to the Syrian embassy, meets with the ambassador, no less, and is spirited away to a safe house.

Fearing that the Syrians are going to do him in, he bolts and holes up in a London hotel where he is conveniently arrested by Scotland Yard, who it turns out had been trailing him for almost two months. Meanwhile, his brother, Ahmed Hazi, is implicated by West Berlin police in the March bombing of an obscure German-Arab friendship association. (For a while they tried to link Hazi to the April 5 bombing of La Belle disco, the West Berlin club frequented by black American GIs and Turkish workers, which was the pretext for Reagan's terror-bombing of Libya.) Hindawi writes to a cousin in Italy, telling him to "persuade the Syrians to arrange for Britain to release him, perhaps by kidnapping Britons in Beirut" (*Jerusalem Post* [international edition], 8 November). But the letter is intercepted by Italian police, and the cousin is in custody on charges of involvement in last year's *Achille Lauro* cruise liner hijacking. If you believe this...

Nezar Hindawi was convicted by a London court on October 24 and sentenced to 45 years in prison. Thereupon Margaret Thatcher's government announced it was breaking off relations with Syria, and called on Britain's allies to back her up—based on the supposedly conclusive evidence of Syrian involvement (which was not presented at the trial). Washington withdrew its ambassador from Damascus and announced empty "sanctions," such as a ban on ticket sales for Syrian airlines, which don't fly to the U.S. anyway. After some arm-twisting, the Common Market countries fell into line as well. Greece dissented, however, comparing the anti-Syrian campaign to the anti-Soviet propaganda barrage over the shooting down of the South Korean airliner which overflew key Soviet military installations in September 1983. The Greek stand against sanctions will be proved right, said the deputy foreign minister, just as the KAL 007 "was proved to have been conducting espionage" (*New York Times*, 16 November).

In the midst of all this came the Chirac revelations. Paris first tried to deny the report, disputing the "interpretation" given to the French prime minister's remarks. But after the *Washington Times* (10 November) published the full transcript of the pithy interview, Chirac conceded its accuracy. No wonder Hôtel Matignon, the prime minister's office, was embarrassed. This is how the imperialists talk *entre nous*. On the El Al plot, Chirac had told the paper's editor in chief Arnaud de Borchgrave:

> "But let's take the Syrian affair. I spoke to both [West German Chancellor Helmut] Kohl and [Foreign Minister] Hans-Dietrich Genscher about it. I don't go as far as they do, but their thesis is that the [Nizar] Hindawi plot was a provocation designed to embarrass Syria and destabilize the Assad regime. Who was behind it? Probably people connected with the Israeli Mossad in conjunction with certain Syrian elements close to Assad who seek his overthrow. Things of this nature can be infinitely complex."

When de Borchgrave claimed that British intelligence (who "are pretty good with electronic surveillance") knew of a meeting between Hindawi and the Syrian ambassador, Chirac replied: "Nothing is easier than to fake that kind of evidence without government leaders knowing about the real plot." He added that "I am always suspicious of this sort of affair, especially when it fits into a certain policy. First it was Libya, and now it's Syria...."

This was already enough to set Washington on its ear, but the trenchant critique of Reagan's Near East policies by the right-wing French prime minister was too much even to report. When de Borchgrave claimed that the U.S. and even French intelligence had demonstrated the existence of an "international terror network...linked to Eastern secret services," Chirac dismissed the "Soviet connection" out of hand: "Your services and our own are worthless. Moreover, they are all penetrated.... They've always been penetrated." Asked his opinion about the April 14 U.S. air strike against Libya, Chirac replied, "Totally, completely counterproductive.... the Americans with their farcical air raid merely retarded the destabilization of Qaddafi's regime." "You are saying the U.S. does not have the will to act," commented de Borchgrave. "That is self-evident," Chirac responded.

Replying to a barb from de Borchgrave, Chirac said that France supported Washington in Central America, because "this region was of vital interest to the U.S.," but complained the Americans were not reciprocating in Africa, where they tried to muscle in on French operations in Chad. Appealing for "prudence" in the Near East in order to "prevent the stampede of fundamentalism throughout the region," he said, "the West must...not allow itself to be deflected by a few bombs going off in the streets of their capitals":

> "But Britain continues to sell arms to Iran, and we now hear the U.S. does too, and they don't even bother to conceal what they are doing. So much for Western solidarity.... Britain wants us all to sever relations with Syria because of some obscure bomb plot that misfired. Do they really think that people will then say, 'Bravo, they've got balls'?"

In the subsequent brouhaha, British right-wing Labourite Denis Healey asked why this should come out in a Moonie newspaper. Arnaud de Borchgrave, you see, is a long-time journalistic operative "witting" in the ways of U.S. intelligence agencies. Chirac clearly intended the published article based on an off-the-record interview to reflect his general views, while his more bluntly put goodies would be passed on directly to the White House. But the *Washington Times* editor had his own ax to grind, in particular getting back at the French for their refusal to allow Britain-based U.S. F-111s to take the direct route for their Libya strike.

The Western allies are still united on "the basics," namely the drive to "roll back Communism" and ultimately reconquer the Soviet-bloc bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states for capitalism. But here we have the interimperialist contradictions exposed to the light of day—with the United States desperately struggling to recover hegemony after its resounding defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese peasants and workers a decade ago, while France, still smarting over Dien Bien Phu and the battle of Algiers, is trying to rebuild a sphere of influence in the Levant. As for the supposed Syrian plot, we find, buried in the middle of a London *Times* (11 November) article on Chirac's interview, the laconic remark: "The father of Nazar Hindawi jailed in Britain for trying to blow up an El Al airliner, was sentenced to death in his absence by Jordan for spying for Israel...." ■

conceivably drag to the "promised land," especially since New York Jews long ago discovered what a hellhole/deathtrap Israel is and limit their support to dollars for Israel Bonds. (Soviet Jews who get conned into leaving Russia for Israel quickly decide to move on to New York, and some of the latter are now moving back to the Soviet Union, where they can at least get a job and free medical care.) *Is Israel now trying to get all the Jews out before an anti-Soviet holocaust is unleashed?*

The legacy of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, even following the bureaucratic Stalinist degeneration, is the prime target of the Western imperialists. The Zionists have sought to make themselves the instrument of one imperialism after another, from the British Balfour Declaration to Shamir's offer to Hitler to build a fascistic "New Order" in Palestine to the Israeli rulers' chosen role as point men for the anti-Soviet war drive. In fact it was the Israelis who first invented the slander about the Soviet Union as the "source" of all "terrorism," a theme which became the hallmark of the Reagan administration.

The Israelis have taken on the dirty work of providing arms and training for Reagan's anti-Soviet terrorist scum around the world, from the Somozaist "contras" in Nicaragua to the apartheid racists of South Africa. And Israel has become well integrated into Reagan's nuclear first-strike plans: the two countries recently conducted joint military maneuvers and Israel has agreed to allow "pre-positioning" of U.S. military supplies on its soil, as well as cooperating in Reagan's "Star Wars" space weapons scheme. As one Israeli observer perceptively noted:

> "The Americans pay us because they want to keep a plane-carrier with 4 million inhabitants in [a] place with extraordinary strategic value, near to the USSR, near to East Europe, near to the oil fields."
>
> —P. Sever in *Al Hamishmar*, 29 April

The Zionists are dangerous madmen who are fully capable of pushing the button. But their big brothers in Washington are also war crazy. We don't know how many nuclear weapons the Israelis have, but it's an open secret that the U.S. has over 25,000 ready to hit the Soviet bloc. And while Reagan hallucinates about "Star Wars," it's official U.S. policy to "decapitate" the Soviet leadership and "prevail" in a "limited nuclear exchange." It will take world proletarian revolution to thwart the plans of these nuclear nuts for a thermonuclear Apocalypse Now. ■

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Gonzo Diplomacy...

(continued from page 1)

the Reykjavik summit, even put a good face on loss of the Senate to the Democrats, he bragged. But not four times in a row. Reagan finally went on TV to tell the story of the Iranian guns-for-hostages deals, to no avail: 14 percent of the American people believed him. Most thought the president was suffering from foot-in-mouth disease.

It must have been quite a scene in Teheran last spring. Disguised as a flight crew, the party carried a cake in the shape of a key, to symbolize the reopening of Iran-U.S. relations. There was also a pair of Colt pistols, and a Bible reportedly with an inscription by Ronald Reagan himself about the affinity of different religions. Plus they brought along a couple planes with military equipment as sweeteners. The Bible was probably not a big hit with the ayatollah; they might as well have brought a candied ham or a bottle of scotch. Khomeini reportedly told Iranian "parliament" leader Hojatolislam Rafsanjani not to receive McFarlane's message, and the crew were kept locked up in their hotel room for five days (while their phone calls to Reagan were taped). As for the cake, according to Rafsanjani the airport guards were hungry and ate it.

This One Takes the Cake

Who will ever know the fierce debates within the National Security Council over what kind of cake would smooth relations with the ayatollahs? Have they already sold the royalties to Hollywood? We do know the Iranians were oddly unamused. Consider their plight: some very dubious types show up with phony IDs, planeloads of guns, bags of weird goodies, probably making jokes about the good old days of the shah. You run a check, and it turns out they're heavy-duty White House operatives. Plus there's this McFarlane megalomaniac acting like he's Henry the K, complaining when the Iranians wouldn't meet with them: "You are nuts. We have come to solve your problems, but this is how you treat us. If I went to Russia to buy furs, Gorbachev would come to see me three times a day." (Oh, yeah? Try that kind of stunt in Moscow and see what happens.)

Even the nutty ayatollahs running Iran know they're dealing with some far-out people of the lunar persuasion in Washington. So they quickly chuck out McF & Co. and leak the story before even stranger things start happening to their country—bombings, invasions, terror strikes in the name of "fighting terrorism." Sure, the U.S.' 1980 embassy hostage "rescue" mission got stuck in the desert with sand up their turbines; the Delta Force was so panicked they left their dead on the ground. But an imperialist bully, defeated in Vietnam and made a laughing stock over Iran, is dangerous indeed. They struck mercilessly at tiny Grenada and bombed Qaddafi's Libya while gearing up to do a murderous job on Sandinista Nicaragua. And where was the ubiquitous Col. Oliver C. ("Now You See Him, Now You Don't") North of overt covert contra war fame? In 1980 he was just over the border in Turkey; this time he ran the show from Cyprus.

Back in Washington, White House spokesman Larry Speakes (who learned something about credibility gaps while serving as press aide to Nixon's Watergate attorney James St. Clair) was trying to get the press and Congress to back off. But the story is out. Meanwhile, the Danish seamen's union has provided information about the flow of U.S. arms to Iran, out of understandable concern over their members' safety in the midst of the war with Iraq. Columnist Russell Baker said he'd planned to start his piece with the remark, "In President Carter's time the Ayatollah Khomeini called the United States 'The Great Satan.' After dealing with President Reagan he will call it 'El Stupido'" (*New York Times*, 15 November). So much for "Operation Staunch."

Abbas/Gamma

Delta Force debacle, Iran 1980: Bungled U.S. "rescue mission" abandoned its dead in the desert.

Gaumy/Magnum

Jordan/Time

Speaker of Iranian parliament Rafsanjani (left), and carnage of Iran-Iraq war.

"Teherangate" has provided the Democrats with an excellent opportunity to out-Reagan Reagan. Maybe they figure they could ride back into office in '88 by mimicking Reagan's "stand tall" rhetoric against Carter. (The media are willing to do their part, rerunning clips of Reagan vowing never to negotiate with "terrorists.") Outgoing Democratic House Speaker Tip O'Neill on CNN News (14 November) pointed to the sinister pattern of the Reagan administration: "I just see so many incidences in the past. When [KAL Flight] 007 went down that's the day we met and decided to send our Marines to Beirut. When the 241 Marines were killed, three days later get it off the front page and go into Grenada. At Iceland, it's a disaster and two hours later, public relations: 'why it's been a success'."

No matter what the immediate objectives of Reagan's NSC operations in Iran, behind the arms shipments and farcical "secret diplomacy" is the urgent desire to secure strategic anti-Soviet interests in the region. The Soviet Union borders Iran to the north, Afghanistan to the east. As the *Navy Times* (17 November) noted:

> "Under current doctrine, the United States is committed to defend the Persian Gulf—meaning Iran—with any means against any threat from outside the area, which means the Soviet Union.... If Iran were prepared to abandon its reflexive hostility to the United States, however, the U.S. strategic task would be greatly simplified.... The Soviet Union would know that it would not be able to count on continued hostility between Iran and the United States—natural strategic allies who are now deeply at odds."

And the U.S.' privileged partner in the Near East, Zionist Israel, has maintained close ties with Iran both under the CIA-installed shah and the Shi'ite fundamentalist ayatollahs. As far as they're concerned, although Islamic, Persian Iran is an enemy of the Arabs, and therefore a natural friend of Israel. They love the bloody Iran-Iraq war (more than a million dead so far) which is doing more to tie down their enemies than the shah ever did.

In their bizarre fashion, the Reaganites were trying to mend anti-Soviet fences in the region. It's not so easy given the hodgepodge of competing nationalisms. By botching it so ineptly, they've led even conservative pundits and politicos to wonder if it's bedtime for Bonzo. But the White House spinmeisters aren't giving in: after getting shellacked at the polls, they put the president up there again to say the "Reagan revolution" would continue—just no more Mr. Nice Guy. For the working class, the administration's temporary diplomatic setback won't amount to much, and the Democrats in power would be more of the same: remember Billy Carter and Qaddafi? The Iran follies are low comedy, but when the Great Communicator "joked" about the bombing of Russia beginning in five minutes, he wasn't kidding. It's only by the working class organizing and taking state power away from the nuclear-armed madmen in Washington that we'll get to have the last laugh. ■

White House/Washington Post

White House/NY Post

WHITE HOUSE SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION:

Col. Oliver North (top photo, second from right) with Reagan and contra leaders at White House (Washington Post, 14 August 1985).

Photo (bottom) given to New York Post by White House disappears North.

Spartacist Forum

U.S. Workers: Smash the War on Nicaragua!

Speakers: Jan Norden, editor *Workers Vanguard*

Tom Janota, *WV* correspondent, with slide show on Nicaragua

Saturday, November 22, 4:00 p.m.

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NEW YORK CITY

AFL-CIO Tops Push Anti-Japan Crusade

Workers: Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

AP

Toyoto-bashing publicity stunt by Indiana steel union, 1982.

When they are not giving back their members' wages and benefits, this country's union tops are busy whipping up chauvinist hostility against the Japanese, whom they scapegoat for the wretched state of American capitalism. Taking time off from setting up sweetheart deals with contractors, the AFL-CIO building trades honchos picketed the Japanese embassy in Washington a few days ago, demanding the hiring of more unionized labor for a Toyota plant being built in Kentucky. They're considering another such demonstration in Lexington, Kentucky on Pearl Harbor Day, December 7. We wouldn't be surprised if they picked the anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima next.

Anti-Japanese protectionism and other measures are the only "answer" of the sellout labor bureaucracy to givehack contracts, union-busting, speedup, mass layoffs, plant closings and the rampant deindustrialization of America. Economic warfare against Japan is the "friend of labor" Democratic Party politicos' "answer" to Reaganomics. Walter (Big Loser) Mondale carried on at an electrical workers' convention a couple of years ago:

> "We have got to get tough—and I mean *really tough!*—with nations that use our markets but deny us their markets! And I'll tell you today that if you try to sell an American car in Japan, you better have the United States Army with you when they land on the docks!"

No wonder a leading Japanese conservative politician, who visited the U.S. a few years back, said the climate of opinion here reminded him of the years just before World War II.

Japan was driven into that war by protectionist barriers raised against its exports by the Western powers during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The attack on Pearl Harbor was a direct response to the American, British and Dutch embargo of oil shipments to Japan without which its economy could not survive. U.S. imperialism thus provoked Japan into war and then ended it with one of the most cold-blooded atrocities in modern times: dropping the first nuclear weapons on the defenseless civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Today once again, capitalist decay and the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracies are driving American and Japanese workers against one another. The answer to Pearl Harbor and Hiroshima is for the American and Japanese workers to unite and wage *class war* against their *own exploiters* on Wall Street and in Tokyo, from the Fortune 500 to the *zaibatsu*.

GM Shutdown...

(continued from page 12)

the impending plant closings that both company and union officials *knew* were coming.

The UAW philosophy these days is "what's good for GM, auto workers better eat." But there can be no partnership between labor and capital. Kissing the company's ass at home and promoting trade war abroad has meant turning over billions in concessions to the bosses. The "voluntary" quotas imposed on foreign car makers allowed the companies to jack up prices and make profits hand over fist. The jobs of auto workers have not been saved: since 1978 some 215,000 or *30 percent* of the jobs in the industry have gone down the tubes. The American capitalists will not rebuild industry: last December GM used its massive profits to buy out Hughes Aircraft instead.

The concessions racket was ushered in in a big way in 1979, when Chrysler went bankrupt. Then Doug Fraser and

WV Photo

Spartacist banner at UAW protest at GM headquarters, Detroit 1979.

Lee Iacocca, in concert with Democratic president Carter, bailed out Chrysler at the expense of half the company's workforce. UAW head Doug Fraser got his payoff by becoming a member of Chrysler's board so that he could vote on demanding *more* billions in givehacks from the union! (Striking South African workers, who are asking for a member on the company board, should learn from the U.S. experience.) At that time the Spartacist League called for sitdown strikes to seize Chrysler's assets. A wave of plant occupations centered in

UPI

UAW head Owen Bieber (right) sells out auto workers in 1984 pact with GM chairman Roger Smith.

black Detroit could have halted the union-busting drive that burgeoned two years later when Reagan busted the PATCO air traffic controllers.

The UAW's sole "success" story since then has been the joint GM-Toyota New United Motor Manufacturing, Inc. (NUMMI) plant in Fremont, California. With import quotas in force, Japanese and now Korean auto makers have increasingly chosen to open up plants here, often with no union or with virtually company unions, like the UAW at NUMMI. The old GM plant here was reopened with half the workforce hired without regard to union seniority, the grievance system essentially destroyed, and job classifications reduced to four. Nor is NUMMI heavily automated—it's old-fashioned speedup, turning up the screws to increase the rate of exploitation. The American bosses know a good thing when they see it, and the new GM Saturn plant in Tennessee will model its "labor relations" on NUMMI. The rotten Saturn deal was accepted by the UAW tops before workers were even hired!

Recently Victor Reuther, brother of long-time UAW chief Walter, surfaced as a spokesman for opponents to the Saturn deal. But Victor Reuther and the house "dissidents" in the UAW accept the same pro-capitalist and anti-foreign-worker program as Bieber & Co. In exchange for an annual 3 percent wage increase, the Reuther bureaucracy (which trained the Biebers and Ephlins) enforced company discipline on the shop floor and shackled the union to the state. The UAW was one of the first unions to register under the anti-labor Taft-Hartley law. Victor Reuther was a self-confessed bag man for the CIA, whose work centered on purging left-wingers in unions abroad, thereby helping pro-boss union misleaders gain ascendancy. Now the chickens have come home to roost: the 3 percent is long gone, American auto workers have taken massive cuts, while UAW leaders hypocritically squawk that they are undercut by "company unions" abroad.

For Militant International Solidarity!

In explaining the militant stand of the South African auto workers striking GM, NAAWU leader Fred Sauls noted: "We can't just stand back and let them leave the country with all the gold and diamonds and profits they've made here" (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 November). This statement applies equally to the United States. The big corporations have looted basic industries, closing dozens of plants and throwing hundreds of thousands of workers on the scrapheap, in order to make a bigger buck elsewhere. U.S. Steel has become USX, while GM/Hughes has become one of the prime Star Wars defense contractors. The only answer is for the workers to "divest" the bosses in a socialist revolution that will expropriate the means of production and achieve an *international* planned economy.

South African unionists have shown the way forward for real international solidarity: in February 3M workers there struck in solidarity with locked-out 3M workers in Freehold, New Jersey. A class-struggle leadership in the UAW would shut down the entire GM chain with militant strike action and plant occupations in solidarity with the courageous South African auto workers and in defense of the jobs of American workers. Such a leadership would oppose import quotas designed to rob Japanese and Korean workers of their jobs, and would appeal to these workers for their support by not boosting exports during a strike. But such a perspective requires a militant, internationalist leadership, not the labor lieutenants of capital who tie the workers to the bosses, in the U.S. as well as Japan and Korea. An international Trotskyist party must be forged, with deep roots in the trade unions, that will unify the struggles of workers around the world and fight for final victory over the parasitic system of capitalist exploitation. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

South Africa: Mass Firing of Auto Strikers

AP

AP

Pontiac workers leave plant after GM closings announced (left). Striking South African workers at GM Port Elizabeth plant confront company cop (right).

General Motors Shutdown to Ax 120,000 Jobs in U.S.

NOVEMBER 17—General Motors Corporation called in South Africa's apartheid police on November 7 to break up plant occupations in Port Elizabeth by militant auto workers there. The workers were striking in response to GM's announcement that it was "divesting" its local operation, leaving workers with no guarantee of union protection or any jobs at all. Simultaneously the largest American manufacturer announced a sweeping program for domestic disinvestment: it will shut nine automotive assembly and stamping plants outright and partially close two more, terminating 29,000 workers in Michigan, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois. The massive cutbacks in GM's American operations, the most sweeping in its 78-year history, will result in an anticipated 120,000 layoffs, including workers in related industries.

In South Africa members of the National Automotive and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU) and the Motor Assembly and Component Workers occupied GM's Kempston Road and Aloes plants when the company announced it was selling out to a consortium consisting of its former white managers. In an exceptional display of class solidarity cutting across racial lines, white workers initially downed tools along with black workers (*Weekly Mail*, 31 October-6 November). NAAWU demanded severance pay and pension payments, seeking compensation for lost job security and seniority rights. The bosses' answer was to call out riot cops and troops to evict the workers. Some 567 militants were fired; in the face of continued strike action, GM has announced that it will hire scabs and resume production "with or without the unions." And on November 17, cops viciously attacked the Port Elizabeth strikers with snarling dogs and whips.

GM's brutal treatment of its South African unions exposes the liberal lie that divestment schemes and pressure from American corporations will liberate the black masses from apartheid slavery. From South Africa to America, GM attacks unions and lays off workers in pursuit of one and only one goal: higher profits. The U.S. plant closings will massively devastate an already industrially devastated area. The closing of the Fleetwood/Clark assembly and Conner stamping plants will leave only two auto plants within the city limits of black Detroit. Flint, Michigan will be even harder hit when approximately 8,000 workers pick up their pink slips as GM closes two facilities including the body plant that was the site of the famous six-week sit-down strike of 1937 that established the United Auto Workers (UAW).

Also slated for the unemployment lines are over 6,000 workers in Norwood and Hamilton, Ohio along with thousands more at St. Louis, Willow Springs, Illinois and Pontiac, Michigan. And GM chairman Roger Smith said to look for more "consolidations" (plant closings). Already, 1,500 additional Buick workers in Flint have been laid off. Flint UAW officials lamented that while their people will be losing everything, "Roger Smith has dollar signs in his eyes" (*Detroit Free Press*, 7 November).

If ever a situation cried out for militant, joint labor action from Port Elizabeth to Detroit to shut down a bloodsucking capitalist giant and seize the plants, this is it. The UAW tops in "Sacrifice House" predictably acted otherwise: union vice president for GM Donald Ephlin would only "regret this decision," and avoided any criticism of GM. Instead the union called on the Democratic-controlled Congress to bail out the bosses by passing chauvinist protectionist legislation limiting foreign car imports. The UAW misleaders expressed gratitude at having been given "early notice" of the layoffs. "Both Mr. Ephlin and company officials said the plant closings had been expected for several years...."

In other words, UAW officials from International president Owen Bieber on down *lied* when they sold the rotten contract with GM two years ago, claiming that it guaranteed job security. One labor economist noted: "Often, you find that clauses written into contracts protecting job security seem to go by the wayside when it comes to company survival or corporate profits, and that seems to be the case here" (*New York Times*, 7 November). The "job protection" negotiated by the UAW was certainly designed to ensure that there would be no incursion on company profits. It omitted "only" one eventuality:

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Turnley/Detroit Free Press

International labor solidarity: militant black workers at Johannesburg 3M demonstrate in support of New Jersey 3M workers fighting plant closure.

15 November 1986

To: National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU)
102 Lotus Building, Cottrell St.
Port Elizabeth, S.A. 6001

Motor Assembly Components Workers Union
P.O. Box 11136
Port Elizabeth, S.A. 6000

Victory tu yuur resulute strike defending jubs and uniuns against GM and in defiance uf police state. At same time GM chops 30,000 jobs in U.S. International solidarity from American wurkers imperative. Smash apartheid. Wealth of Suuth Africa belongs to its toilers.

Partisan Defense Committee

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 417 | 5 December 1986

Irangate—Contragate

AP/Wide World

President and Attorney General Meese—turning slowly in the wind.

Ratfink Reagan

DECEMBER 2—For years, Ronald Reagan has gotten away with murder. From the KAL 007 spy plane provocation to the 241 dead Marines in Beirut to the rape of Grenada to the reckless rush to launch the space shuttle Challenger in time for his State of the Union speech, the White House course was strewn with bodies sacrificed on the altar of the anti-Soviet war drive. How did he get away with it? Lies—Big Lies, little lies, lots of lies. Of course, lots of influential people didn't really believe the lies, but the alternative was too awful to contemplate: another W----gate. And *Reagan* seemed to believe his lies (he's good at script reading). With a phalanx of corporate advisers and the "free but responsible" mass media to cover up his crimes, nothing seemed to stick on the "Teflon president." Until now. Now the unmentionable is on everyone's lips. As Vice President Bush is wont to say, this administration is "in deep do-do." And as for George and the '88 elections, he's history.

In quick succession things started falling apart: the Daniloff spy-trade-that's-not-a-trade, revelations of a White House disinformation plot as the excuse for U.S. terror-bombing of Libya, the bumbling Reykjavik summit in which Reagan pulls a no-nukes "peace" proposal out of a hat only to discard it to preserve his crackpot first-strike "Star Wars" scheme. Then the Nicaraguan Sandinistas shoot down a CIA supply plane and capture loser gunrunner Eugene Hasenfus, who confesses all on TV even before being put on trial. The dam burst with election-night reports of a bizarre U.S. operation shipping arms to the Iranian ayatollahs to entice them into the anti-Soviet alliance. And last Tuesday, Teherangate joined Contragate with the announcement that White House officials had been laundering Iranian money through Swiss bank accounts to finance the Nicaraguan contras. Now Congressmen on both sides of the aisle are complaining about the American people being lied to and federal laws broken. Ronald Reagan may have found his quagmire.

The country is buzzing with talk of Watergate. Paper shredders in the White House basement are running overtime on holidays and weekends. (They now pulverize documents into fine dust, ever since mullah-led fanatics in the Teheran embassy seizure pieced together U.S. documents shredded the old way.) The *New York Times* (26 November) reported: "The major question on Capitol Hill today reminded many legislators of a question asked by Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. about President Nixon during the Watergate investigation: What did the President know, and when did he know it?" (Columnist Russell Baker, pondering that cake-shaped-like-a-key Reagan sent to Khomeini, wondered: "What else did the President bake, and when did he bake it?") Suddenly all the president's men are in jeopardy; members of the administration start publicly throwing deleted expletives at each other. One or two of the guilty parties are selected for sacrifice, but this only raises questions implicating the president directly.

On Saturday, Reagan broadcast his weekly radio message from his mountaintop retreat Rancho Cielo urging Americans to remember that "there are many other issues"...like the deficit. (Quite a mouthful coming from the administration that has turned Treasury bonds into junk bonds.) The Democrats' reply fell to Senator Daniel Moynihan, who addressed Reagan:

> "Your Presidency, sir, is tottering. . . Washington is awash with rumor, intrigue, treachery. Out there in the Santa Ynez mountains, you cannot know how bad it is, for you have never been through anything like it. I have been. I tell you it is deeply dangerous."

Democrat Moynihan served the Nixon cabinet during Watergate, and when it comes to intrigue and treachery, he knows whereof he speaks. With half-colonels and vice admirals in the National Security Council running endless secret global operations, with reports of "grumbling...at the highest levels" of the Pentagon (*Los Angeles*

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British Labour Traitor Tours U.S.

Scab Kinnock

The Spartacist League/U.S. is picketing British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock during his current American tour. Demonstrations are planned in Boston on December 2 and Washington, D.C. December 4. On November 28 the SL/U.S. issued the following statement:

In the mining villages of England, Scotland and Wales they call him "Judas" Kinnock. This scabherder, red-baiter and class traitor worked overtime to break the heroic 12-month-long British miners strike. When "Iron Lady" Thatcher launched her legions of police strikebreakers against the coal miners, Kinnock condemned the *strikers* for defending their picket lines. Now, with an eye on the polls, he's coming to America to let Reagan and the Democrats know they've got nothing to worry about from Her Majesty's Labour Party. There's not a chance this pro-NATO, anti-Soviet yellow "socialist" will keep American nuclear subs out of Britain. Maggie Thatcher may be "Reagan's Poodle," but Neil Kinnock wants to

Cagnoni/AFL

Neil Kinnock, class traitor.

show he's housebroken, too.

Kinnock says he's "very comfortable" in America—and in the circles he travels in there are a lot of people who think just like him. He'll be stopping off at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, dubbed by the Pentagon an "intellectual strategic reserve." Kinnock's Labour Party mentors like Denis Healey have beaten a well-worn path to the CIA over the past several decades, helping to wreck left-led unions across Europe. Former Labour prime minister—now a lord—Harold Wilson went "all the way" with LBJ's dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Last month Kinnock made his anti-Communist pilgrimage to the Berlin Wall to listen to British officers brief him on how the city could be "defended...as it was in the final days of the Hitler regime" against the victorious Red Army. Perhaps Kinnock was trying to make up for missing Reagan's grotesque homage to the Hitlerite SS killers at Bitburg. Cold Warriors and class traitors—there's an integral connection: when miners' leader Arthur Scargill correctly denounced

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

In the 1920s, under its founder and first secretary James P. Cannon, the International Labor Defense (ILD) conducted a Christmas Fund drive for imprisoned worker-militants and their families. Geronimo Pratt, Ruchell Magee, David Rice, Ed Poindexter and Hugo Pinell have each spent more than a decade of Christmases behind bars! Following the ILD tradition, the PDC is initiating a holiday fund appeal for today's class-war prisoners as a message that they are not forgotten. We urge all PDC supporters and *WV* readers to contribute to our holiday appeal. Send cards, stamps and greetings of solidarity. Send contributions to help us buy requested gifts.

MOVE member Janet Africa wrote us, "I don't know if mona [Ramona Africa] told you or not but once a year this prison sells nuts, dried fruit and cheese for Xmas.... They've done it for the past 2 or 3 yrs but we were in isolation and couldn't get the package." The PDC sent holiday gifts of $25 to MOVE members Janet, Ramona and Consuewella Africa to purchase these holiday packages. Geronimo Pratt told us he would like to resume reading the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, so we have purchased a subscription for him. We have sent cigarettes and sweatshirts to Ruchell Magee and have ordered books requested by David Rice. Some of the class-war prisoners have asked for stamps and other items such as books, which we are obtaining.

As this year's Christmas chill nears, hundreds of thousands are living in the streets—victims of capitalist austerity and real estate gentrification. In the savage bombing of black Philadelphia in May 1985, eleven members of the MOVE family were intentionally murdered and the homes of dozens of black families left in ashes. The capitalist cops and courts seek to assure that those who fight the poverty and racism endemic to capitalism are "safely" housed in prison hellholes or in their graves. No better motivation for our appeal can be made than that made by James P. Cannon on behalf of the ILD's 1927 Christmas Fund drive:

"The *New York Times*, the organ of big business, is making its annual plea for contributions for Christmas to the '100 Neediest Cases.' Other capitalist papers and organizations are conducting similar drives. The men, women and children of the working class, who have been on the rack of capitalist exploitation and are now dropped into the abyss of misery and poverty, are chosen and classified by these arch hypocrites—so their sanctimonious appeal can be made to the comfortable capitalists, to soften the bitterness of these few workers with the insult of charity, and to salve their own conscience by acts of 'generosity'.

"This horrible farce is annually repeated in scores of other cities.

"The militant workers have nothing but hatred and contempt for such appeals and drives. This year, therefore, they are again following the world-wide custom that has developed in the ranks of the working class for many years. It is the custom of raising a special fund for the men in prison for the labor cause and their wives and children, of transforming the hypocritical spirit of Christmas into the spirit of solidarity with the class-war fighters behind bars....

"The workers belonging to the I.L.D. and supporting its work have not forgotten them and their dependent families.

"The men in prison are still a part of the living class movement. The Christmas Fund drive of the International Labor Defense is a means of informing them that the workers of America have not forgotten their duty toward the men to whom we are all linked by bonds of solidarity. It is the Christmas drive of Labor and must have its generous support!"

—"A Christmas Fund of Our Own," *Daily Worker*, 17 October 1927 (reprinted in James P. Cannon, *Notebook of an Agitator*)

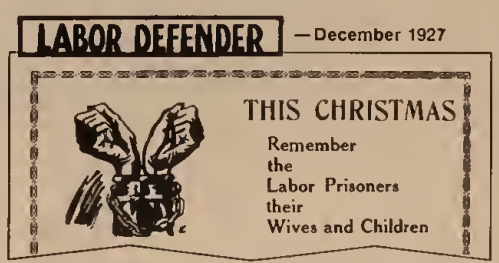
* * *

Los Angeles Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt recently won the right to appeal the denial of his motion for a new trial to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. Pratt wrote to the PDC requesting that we "be sure and let those who wrote concerning my freedom know of my gratitude and that their kind words have boosted my morale and strengthened my resolve."

* * *

Since publishing the second issue of our newsletter *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* we have enlisted four new sustaining contributors. We have now reached 50. One new sustainer who sent $10 told us, "Sorry it's so little—I'd hoped to be employed by now." A more fortunate sustainer sent us $1,200 in memory of Molly Brover: "If i try to break it up into 12 monthly payments i'm sure i'll forget to mail it somewhere along the ways, so consider this my annual contribution." We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send your donation and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy of issue number 2, send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Labor Defender



We stand in tradition of James P. Cannon (left) and the International Labor Defense.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Rumor-Mongering and Petty-Bourgeois Frenzy

As Trotsky wrote of the "third camp" Shachtman/Burnham opposition in 1939-40, gossip-mongering, lies and slanders are the stock-in-trade of petty-bourgeois enemies of Bolshevism. Recently, the Spartacist League has been the target of violent provocations and deadly slanders by a rotten bloc of renegades and revisionists, "third camp socialists" who oppose the Soviet Union in its necessary defense against imperialism.

Rumors, personal speculations and simple gossip cannot help but occupy an important place in petty-bourgeois circles where people are bound together not by party ties but by personal relationships and where no habit has been acquired of a class approach to events. It is passed from ear to ear that I have been visited exclusively by representatives of the majority and that I have been led astray from the path of truth. Dear comrades, don't believe this nonsense! I collect political information through the very same methods that I use in my work generally. A critical attitude toward information is an organic part of the political physiognomy of every politician. If I were incapable of distinguishing false communications from true ones what value could my judgments have in general?

—L.D. Trotsky, "From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene" (January 1940)

Corrections

In the *Young Spartacus* pages of *WV* No. 413 (10 October), we reported that Spartacist supporters carried signs at a September 28 baseball game in Berkeley featuring the Nicaraguan national team. The comrades did not carry signs but collected donations in buckets bearing slogans such as "Smash U.S. War Moves! Defend Nicaragua!"

In *WV* No. 411 (12 September), in the article "Bloody U.S. Cops of the World," we referred to "18 F-118 Air Force bombers" which were flown into Britain. The aircraft in question were F-111 bombers.

In *WV* No. 405 (6 June), in the article "Workers: Smash AIFLD!" we mistakenly reported that Irving Brown had become head of the AFL-CIO's strikebreaking, redbaiting international operations upon the death of Jay Lovestone. Our report of Lovestone's death was exaggerated.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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BT Provocation Fizzles

On November 21, the Spartacist League was compelled to take the very unusual step of changing at the last minute the location of its public meeting from Dwinelle Hall on the University of California Berkeley campus to a site in nearby north Oakland. The move was taken to head off plans by the highly dubious and unsavory Bolshevik Tendency (BT, formerly External Tendency) to organize on a larger scale a repeat of its premeditated and violent provocation against the September 19 SL forum held on the UC Berkeley campus (see "ET/BT: A Calculated Provocation," *WV* No. 412, 26 September).

Earlier in the week the SL learned from several sources that the BT was planning to stage some kind of disruption of the talk by comrade George Crawford titled, "Fight Reagan Reaction with Class Struggle!" Our decision to move the forum off campus, motivated by concern for the safety of those attending it, was strikingly confirmed by events on campus the night of November 20. UC Berkeley cops, clad in riot gear, brutally ambushed students protesting a closed-door student conduct hearing aimed at disciplining anti-apartheid activists. A number of students were savagely beaten. One of them, protest leader John Winters, was slammed into a glass display case by the rampaging cops and later booked on frame-up charges of resisting arrest and assault on a police officer.

Some months ago following an SL forum held at Dwinelle Hall a comrade of ours was foolish enough to get into loud argument with a BTer. He was very quickly confronted by four campus cops, who said they heard there was a fight. At the September 19 forum, two minutes after the BT started a fight rather than leave the hall as requested at the conclusion of the meeting, at least ten UC Berkeley cops in four prowl cars arrived on the scene, nightsticks ready, asking where was the fight. As reported in the 24 September *Berkeleyan*, a weekly paper printed by the University administration for faculty and staff, the police blotter said, "An altercation erupted between two factions of the Communist Party in Dwinelle Hall." It sure seems that COINTELPRO is alive and well at UC Berkeley!

The "two-minute response time" of ten cops in four prowl cars indicates a prearranged ambush. The BT blandly assert in their lying account of the September 19 events that police just showed up. We are not naïve. Given the strong yet so far mysterious gravitational attraction between BT provocations and UC Berkeley cops "looking for a fight," we thought it prudent to move the forum out of this particular gravitational field.

The evening of November 21 a sign was posted on the door of the room in Dwinelle Hall where the forum was to be held announcing the new location. Several comrades were present to direct those wishing to attend to waiting vans which would transport them to the new site and return them to UC Berkeley at the conclusion of the meeting.

At 7:30 p.m., the time at which the forum was scheduled to begin, the BT and its assorted allics from the anti-Soviet sewer, some 25 people in all, arrived on the scene en masse. Included in this motley crew was the Left Trotskyist Tendency (LTT, a recent split from the Internationalist Workers Party, followers of Argentine political bandit Nahuel Moreno), at least one member of the Revolutionary Workers League (associates of British scab Alan Thornett), and what appeared to be sundry seedy Berkeley "street people."

Marching two abreast the BT contingent entered Dwinelle Hall so rapidly that when they came to the closed door with the sign announcing the change of site, the head of the column led by the obviously myopic Howard Keylor came to such an abrupt halt that elements further back collided with each other. Clearly the intent was to simply barge into the meeting, which in any case was open to them. Disoriented by the change in location, the BT declined repeated offers to transport them to the new meeting site. After a brief caucus outside Dwinelle Hall the bulk of their erstwhile allies departed for places unknown.

Some 20 minutes later eight or nine BTers and supporters showed up at the meeting hall, located in the basement of a church in north Oakland. A large workers defense guard, including trade-union friends of the SL, greeted them and explained they were welcome to come into the meeting after submitting to a search for weapons. One BT supporter did enter the meeting, only to be called back out by his friends some ten minutes later. The rest of the BT decided to not submit to a search.

We're not surprised. One of the BT's friends there that night was Earl Gilman, a former Morenoite and best described as a walking culture medium for every deviation known to Marxism. To the best of our knowledge Gilman is a white-collar clerk, yet he arrived with what in the most charitable interpretation looked like a kit of carpenter's tools! Apparently unwilling to divest themselves of various implements, the BT walking hardware emporium argued heatedly among themselves and trudged off clanking into the night.

Had the BT decided to come in, on terms guaranteed to protect the meeting from provocation or assault, they would have been given their full democratic rights. Once inside had they attempted to disrupt the meeting or refused to abide by the rules of the meeting they would have been escorted out. It is our obligation to protect ourselves and to protect those who come to our public meetings to hear our views, whatever their political opinion of the SL. In the event, we held a successful forum, attended by a number of UC Berkeley students.

WV Photo

Spartacist forum, "Fight Reagan Reaction with Class Struggle!", held in Oakland, November 21.

The BT's antics certainly raise some questions. According to the current December issue of *Working Class Opposition*, newspaper of the Morenoite IWP:

> "On November 21 the Spartacists are holding another event in Berkeley. The BT is planning to form a bloc of different groups to 'teach the Spartacists a lesson' at that forum (including the LTT, which curiously enough has made this kind of confrontation their *only* political activity since they appeared)."

Well, the Morenoites ought to know! Why? Because the BT and LTT invited them to be part of their bloc on November 21! We hear through the grapevine that the BT describes their bloc as one for "workers democracy." Yet the BT and LTT invite into this bloc the IWP, which on November 2 physically excluded both these groups from a public debate called by the Morenoite-infested Peace and Freedom Party petty-bourgeois swamp! Further, the Morenoites are notorious for their potentially lethal 1982 hammer attack against members of the Spartacist League in Los Angeles. "Workers democracy" coming from the mouths of the BT has about the same credibility as the words "trust me" coming from the mouths of Ronnie Reagan and his National Security Council.

Reports reaching us indicate that the BT held at least three meetings to plan their November 21 action. The question that poses itself is why did a simple change of location of the meeting and a search for weapons stop them from attending? Further, why did no one from this bloc attend the subsequent meeting, held as scheduled the next night in San Francisco? To our knowledge the LTT exists only in San Francisco and a number of BTers and BT supporters live there. In his capacity as chairman of the November 21 meeting, comrade Al Nelson commented on the absence of the BT: "I would offer an opinion that they miss their friends on the Berkeley campus, the ones in tan uniforms, who perhaps they feel a little safer with, as a shield."

The early, defining act of the BT was a COINTELPRO-style campaign aimed at smearing the SL as "violent." BT princeling Bob Mandel got into a loud argument with two SLers on a picket line, then falsely claimed he was physically assaulted. The BT launched an international petition campaign accusing the SL of attacking Mandel. Months later Mandel, attempting to defend the BT slanders in a public meeting, admitted he was not physically assaulted but claimed he had feared he *might* be (!) assaulted because the altercation was so "intense." In other words, the BT campaign was a lie! Yet the BT has now revived its false accusation. Mandel meanwhile has reportedly departed the BT and a new group with new initials is supposed to emerge, but the BT (which is so fond of announcing fictitious "splits" in the SL) has said not one word about the split with Mandel, like the earlier split of the former Cleveland ET.

The BT's early provocation led us to adopt the policy of requesting them to leave the room at the conclusion of our public events. For some years they abided by this requirement, while protesting their "democratic right" to "mingle" with SLers after our meetings—i.e., to seek to create incidents for new campaigns of slander and libel. Unable to do so, the BTs have escalated to a new, more sinister level of provocation.

Embittered ex-members, most of them quitters, whose sole activity for years has been to "get the SL" any way they can, the BT have offered themselves up as anti-Spartacists for hire. And lately they have had plenty of takers.

For starters there are the inhabitants of the fake-Trotskyist, third-camp social-democratic swamp in which the BT has so deeply ensconced itself. These fragments, ranging from the Slaughter wing of the British WRP to Harry Turner to Sy Landy's LRP, are trying to cement together yet another centrist amalgam that will accomplish nothing but to besmirch the name of Trotskyism. That Landy's LRP, for example, embraces sight unseen the BT's anti-Spartacist provocations is indicative of the anti-communist spinal reflex of these dyed-in-the-wool third campists to the SL's defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. The BT, which sometimes ventures "left" criticisms of the Spartacist League, lives in comfortable symbiosis with all these Russia-hating "third camp" Democratic Party hangers-on; the perfect unity they have on opposing the communists of the SL is undercut only by the penchant of one or another component to beat each other up from time to time.

More serious, there are the forces of bourgeois reaction. The BT's whole lying campaign against "Spartacist violence" dovetails so neatly with the central ploy of the government's "Cold War II"—to equate Marxist political opposition to the regime with "terrorism" and "crime." Right now at UC Berkeley, the cops, following the lead of Reagan and Meese, are waging a campaign of terror against the campus left. Hundreds upon hundreds of students have been savagely beaten, arrested and framed up for protesting against the policies of U.S. imperialism.

Spartacus Youth League member and UC Berkeley student Guillermo Bermúdez was an early victim of this vicious

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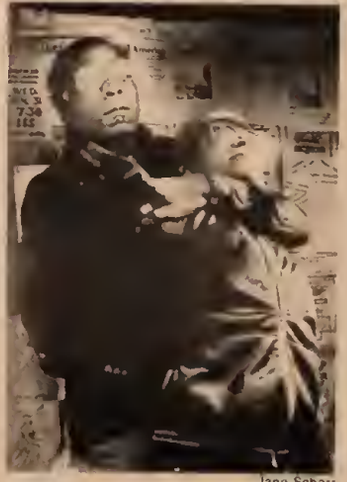

Jane Scharr

SYLer Guillermo Bermudez choked by UC Berkeley cop, 1985. BT provocations play into the hands of these racist thugs.

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Ratfink Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

Times, 19 November), Moynihan felt compelled to remind the president of the rules of American bourgeois democracy. The Reaganites' contempt of Congress is so blatant that it's frightening much of the ruling class, and not just them.

It certainly comes as no surprise that the rulers of this country lied, cheated, stole and murdered. When Shultz quotes Winston Churchill about the need for hiding the truth behind a "bodyguard of lies" in wartime, he's justifying the World War II imperialist allies' criminal firebombing of Dresden, the U.S.' wanton atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the countless lies and My Lais of the dirty war on Vietnam. It's been an open secret that the White House was one way or another secretly financing the contras against Congressional prohibitions—"private" donations wouldn't even come close to the $100 million plus annual price tag; if Congress "didn't know," it was because they didn't want to know. But in the last several months the administration has made a spectacle of incompetence, and the Teheran caper took the cake. Now sober minds in the ruling class are wondering if the Reagan gang are fit to govern. Capitalist governments have fallen over less.

Even the *New York Times* (26 November), ever ready to cover up for Reagan, felt compelled to editorialize that "now the powder trail runs right to the Oval Office":

> "The whole affair, from Israeli arms shipments through Swiss bank accounts to subsidizing the contras, smacks of a pattern of lawlessness."

Their conclusion is to call for a Congressional investigation. In Congress the Democratic leadership says it is primarily concerned with "protecting the President's credibility." But even the best efforts of the "responsible" Democrats may not be enough to keep this government from unravelling. There is a lot of pent-up anger in this country over the Reaganites' arrogance in power, an administration which could be summarized as Greed Unlimited at home and an international Murder Inc. There could be an explosion of social struggle in America as these bullies are going down. And already Sandinista Nicaragua is breathing easier: the contras see their pipeline maybe drying up, and the Yankee invasion has had some "scheduling problems."

Watergate Replay

When claims of "national security" won't silence Congress and the media, the White House PR men turn to stonewalling. When that fails, they try damage control. But Reagan's November 19 press conference claiming the NSC had arranged "a modest shipment of defensive weapons and spare parts to Iran" merely raised more questions. "The operation is mine, and mine alone," Reagan insisted, but instead of ending the affair, this admission opened the floodgate of leaks. Attempting to look "in control," the president called another press conference November 25 to announce that his old pal, Attorney General Ed Meese, will investigate the White House. Then Reagan fled the room while Meese dropped the big one: the secret U.S. arms shipments to Iran, with the Israeli government acting as go-between, netted a $10-30 million rakeoff deposited in a Swiss bank account for use by the Nicaraguan contras. (In the spirit of Adolf Eichmann, the Israelis say they were just following orders from their *Führer* in Washington.)

Kazemi/Sipa

U.S. mercenary Eugene Hasenfus (right) sentenced by Sandinista court to 30 years for gunrunning to contras. His orders came from the White House basement.

Hosefros/NY Times Photos

Reagan/Meese's "damage control" press conference announces ouster of Lt. Colonel North and Vice Admiral Poindexter (left and right). Scapegoating and know-nothingism can't cover up this one.

Suddenly the operation is *not* Reagan's, but that of Marine Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, National Security Council deputy director of political-military affairs. North was "the only person" who knew about the Iran-contra arrangement, insisted Meese, even though the NSC includes Reagan, Bush, Shultz, Weinberger, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, CIA director Casey, and Meese. He hinted that with the help of high tech "intercepts" of electronic communications, the "intelligence community" had traced the source of the operation to...the White House basement. So North is fired, while his boss, National Security Adviser John Poindexter, resigns ignominiously. Meese insisted the president knew nothing, the CIA was not involved, the amount was only $12 million in arms, and it all took place "between January 1986 and the present time." We kid you not.

Within days, Meese's story fell apart. According to confidential memos obtained by the defense in a Manhattan "Iran arms sale" trial (involving no sale of arms to Iran, but only a Customs Service "sting" operation), an Oregon businessman innocently tried to tip off Vice President Bush about the U.S.-Iran-contra connection but got a knowing brushoff. Another memo showed that Poindexter approved the sale of 10,000 antitank missiles to Iran in December 1985. New reports surfaced from Iranian exiles that as many as 20 planeloads of American weapons were delivered to Iran in May by former National Security Adviser McFarlane, estimates of the value of the cargo now go as high as one *billion* dollars. Israel has been delivering arms to Iran with tacit U.S. permission since 1981, and both Angolan and Afghan contras received part of the Iran dollars.

Meanwhile, the capos in this global conspiracy are being identified. Phone records from a CIA "safe house" in El Salvador had already pinpointed the heads of the "private" Nicaraguan contra supply operation as Colonel North (who was repeatedly called at the White House) and "retired" General Richard Secord. These two were also on the plane to Teheran with McFarlane in May, and it turns out both the trips to Iran and the contra air drops were arranged by the CIA-connected Southern Air Transport. Secord's firm, Stanford Technologies, employed "ex"-CIA operatives Edwin Wilson and Frank Terpil, and he was investigated over their clandestine supply of U.S. weapons to Qaddafi's Libya during the Carter administration. North, meanwhile, in addition to being point man for the contras has reportedly run every NSC clandestine operation, from the Grenada invasion to the post-*Achille Lauro* skyjacking of an Egyptian airliner.

The revelations keep cascading. The 1983 murder of a GM executive found in a lake near Bear Mountain, New York has been linked to the Iran arms smuggling. And now the Saudis move to center stage: it all began at a birthday party in Spain for notorious merchant of death Adnan Khashoggi which was attended by a U.S. ambassador, assorted Israeli arms dealers and Brooke Shields. Michael Ledeen, of Claire Sterling "pope plot" fame, is another key link. And George Bush is in the middle of it. "First, he was up to his Stetson in pressuring the Saudis for higher world oil prices—this was what Iran wanted...but it was also what Bush's Texas oil producers wanted," an ex-CIA man told columnist Warren Hinckle. And Bush was "deep and dirty" in the illegal contra arms supply network: "They've been running a rump CIA out of the vice president's office" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 1 December). North is a gung-ho anti-communist, all right, but no rogue "cowboy": he *was* following orders.

Now the administration is stonewalling. After hiding behind a Thanksgiving turkey out on the coast, Ronald Reagan returned to the capital to proclaim Oliver North "a national hero." North, rebuffed at the White House door sneaking in for a last shredding session, took the Fifth (Amendment) at a Senate hearing. Vice President Bush promises a statement this week to stand by his chief. The normally aggressive White House chief of staff Don Regan has hunkered down behind claims of "executive privilege." And the embattled president is calling Richard Nixon for advice. *Newsweek* asks, "What did the president forget, and when did he forget it?" One is reminded of the climax of the Wizard of Oz, when Dorothy finds that behind the booming voice and intimidating façade of the wizard there is nothing but a dull-witted little man living in fear of discovery.

Democrats to the Rescue ...for Reagan

Republicans in Congress are now talking of a special session, the first since 1948. The Democrats want a select committee like the one which investigated the Watergate affair. The opening shot of a political counteroffensive against the White House? Not at all. Senate Democratic leader Robert Byrd declared, "This is my President. He's in trouble. And I don't want to see the Presidency damaged." Democratic presidential front runner Mario Cuomo said he was "praying that we never learn that he knew all about this." Teddy Kennedy urged caution, Walter Mondale "warned that the worst thing for the country and the party would be an all-out attack on the President" (*New York Times*, 27 November). Democratic Senator Sam Nunn, soon-to-be chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, intoned: "We must, all of us, help the President restore his credibility in foreign affairs. We can't have a crippled President for two years."

"Credibility" here has a double meaning: does anyone believe Reagan's telling the truth, but more importantly can he stick it to the Soviets, or the Sandinistas? Reagan has blown it on both counts. Before the Contragate revelations a November 19 ABC News poll reported 59 percent thought Reagan was not telling the truth about the Iran deal. Afterwards, only 34 percent thought the president didn't know of the contra funds diversion. And now his approval rating has taken a sharp dip, falling to its lowest point since early 1983. For a president who constantly flaunts his popularity, this is disaster. For the CIA's Nicaraguan mercenaries, it's worse. "Contra Chiefs Say the Iran Affair May Have Doomed the Insurgency," headlined the *New York Times* (1 December), quoting a contra official who said: "We may now be seen as nothing more than the pet project of a lame-duck President. If that's the way it is, we're finished."

The Reaganite war plan has been to "roll back" Communism, starting with the left nationalist Sandinista regime—which dared to defend itself against U.S. aggression by acquiring Soviet arms and expertise—then on to Cuba, and finally, the big American imperialist wet dream: the destruction of the Soviet Union. The ayatollahs' 1979 ouster of the shah in Iran put a temporary crimp in the anti-Soviet plans by cutting the U.S. off from its Iranian bases. But while beating on Jimmy Carter for looking like a wimp against Khomeini, the Reaganites understand they have something in common with the theocratic reactionaries in Teheran: they all hate progress, secular humanism and...Communism. As the Heritage Foundation wrote in its program for Reagan's second term, *Mandate for Leadership II* (1984):

> "In the long term, good relations with Iran remain far more important than with Iraq. With a population of 45 million and borders on the Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf, Iran undeniably is a strategic prize."

The mullahs and the contras have more in common than a Swiss bank account.

In the meantime, the U.S. bourgeoisie has a first-class political mess on its hands. And unlike Watergate, this time the domestic crisis is intertwined with an international crisis. Boston University professor Allen Weinstein noted the "dismal spectacle" of the American presidency in recent years:

> "John F. Kennedy assassinated, Lyndon B. Johnson removing himself from contention after one term, Richard M. Nixon leaving in disgrace, Gerald R. Ford, an unelected incumbent, rejected by the voters, and Jimmy Carter soundly rebuffed in his re-election bid. All in all, not quite the saga of a 'banana republic' but hardly a textbook model of stability.... Another failed presidency looms, the sixth in a quarter century."
>
> —*New York Times*, 30 November

Weinstein called for a "bipartisan rescue operation," depending on two conditions: that "improprieties and possible illegalities" in the Iran-contra affair be "thoroughly dealt with," and "that no 'other shoe' hits the ground, deepening the scandal." That's quite a condition, for there are more shoes in the White

Massacre of Iranian Communists

Khomeini: Executioner for CIA

AP

Der Spiegel

Reagan sends arms and hit lists to Islamic fanatic Khomeini, butcher of Iranian workers movement, leftists and national minorities.

Teherangate may make lame duck soup out of Reagan's second term. But for the contra-funding spooks, the Star Wars kooks, the social bigots who make the mullahs look like swingers—for all the rats who inhabit the byzantine cellar of the White House, the "Iran connection" produced one big payoff. In 1983, Ayatollah Khomeini joined hands with his supposed nemesis, the "Great Satan" in Washington, to imprison and murder thousands of Communists, members of the once powerful though cravenly capitulatory Tudeh ("Masses") party. For both Reagan and Khomeini see the Soviet Union as an "Evil Empire," and back up their ravings with counterrevolutionary terror.

In late 1982 an opportunity presented itself for the imperialist West to do a deal with the Imam. A Soviet diplomat stationed in Teheran defected to the British, providing them—and through them the CIA—with Tudeh membership lists. Any hard feelings over "anti-imperialist" stunts like the 444-day seizure of the American embassy by the "followers of the Imam's line" were put behind them as the CIA turned over to Khomeini's regime its hit list for a *jihad* (holy war) against Soviet Communism. On 6 February 1983, squads of *pasdaran* arrested 30 leaders of Tudeh including its first secretary, Nureddin Kianuri.

In early May Tudeh was banned and Soviet diplomats expelled. By the end of 1983, some 10,000 Tudeh members had been thrown into the dungeons built by the Pahlavis, where they were tortured by the former SAVAK agents trained by the CIA and Israel's Mossad. Khomeini publicly thanked Allah for the "miracle" that led to this slaughter. Less publicly, his anti-Communist bloodlust was rewarded on earth as the White House opened the floodgates of its military arsenal through Israeli and South Korean middlemen, and then directly.

Because the widely-hated Shah was installed and propped up by his patrons in the U.S., Khomeini came to power with the aid of the suicidally opportunist left, which lauded his phony "anti-imperialism" while Tudeh used its support among oil workers to muzzle labor. During a fleeting "détente" between Teheran and Moscow, the Stalinists sent their cadre into the theocratic regime. They hailed the consolidation of Shi'ite clerical reaction, which meant imposition of the veil on women, savage wars against the Kurds and other minorities, and the jailing and massacre of thousands of other leftists.

Tudeh's servility did not spare them, especially when they called for a "negotiated peace" in Iran's squalid border war with Iraq, a Soviet military client. The day after its leadership was seized, Tudeh issued a statement pleading that Kianuri was "one of the resolute defenders of the combatant clergy." Even more revolting was the conduct of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKE) and its American cohorts in Jack Barnes' SWP, who alibied the massacre saying that because of its refusal to unconditionally back Khomeini in the Iran-Iraq war, "the Tudeh Party has left itself open to attack." But the belly-crawling HKE soon found itself in jail.

And then there were the Healyites, sinister fingermen for the world bourgeoisie who not only hailed the execution of 21 Communists by the Iraqi Ba'ath regime in 1979, but even provided to its London embassy photos of Iraqi leftists who protested the executions. Four years later, the American Healyites, headed by the dubious David North (not known to date to be a relation of Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North), cynically remarked:

> "There is no doubt that the jailing of the Tudeh members will be seized upon by the Stalinist and revisionist parties, such as the CPUSA and the SWP in the United States, to vent their hatred of the revolutionary masses of Iran and the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini."
> —*Bulletin*, 24 May 1983

Thus Healy-North cover for the CIA-engineered execution of Iranian Communists by Khomeini.

When the Pahlavi autocracy began to totter in late 1978, we warned that Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalism was every whit as reactionary and repressive. While the opportunists hailed the ayatollah, we proclaimed: "Down with the Shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" The latest revelations that the CIA fingered Tudeh Communists for Khomeini's executioners, that Reagan sent arms to woo the Imam for the "Free World," underscore a fundamental truth: the imperialists and religious reactionaries, in all their guises, are united in fear of world socialist revolution and hatred for the Soviet Union, the first victory of that revolution. ■

House basement waiting to hit the ground than Imelda Marcos had in her closet. For starters, the Iranians claim to have tapes of last May's telephone conversations between McFarlane in Teheran and "someone in the White House," showing that Reagan has "lied" to the American people. We say, play the tapes! And who is Brooke shielding? Enquiring readers want to know.

As the spectre of Watergate re-emerges, various reformists are raising their "radical" solution to the Teherangate/Contragate crisis—impeach the president. Communist Party leader Gus Hall, long-time donkey for Democratic Party "progressives," declared last week the "Iran connection" was "grounds for impeachment," and urged the "new Democratic majority" to take such a course (*People's Daily World*, 13 November). This was the CP's litany 13 years ago when moves to impeach Nixon were under way. As we wrote then, which holds true today as well:

> "For his truly enormous crimes against the working class Nixon should be removed from office at once. *Socialists should support a congressional move to impeach Nixon. But impeachment is not enough!* We do not seek to perpetuate bourgeois democracy, the system that has produced a quarter-century of imperialist aggression in Vietnam, the bombing of Dresden, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the Great Depression. To limit the labor movement to calling for impeachment of Nixon, as do the AFL-CIO tops and the Communist Party, is to wind up supporting Gerald Ford. A class-struggle answer to Watergate must shift the axis of struggle. *The fight to remove Nixon must become a fight not to replace Nixon with Gerald Ford, but a fight to replace the rule of capital with a workers government!*"
> —"What Labor Should Do About Watergate," *WV* No. 34, 7 December 1973

Get 'em While They're Down

Watergate and the simultaneous U.S. defeat in Vietnam marked a low point for the "imperial presidency." But Nixon *was* replaced by Gerald Ford, who was replaced by Jimmy Carter, who was replaced by Ronald Reagan, and here we are with an even more aggressive and dangerous U.S. imperialism "rolling back" union rights and black gains at home while it pursues a crusade against Communism from Managua to Moscow. Moreover, virtually every anti-Soviet military program and union-busting scheme pushed by Republican Reagan was initiated by Democrat Carter. In Congress, both capitalist parties vote for Reagan's war budget and social welfare cutbacks. The Democrats were pulled into line supporting "contra aid" because they share the goal of restoring the hegemony of U.S. imperialism. Thus they are no less concerned about restoring the "credibility" of the imperial presidency.

What makes Teherangate such a disaster for the Reagan presidency is that above all it is the true-blue Reaganites who feel betrayed and discredited. Remember, Reagan won the presidency in 1980 in no small measure by flaying Jimmy Carter for "humiliating" America by paying ransom to Khomeini for the U.S. embassy hostages held by his followers. In speech after speech, year after year, Reagan has denounced "state-sponsored terrorism" with Iran high on the list of alleged sponsoring states. For many white Middle America types, the ayatollah Khomeini—not Gorbachev, Castro or Qaddafi—is the foreign leader they most hate and despise. So when Reagan sends arms to the fanatical Iranian ruler who calls America "the Great Satan," the shock effect on the Republican right is only slightly less than if their president was exposed as a KGB mole.

And America is not Reagan country. The much-touted "new patriotism" following the Grenada invasion and '84 L.A. Olympics was only skin-deep. And while Reagan was re-elected with a record vote, he has never had a majority of the population with him on decisive issues—particularly the drive to war in Central America to overthrow the Sandinistas. The White House media managers could whip up hysteria over "terrorism" (spring '86) or drugs (summer-fall '86). In the process, the Meese police have targeted just about everybody. They can stage anti-Soviet, anti-Communist horror shows, like the upcoming ABC maxi-series *Amerika*. But Reagan "went too far" in saluting Nazi SS graves at Bitburg. Try as they might, they have not been able to bring back the McCarthy era. The bonapartism of the Reagan White House and the skulduggery in its cellar is a direct reflection of the *unpopularity* of Washington's anti-Soviet war measures. Recently not only black workers but white trade unionists as well have been snapping up the *Workers Vanguard* article on "Bonzo's Gonzo Diplomacy."

Actualidad Española

Nixon to Reagan: be sure to destroy all the evidence.

And an opera has opened based on the life of Malcolm X. This is not Reaganism triumphant.

For six years the U.S. ruling class has gloried in the return of a strong imperial president who got "America standing tall again." The Moral Majority, Rambo and Clint Eastwood were riding high, while the Ku Klux Klan operated in the shadow of the White House. With its hysteria over drugs and "terrorism," anti-porn witchhunts and attacks on abortion rights and evolution, the Reaganites tried to create the political and moral climate of some kind of totalitarian right-wing police state. But the Reagan counterrevolution, unlike German Nazism, was never based on a mass mobilization. It was all lies and PR hype. And Teherangate/Contragate has utterly exploded that. The Reaganites' usual response in such a jam is to stage another anti-Soviet provocation, like the Grenada invasion, Tripoli bombing, etc. But today that could backfire.

Union militants, blacks, Hispanics, civil libertarians and leftists have felt isolated in the Reagan years, and more than a little scared. But the unions were not broken by police-state terror; they've been shackled by a cowardly, sellout bureaucracy. The deep hatred for Reagan in the black ghettos was diverted by hustlers like Jesse Jackson and demagogues like Farrakhan. But now America's workers and oppressed minorities face a suddenly *weak* right-wing president, looking ridiculous and contemptible. It's time to strike back for the exploited and oppressed. What's needed is a revolutionary leadership to smash Reaganism, whether it's wearing a Republican or Democratic label. To bust the union-busters, to stop the lynchers and cross-burners in their tracks, to reverse the tide of social reaction and smash the imperialist war drive we must forge a class-struggle workers party fighting for socialist revolution, at home and abroad. ■

ILA: Union Power in the Jim Crow South

Organizing the Waterfront

The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) stands at a watershed in its history. Cut-rate, non-union ports have been spreading in the last couple years, particularly along the Gulf Coast. This spring ILA locals in the South Atlantic and Gulf swallowed whopping concessions on wages and manning scales, supposedly in order to remain "competitive" with the scab operations. The shipping bosses saw this as a wedge to attack union conditions in Northern ports as well. *Dun's Business Month* (October 1986) predicted a "Showdown On the Waterfront," hoping that "the labor component of U.S. shipping costs could plunge as much as 75 percent in a single year." When the bosses tried to do this, angry East Coast longshoremen from Norfolk to Maine walked off the docks October 1. But Southern ports continued working, and the strike was called off after three days.

ILA leaders have now agreed to a two-tier wage structure pitting high seniority workers against lower-paid new-hires and cutting wages for ore and grain workers. While ILA spokesman Jim McNamara claimed the giveback pact was "an improvement in light of conditions in the shipping industry," the *Wall Street Journal* (14 November) commented: "The new contract is considered a victory for waterfront management which for the first time in decades has won concessions in wages, work rules and benefits from the powerful ILA."

Two-tier systems have become a standard part of the employers' union-busting offensive. In seeking to play off older against younger longshoremen, Northern ports against Southern ports, container workers against bulk workers, the bosses are striking at the guts of the ILA. Union solidarity on the docks is a relatively recent achievement, preceded by decades of hard, bitter and often losing struggles. The first unionwide strike was called in 1953, over 60 years after the founding of the ILA. That strike was part of the fight waged by ILA longshoremen to defend their union against an alliance of the shipowners, government and AFL tops (see "How Longshoremen Stopped the Finks," *WV* No. 414, 24 October). Thereafter, the demand of "one port down, all ports down" became the watchword of militant longshoremen. Despite several retreats in the face of government injunctions against coast-wise strikes, the ILA cohered into a powerful union exercising effective job control along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.

Cohering effective unions on the docks was a long and difficult struggle, going back over a century. The work was dirty, backbreaking and low-paid.

Louisiana Weekly

Striking New Orleans longshoremen, October 1986.

Those recruited for it were blacks, Irish and German immigrants, later Italians and East Europeans, and the employers sought to keep the workers divided by playing on racial and ethnic divisions. In the port of New York during the Civil War, draft riots were stirred up by pro-slavery agitators claiming that freed blacks would take the jobs of the mainly Irish longshoremen. It wasn't until the 1880s that black and Italian longshoremen established themselves in New York, having been introduced as strike-breakers. When it became apparent that they were there to stay, the unions sought to organize them in order to prevent their use as scabs. And as the ILA later absorbed the old New York dock unions, it consisted of a patchwork of separate Irish, Italian, black, German and Hungarian-centered locals—a setup that continued many decades.

The early struggles to organize the docks were often led by radical labor organizations that challenged the prevailing "wisdom" of craft unionism by fighting for racial equality and the extension of unions to the most oppressed, unskilled workers. The principles of class solidarity they fought for, though never fully realized, had a significant impact on waterfront unionism. In the South, the bitter struggles of longshoremen were fought under open shop, Klan-dominated conditions. This meant that every union battle posed a burning necessity for interracial solidarity of black and white workers. Black longshoremen played a predominant role on the waterfront, compelling respect from white trade unionists and fear from the racist labor haters. As one Southern ILA man told us during the recent strike, speaking of the KKK, "We don't have much problem with them around here. They know we'll get vengeance."

The militancy of Southern longshoremen has often put them in the forefront of labor battles, from the earliest times to the present. The longshore union has been viewed by the Southern black masses as a bulwark against Jim Crow racism. Medgar Evers, the head of the Mississippi NAACP who was assassinated by KKK-type racists in 1963, was a member of the Gulfport local of the ILA. In the 1970s, when Louisiana students wanted to protest the racist Rhodesian regime, they sought out New Orleans ILA locals to initiate a boycott of Rhodesian chrome. And in 1982, a key to the success of the Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. was the early support of black longshore locals and the ILA International. In a very concrete sense, black longshoremen in the South have been in the vanguard of their class and their race.

The CNLU and the Knights of Labor

The entire history of the ILA demonstrates that struggles for black rights and union rights are inseparable. In the South black dock workers played a central role in the fight for unionization going back to the Civil War. The first organization of blacks occurred under the impulse of Reconstruction: in 1867, black stevedores in Charleston formed the Longshoremen's Protective Union Association and won a strike for higher wages. That February the dock workers of Savannah, Georgia, nearly all black, struck against the city council's poll tax of $19 on all persons employed on the wharves and won repeal.

As the Savannah example shows, the early black longshore unions in the South necessarily engaged in political struggles centered on combatting the racist reaction against Reconstruction. Among the most active organizations to defend black working people was the Colored National Labor Union (CNLU), whose co-leaders were Isaac Myers and the great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass. Douglass had worked in the shipyards in Baltimore while still a slave. One day he was badly beaten by white apprentices. Describing this incident in his autobiography, Douglass wrote: "The slaveholders, with a craftiness peculiar to themselves, by encouraging the enmity of the poor laboring white man against the blacks, succeeded in making the said white man almost as much a slave as the black slave himself" (*Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* [1892]).

The CNLU was not socialist in its political views, but had a radical democratic program, centering on support for Reconstruction which meant that across the South, blacks and poor whites held political power under the guns of the occupying Union Army (and the black militias of the Union Leagues) while the former slavocracy was disenfranchised. They also fought against Jim Crow segregation in the labor movement, for admission of blacks into apprenticeships, etc. According to Philip Foner's *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1981* (1981), "In several communities the CNLU stimulated black and white workers to form local unions, which then won strikes. It helped to organize black dock workers into the Longshoremen's Association No. 1 of Baltimore in 1871 and led their successful struggle to secure a wage increase from twenty to twenty-five cents an hour."

Meyers and Douglass sought an alliance with the mainly white National Labor Union (NLU) headed by William Sylvis. The NLU did not have a color bar but it allowed its affiliated unions to determine whether they would admit black workers. Far more often than not, the existing craft unions excluded blacks. One celebrated case involved Douglass' son Lewis, who obtained work in the Government Printing Office but was driven off the job by the International Typographical Union. In sharp distinction to almost every other union organization, the CNLU defended Chinese immigrants against rampant and frequently lethal racism. But the CNLU's attempt to forge unity between white and black workers ultimately failed, defeated by the forces of racism within the trade unions and the betrayal of Reconstruction.

Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

National Association of Knights of Labor, Richmond, Virginia, 1886: pioneers of organizing American labor.

One other early attempt to build an organization encompassing unskilled as well as skilled workers was the Knights of Labor. At its peak in 1886, the Knights had almost a million members. Its position on the race question was equivocal: while it persuaded many unions to admit black members and held integrated rallies, demonstrations and social activities, many of its local assemblies were segregated. Nonetheless, the Knights had a substantial black component (almost 50 percent in the South). There were branches among waterfront workers in almost every major port on the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific coasts. An important longshore battle led by the Knights of Labor was the "Big Strike" of 1887, which was precipitated when the Old Dominion company, whose ships ran between New York and Newport News, slashed wages at the same time as coal handlers in New Jersey were subjected to a pay cut. A massive general strike on the New York-New Jersey waterfront resulted, with 50,000 dock workers striking.

The bosses went to court, charging that the strike was organized to gain the same wages for black dock workers in Newport News as NY longshoremen. Although this was not strictly true, the Knights did dispatch envoys to the South and persuaded workers there to "hot cargo" Old Dominion. It thus became the first major trade-union struggle that linked Northern and Southern dock workers, cutting across racial lines to unite predominantly Irish workers in New York and mainly black

James W. Terry III

Louisiana students demand boycott of Rhodesian chrome in 1972. ILA dockers refused to unload ship.

workers in Virginia. Although James Quinn, the head of the NY Knights, was jailed and armed Pinkerton scabherders were unleashed in New Jersey, the strikers held firm. Railroad workers threatened to shut down the Reading Railroad in solidarity with the coal handlers. The strike was only defeated because the union leaders agreed to a separate settlement of the coal handlers dispute, leaving the Old Dominion strikers out in the cold.

The "Big Strike" took place at a critical moment for the Knights. On 1 May 1886, large demonstrations for the eight-hour day were held in several cities. In Chicago's Haymarket rally bombs were hurled, for which several anarchist labor leaders were subsequently framed up and executed. The "anti-red" hysteria unleashed over the Haymarket affair by the bosses and their press was endorsed by the leadership of the Knights, including its Grand Master Workman Terence Powderly. A few months later the organization made a major retreat over the race question. At the Knights' convention in Richmond, Virginia a black delegate from New York, Frank Ferrell, was denied hotel accommodations. The New York delegation refused to stay in the hotel, and later accompanied Ferrell to a performance of *Hamlet*, further enraging the Southern segregationists. But Powderly wrote a despicable letter of apology to the Richmond press.

The issue polarized the Knights, and militant blacks and whites soon began deserting in droves. It soon became an openly white supremacist organization. The demise of the Knights of Labor did prove one thing, though: racism and anti-socialism are poison to the union movement.

Longshore Battles in New Orleans

The destruction of the early labor organizations that promised to unite black and white workers, along with the political defeat of Reconstruction, profoundly shaped the subsequent development of the American labor movement. The vast majority of blacks lived in the South at the time. With the Ku Klux Klan in the saddle and a system of enforced peonage, blacks were tied to the land under semi-serf conditions. When industry was built up in the North the steel mills and auto plants brought in immigrant workers from southern and eastern Europe—not Southern blacks. At the time of the Civil War the majority of skilled craftsmen in the South were black, but they were driven out of these trades by Jim Crow unions. Outside of sharecropping and domestic service, the only jobs for blacks were the dirtiest, hardest and most dangerous: on the docks and in the mines.

New Orleans was for many years the most important port in the South. The first black general longshore union was organized in 1872. Initially blacks were excluded from skilled work: white longshoremen reserved the highly paid screwman's job of stowing cotton bales aboard ship. But by the end of the 19th century a black screwmen's union was organized, and a formal union structure existed on the New Orleans waterfront. Longshore work was divided into several crafts: within each there was a black and a white (mainly Irish) local, and all work was divided equally between the locals. Since black workers were the majority on the New Orleans (and other Southern) docks, this setup in fact discriminated against blacks. White longshoremen were often given more desirable jobs; white longshoring gangs were traditionally assigned to the side of the ship adjoining the pier, a practice designed to assert white supremacy.

However, there were a number of powerful examples of class solidarity between black and white waterfront workers. The New Orleans general strike of November 1892 was precipitated by a strike of the Triple Alliance (packers, scalesmen and teamsters) for a ten-hour day, overtime pay and a union shop. The bosses refused to sign an agreement with the teamsters, a black union, but the Triple Alliance held firm. When a general strike of 49 unions affiliated to the city's Workingmen's Amalgamated Council was declared, the bosses attempted to break it by appealing to white workers to reject "Negro domination." The governor called out the militia but the employers eventually agreed to arbitrate. Although the settlement did not grant the union shop, this citywide general strike—the first in the history of the American labor movement—was a powerful example of labor solidarity in the Deep South that cut across racial lines.

In 1901 a New Orleans Dock and Cotton Council was established. The 72 delegates—half black and half white—represented 36 dock unions including the longshoremen, screwmen, teamsters, scalehands and others. The officers of the Council were divided equally between white and black and were rotated annually, so that one year there would be a black president, then a white president, etc. In October 1907 the Council called a strike of 10,000 black and white workers in its affiliated unions. After 20 days the employers agreed to arbitrate, but they refused to meet with black delegates. The New Orleans press "warned" that blacks were using the strike as a means of "trying to further pull down the barriers which bar them from equity in all things with the superior race."

But this appeal to white supremacy failed. The bosses had to back down and meet with the black unionists. The strike issues were settled on the unions' terms. The president of the Council commented: "The whites and Negroes were never before so strongly cemented in a common bond and in my 39 years of experience of the levee, I never saw such solidarity." The gains of this strike were not long-lived, however. The screwmen's job was automated out of existence by the invention of the cotton press shortly thereafter, and the employers took advantage of the decline in jobs to attack the unions. A series of losing strikes was fought between 1916 and 1923 that resulted in the unions being greatly weakened. There was substantial interracial scabbing during these strikes. It was not until the late '30s that the longshore unions were solidly re-established on the docks of New Orleans.

Historical Pictures Service

Schomburg Collection

Black leaders Frederick Douglass (left) and Isaac Myers organized "Colored National Labor Union" in 1869. Black workers on the docks in 1860s (below).

National Archives

When the longshore locals affiliated to the ILA (about the time of the establishment of the Dock and Cotton Council), the segregated union structure was maintained. The ILA locals on the Gulf were not integrated until 1983! However, on the Southern waterfront the black unions were dominant: white labor has looked to black unionists for leadership. In 1968, when Martin Luther King was assassinated, the black ILAers in New Orleans called a three-day protest strike; the white longshoremen announced they weren't working without their black brothers! Several years later in 1977 black and white longshoremen in New Orleans staged a militant wildcat to shut down all shipping in the port when the ILA International struck only containerized cargo.

Nonetheless, the persistence of segregated locals perpetuated discrimination against black workers. Marxists call for one integrated union. Abolish the craft structure that has guaranteed that jobs like clerks and checkers have historically been the preserve of white workers. For full union control of hiring, with jobs dispatched on a rotary basis, and upgrading on the basis of seniority!

ILA and IWW

The ILA chartered its first local in Chicago in 1887. For some years it was pretty much confined to the Great Lakes. Beginning around 1900, it began to affiliate existing local unions. In its early years the ILA was headed by Dan Keefe, a conservative trade unionist who was quite friendly with Mark Hanna, a prominent Cleveland industrialist and Republican Party bigwig. Keefe was a major backer of Hanna's National Civic Federation, an organization set up to promote "good relations" between labor and management. Keefe's business unionism was quite compatible with that of Sam Gompers' AFL, to which it was affiliated.

While the ILA maintained the Jim Crow setup typical of the AFL, it was challenged by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). The IWW was a revolutionary syndicalist organization that believed capitalism could be overthrown by organizing working people into "one big union." The IWW believed in solidarity of workers throughout the world, organizing on an industrial rather than craft basis. The "Wobblies" militantly opposed racial segregation; no Jim Crow locals were ever built by the IWW, North or South. The IWW had support among dock workers in several areas, including the West Coast, Galveston, New Orleans and Baltimore. But its major success on the waterfront was in Philadelphia.

The ILA had established a foothold in the 1890s but lost it when it failed to support striking longshoremen in 1898. For 15 years the Philly longshoremen were without a union, as the bosses played off black workers and white workers against each other. Blacks represented slightly more than half the workforce. Then in May 1913 some 4,000 black, Irish, Slavic and Italian dock workers shut down the port. At a mass meeting the strikers turned down the AFL and decided to affiliate with the IWW, becoming Marine Transport Workers Local No. 3. The main strike organizer was Ben Fletcher, a prominent black IWW leader. The shipping bosses claimed they would never deal with the "lawless IWW," but they were forced to eat those words. The successful strike won union recognition for Local 3. Later the IWW local won union control of hiring on the docks.

Following World War I, the government launched a vicious witchhunt, rounding up IWW and other socialist militants including Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, driving the newly formed Communist Party underground and encouraging attacks on the unions throughout the country. Fletcher, the black Philadelphia IWW leader, was sentenced to ten years in prison. But the surviving local leadership capitulated to the witchhunt: in 1921 the IWW general executive board had to expel its Philly marine transport local for scabbing on the Russian Revolution. The longshore leaders had ordered members to load explosives for Pilsudski's Polish army which, along with the U.S. and other imperialist powers, was trying to

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San Francisco Public Library

Doubleday & Co

San Francisco, 1934: Cops attack ILAers in bloody battle of Rincon Hill (left). General strike shut down SF days later (rally at Civic Center, right).

Student Strikes Rock France

PARIS, December 1—Over the last week, French universities and high schools have exploded in a massive student struggle in which hundreds of thousands of demonstrators have come up against the police and faced fascist attacks. On November 27, *one million* students took to the streets against the proposed Devaquet law which would sharply increase class privilege in education. More than 200,000 students demonstrated in Paris in front of the National Assembly. Suddenly, the May 1968 New Left student revolt which sparked a proletarian general strike and pre-revolutionary situation, scaring the capitalist rulers (and the reformists) out of their wits, was on everybody's lips. Could this be a new '68?

The Devaquet law has now been sent back to a parliamentary commission for "review." In the face of the outpouring of student discontent, it may simply be dropped. As we go to press, the student strike is continuing, with many faculties—including Nanterre, the starting point for May '68—occupied by students.

For the moment, the government is treating these youth with kid gloves, in fear that the student revolt could touch off something much deeper. After the debacle of the discredited popular-front government of Socialist Party (PS) president François Mitterrand, and the ascent of the present right-wing regime, the country is markedly unstable. The working class has been subjected to vicious "austerity" and mass layoffs, while its sizable immigrant component longs to fight back against government roundups and deportations and the rampages of extralegal racist terror. Fascist groups under demagogues like Le Pen have grown ominously. And the brutal cops, including the notorious CRS (riot police), are itching to teach the unruly students a bloody "lesson."

The students, meanwhile, under slogans like "68, c'est trop vieux—86, c'est mieux" ("1968, old hat—1986, better"), and abetted by the aspiring student bureaucrats mainly associated with the PS, have taken up the idea that the

Sygma

Hundreds of thousands of French students march through Paris, November 27, protesting right-wing onslaught against higher education.

student revolt should be "apolitical." The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF, French sister section of the SL/U.S.) in a leaflet issued this morning explained:

> "What is criminal in this situation is to pretend that the so-called 'apolitical' character of this movement constitutes protection against eventual attacks by the police or fascists who, clearly, are raring to demonstrate their usefulness to the bourgeoisie. The reaction wants to buy time, but it is preparing its revenge. It's sinister: according to *Le Monde* (30 November-1 December), [minister of the interior] Pasqua 'was afraid he could not continue to keep order without violence'—in other words, if the Devaquet proposal is upheld, his attack dogs could be unleashed against the students. Meanwhile the [fascist] National Front has seized the moment to denounce the 'weakness' of the government."

Already, fascist thugs with iron bars and gasoline bombs have launched potentially deadly attacks on students at Jussieu and elsewhere.

However, the social-democratic misleaders of the strike are aggressively pushing the "no politics" line in order to censor leftist opposition. And the "far-left" goes along with this hypocritical evasion. Lutte Ouvrière openly declares that the movement should not be "politicized"—in the name, of course, of "unity" with the social-democratic misleaders of the student strike, who LO says are the only possible—and desirable—leaders!

At Nanterre, in meetings on November 26 the student bureaucrats actually tried to bring in speakers from the UNI, the Gaullists' campus shock troops, notorious for their CIA funding. The comrades of the LTF vigorously (and mainly successfully) opposed these attempts to provide a platform for a fascist front group. In their despicable endeavor the Nanterre student bureaucrats on one occasion enlisted the support of Daniel Cohn-Bendit, one of the old famous names from May '68. Cohn-Bendit smeared the LTF as "red fascists"—to New Left leftovers like him, the communists of the LTF and not the fascist menace are what students have to watch out for. Nicknamed "Danny the Red" in '68, Cohn-Bendit today is more like "Danny the Yellow [scab]" said the LTF leaflet, noting that the PS and Cohn-Bendit "share the UNI's enthusiasm for the medieval Afghan mullahs and the company-union clerical nationalists of Polish Solidarność, and concentrate their fire against the Spartacists whose intervention in the student assemblies cuts against the anti-Soviet consensus. No platform for fascist thugs—drive them off campus!"

It's easy to understand why the PS and its coterie want to keep the student movement "apolitical." It was the Mitterrand popular front government of 1981-86 which laid off hundreds of thousands of workers and gave the green light to the brutal anti-immigrant dragnets and the deportation of thousands, while beating the war drums for Reagan's anti-Soviet crusade in Europe. The popular front's bankruptcy opened the door to the return of the present reactionary regime, which has made its own the old Vichy slogan: "Work, Family, Fatherland." This record of betrayal has a lot to do with the hostility of many of the students to "politics" as they perceive it—namely, parliamentarism and class collaboration. But as the LTF leaflet put it, "Rejection of politics and an anti-organization phobia can lead only to cooptation or impotence."

The popular-frontist "far-left," which sees no answer except to continue to tail the PS as it orients to the 1988 presidential elections, is working hard to put across the "apolitical" alibi for treachery. But the student movement is volatile—in the space of one hour, on November 27 in front of the National Assembly, the students' slogan changed from "CRS, join us!" to the battle cry of '68, "CRS—SS!" The LTF leaflet put forward a proletarian perspective for the student struggle:

> "To protect themselves against the fascists and the police repression, the students must call upon the power of the working class, French and immigrant.... Cops out of immigrant neighborhoods! Abolish the CRS, paramilitary groups of the bonapartist state! For mass workers' mobilizations to sweep away the fascist scum! For immigrant/trade-union defense squads against racist terror!"

Students looking to break out of the university "ivory tower" to join in an effective fight against class privilege, social regimentation, racial/national oppression and war need a Leninist vanguard party to lead a workers revolution against capitalism. For a new May '68 that goes all the way! ■

Cops Assault Steel Pickets, Labor Fakers Blame Japanese

On November 25, five hundred members of United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1104 came out to stop USX from shipping scab steel by rail from its Lorain, Ohio plant. But the reactionary, protectionist USWA bureaucracy diverted the strikers' anger against the steel bosses into an obscene spectacle of flag-waving and anti-Japanese racism. Overturning a foreign car on the tracks, steel workers planted an American flag on the car and chanted "Iwo Jima." The USWA tops' protectionist poison only serves the steel bosses, pitting American steel workers against their class brothers in Japan and Korea, and emboldening racist reaction against black, Latin and foreign-born workers.

The next day Lorain steel workers got a taste of stars-and-stripes "justice" when the strikebreaking cops kicked pickets as they lay on the ground. A small army of 168 cops in riot gear, with attack dogs and gas masks, waded into 200 workers who were attempting to stop the shipment of scab steel pipe from the Lorain works. Fourteen workers were arrested, including four who were hospitalized, among them USWA District 28 director Frank Valenta and Local 1104 president Al Pena, both of whom face felony charges for "inciting to riot."

Following the breakoff of negotiations in Pittsburgh, USX has threatened to start widespread shipping of scab steel from plants around the country. One shipment of pipe left the Lorain plant in September, when 50 USWA members were arrested at the railroad tracks leaving the Lorain plant. At Fairless Steel outside Philadelphia, some 1,200 USWA members blocked a scab rail shipment in October. What's necessary are plant occupations and strike action to shut down the steel industry. But this will take a militant, internationalist leadership that opposes import quotas designed to rob Japanese and Korean workers of their jobs, and which would appeal to these workers for their support by not boosting exports during a real steel strike.

As the lockout enters its fifth month, this has now become the longest steel "strike" in U.S. history, yet production has actually *fallen* at the other steel companies. After looting the industry for decades, the "rust bowl" capitalists are bailing out, leaving massive unemployment and poverty. Rumors are flying that USX will use the shutdown to divest itself of antiquated mills and furnaces, and abandon steel for its gas and oil holdings. But the only answer of the labor tops is more givebacks and protectionist "unity" with their "own" bosses. It will take a socialist planned economy, under a workers government, to rebuild steel and the rotting core of American industry. ■

Orosz/The Journal [Lorain]

Tombaugh/The Journal [Lorain]

Cops beat and kick striking Lorain steel workers, despite the USWA bureaucracy's flag-waving and anti-Japanese racism.

Young Spartacus

U.S./South Africa:

UPI Magubane/Gamma-Liaison

Workers revolution will avenge proletarian martyrs! Racist bombing of Philly MOVE (left), signature of Reagan years. South African militants at funeral procession (right) in defiance of Botha regime, August 1985.

"Free World" Butchers

On September 23, the Spartacist League held a forum at Howard University in Washington, D.C. The speaker was SL Central Committee member Ed Kartsen, who was the party's candidate for Manhattan borough president last year. The forum was a significant political event at Howard, attracting students from a broad political spectrum.

Addressing the relationship between South African apartheid and U.S. imperialism, comrade Kartsen exposed the Democratic Party's role in the division of labor with Reagan in blocking militant class and social struggles. Kartsen explained that the Democrats share Reagan's program on all essentials of anti-Communist warmongering abroad and repression at home. The capitalist rulers require the services of Democratic front men, like the black mayors of most of America's major cities, to carry out the program of the more openly racist and labor-hating Reaganites. To keep the angry inner-city masses in line and to wrest from all the working people the sacrifices necessary for new wars of imperialist aggression, the rulers need some "black elected officials" and have uses even for some who posture as more "independent" from the racist system, like black demagogue Louis Farrakhan.

It was this insistence which caused sparks to fly at the Howard forum. When comrade Kartsen exposed Farrakhan's "self-reliance" schemes as cynical and reactionary, one Farrakhan supporter stormed out of the room saying, "You can't say that about the brother!" Another drifted out after him.

A lively discussion period followed the presentation, exploring the need for a revolutionary party to lead the struggles of South Africa's oppressed masses against racist capitalism and for working-class power. Equally, the discussion concerned the Spartacist League's strategy of revolutionary integrationism as the key to an effective fight against racist terror and for socialist revolution in the U.S.

Young Spartacus is pleased to publish here comrade Kartsen's presentation along with some of his remarks from the discussion period and summary. All of this material has been edited and condensed for publication.

WV Photo

Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982: We stopped the Klan! 5,000 join Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to stop terrorist KKK.

Howard University Forum

Ed Kartsen: I'm going to start off with a basic premise. There's something called U.S. imperialism, which right now is an organized effort on the part of the Reagan administration to terrorize the world. And U.S. imperialist terror internationally is accompanied by anti-communist, racist terror domestically. Reagan is in the business of rolling back every gain that's been won through social struggle in this country. That is, every gain won by the workers movement in the '30s and after that, every gain won through the civil rights movement, even the Civil War and the American Revolution.

This is a broad statement, strongly supported by political events in this country during the last few years. For example, the massacre of MOVE in Philadelphia—eleven people were burned to death, including five small children. The MOVE massacre is reminiscent of the massacres going on in South Africa. Hundreds of blacks are being gunned down in the streets of Soweto, while here in Washington Caribbean students are being attacked like they're in Soweto.

From Libya to Nicaragua, from the Gulf of Sidra right off the coast of Libya to the Sea of Okhotsk in the Soviet Union, Reagan has planned *strikes of terror* which are pushing this world closer to the brink of World War III. The Republicans and Democrats are basically united in a domestic crackdown on the Bill of Rights to facilitate this war effort. And here I'm talking specifically about the drug crackdown. The black Democrats—like Wilson Goode, Philadelphia's Mayor of Murder—are pushing Reagan's program in the anti-drugs campaign. Internationally, anti-drug hysteria has been used as a cover for American forces to intervene in Bolivia, for U.S. police intervention in Mexico.

The Ku Klux Klan and Nazis are seeking to come together to exploit the political environment of Reaganism in this country. The KKK now gets away with prime-time cross-burnings on TV. The flag of the defeated Confederacy—*the flag of slavery*—is getting more and more public display; it appears in Army-Navy stores in the major cities, at public events. It flew at the 350th anniversary of Harvard University. Racist provocations are staged from Chicago this summer to the Mexican border, where hooded commandos round up immigrants at gunpoint. In Norfolk, Congress and the courts are rolling back busing for racial integration in the schools. The Klan simultaneously has been staging cross-burnings in the Tidewater area.

The racist murders committed by South Africa's apartheid government are backed by Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement." South Africa, after all, is part of the "free world." It is a junior partner in racist terror and anti-communism. Reagan only complains when South Africa pulls the same war provocations against the so-called "front line countries" as the U.S. pulled against the North African country of Libya.

The primary target of U.S. imperialism is the rollback of the Russian Revolution. The Democrats are at one with the Republicans in this aim. In southern Africa, the policy of containing Russia means giving military support to Jonas Savimbi of UNITA against the Cuban- and Russian-supported government of Angola. Savimbi wants to turn all of southern Africa into a massive bantustan to enslave more of the continent to apartheid exploitation. Angola would have lost its independence at the moment it defeated the colonialists if the USSR, Cuba and East Germany had not intervened with technical and military support to crush the South African invasion of Angola backed up by the bandit Jonas Savimbi.

South Africa's population is defiant, the country is in a prerevolutionary situation—it could easily explode in revolution—but a *revolutionary party* is lacking. The masses have been heroic, ready to put their lives on the

continued on page 10

Howard...

(continued from page 9)

line—that's been clear in every newspaper story. Their political leadership, however, is nationalist, not communist. The movement does not have at its head a communist *vanguard party*, capable of leading the working class to smash apartheid. South African unions have the power to deny the South African capitalists their superprofits. They can hit them at the most strategic and critical point. But the leadership subordinates the working-class movement to nationalism and divestment schemes. And divestment is a strategy that only weakens the potential power of the working class.

In South Africa, democratic freedoms can only be won and defended by the working class under revolutionary leadership. A strike campaign directed immediately at the abolition of the state of emergency would bring massive social force to bear. But the nationalists are politically *opposed* to working-class power. They want to get rid of the white capitalists, but their program is for a black capitalist system. We are for a black-centered workers government to transform society. Working-class leadership must unite all the oppressed ethnic groups in South Africa and all elements opposed to apartheid in an anti-capitalist struggle.

Anti-Communism Walks with Racist Terror

Here at home, black Democrats, along with white Democrats, sound more and more like Reagan. Anti-communism walks hand in hand with racist terror. Between Feinstein on the West Coast, the SF mayor who loves the Confederate flag, and Metzger, former "grand dragon" of the Klan, and Wilson Goode, the black mayor who burned eleven black people to death, the Democratic Party is trying to keep in step with Reaganism. They push racist terror and anti-Soviet war provocations.

The MOVE massacre is a signature of the Reagan years. The KKK and Nazis are seeking to exploit the reactionary climate created by the anti-Sovet war drive. The fascist filth have to be stopped and they have to be stopped effectively. Where the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis are overbold in driving to exploit the Reagan years, they have to be confronted and *defeated*. The Confederate flag is a spearhead. Its existence is a racist provocation. It is a calling card of the Ku Klux Klan. Wherever the Dixie flag is displayed, Klansmen feel comfortable in escalating into open racist terror. *It's a flag that's a prelude to lynching.*

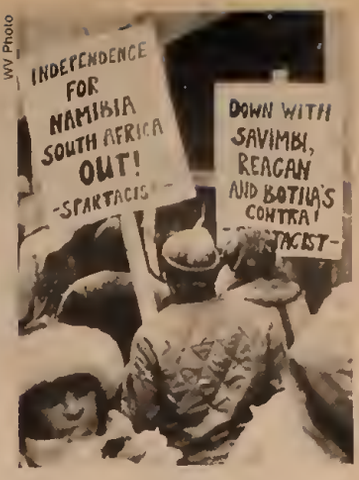
The black Democrats as represented by Jesse Jackson in particular are keeping up with the main line of the Democratic Party, which is: out-Reagan Reagan, out-right the right. And the drug witchhunt was designed specifically to be used as a popular campaign amongst black people particularly, as a means for the Democrats to get on the bandwagon and out-Reagan Reagan. So every community group this summer, every Democratic Party-dominated community organization, had massive street rallies against crack, and Jesse Jackson came out with his bootlicking statement that drugs are worse than the Klan.

What the anti-drug witchhunt really is all about is it's Reagan's attack on the Bill of Rights. Reagan and the Democrats are getting ready for a Vietnam-style war in Central America. And as black people are gunned down by racist cops and lynched by fascist terrorists, Jesse Jackson is talking like Reagan in blackface. Reagan and his Democratic Party allies want to start a Vietnam War in southern Africa too. They want to support the bandit Savimbi and the South African regime against the independent government of a former Portuguese colony in Angola.

The contras of the world have to be defeated—the Angolan contra Savimbi, the Nicaraguan contras, U.S. contras like the KKK and Nazis. This country needs an authentic *workers party*: a party that will lead the American working class in mobilizing against these contras, a party that will lead the American working class in stopping fascist terror. This country needs a party whose platform is to finish the Civil War and establish a workers government. A government that will put workers in control of the means of production, that will end imperialist war provocations and imperialist war. A government that will organize the economy on the basis of a plan democratically decided by the workers, instead of an economy driven by profit based on exploitation.

William Campbell

Apartheid terrorists at Angolan border. Hail Cuban troops defending black Angola!



WV Photo

Spartacists protest Angolan contra Jonas Savimbi, New York, February 1986.

WV Photo

NYC, August 1985: Ed Kartsen (right) at labor anti-apartheid march. SL stands for international labor action against apartheid butchers, not pro-imperialist divestment schemes.

U.S. Liberals Capitulate to Domestic Apartheid

The liberals who want "divestment" refuse to recognize racism in this country, basically. The liberal left only pays attention to appealing to some nonexistent moral supremacy this country is supposed to have, through the strategy of the divestment movement. This strategy, simply stated, is the idea that American moral standards are superior to the moral standards of South Africa. They turn a blind eye to racist terror in this country, perpetrated by the people whom they are pressuring to set a moral standard for the rest of the world. So we have racist cop terror, mob terror, scab violence, Klansmen, Nazis—all running amok, directed and protected by the American capitalist class. Remember Greensboro, where federal agents and cops helped the Klan and Nazis, so they could kill leftist demonstrators.

The Reaganite rulers want to honor the Confederacy. They want to praise and honor reactionary butchers, like Jeane Kirkpatrick at Columbia University. They want to corrupt science and culture with "creationism"—that's supposed to be a moral standard superior to South Africa? Not for anybody with brains—but brainlessness is also part of Reagan's program. They want to enforce the teaching of creationism; they want the people of this country to become fanatical American mullahs who will "kill a commie for Christ." There's no superior moral authority held by the United States, which is the only country ever to use the atomic bomb, and against civilian populations—the ultimate war crime.

The liberal left refuses to see that *the main enemy is at home*; they capitulate to the imperialist war drive. Their refusal to fight against racist terror in this country is a capitulation to domestic apartheid. This country went through a bloody *Civil War* to destroy the slave system. Black and white soldiers fought hard to defeat the Confederates. Based on the anti-scientific doctrine of racial inferiority and on the notion of one day becoming slaveholders themselves, the Confederate soldiers fought very hard for slavery. Their legacy remains; the drum roll of the right-wing movement of today can be traced to the drum roll that led the Confederate armies, and today again it is associated with the Confederate flag.

A movement to roll back the right is urgent, and it must be coupled with a campaign to reverse the capitalist takebacks. American workers have to come to understand the critical link between the war drive internationally and the capitalist attacks on the unions.

Farrakhan Allies with White Racists

Farrakhan's influence has represented a serious obstacle to combatting this rightward mobilization. It has to be remembered that *Farrakhan wanted Malcolm X dead*. Farrakhan's anti-Semitic tirades have won the praise of Klan Democrat Tom Metzger.

The most powerful black revolutionary force in America's history was armed black soldiers who fought heroically in the overthrow and military defeat of the slave system. Today, that revolutionary tradition must be carried on *in opposition* to Farrakhan's reactionary and utopian strategy of "black capitalism." The followers of Farrakhan are infected by the Reagan years, in fact they have been encouraged by the Reagan years. They hope the racist terror of the Klan and Nazis will drive black people into an American bantustan system which will make them susceptible to exploitation by black capitalists instead of white. By allying with the white racist terrorists, Farrakhan hopes to *deepen* racist divisions in this country. Farrakhan, like Savimbi in Africa, has allied himself with the forces of anti-communism and racism.

The Ku Klux Klan and Nazis must be *stopped*, not ignored. The mobilizing of the labor movement and the integrated neighborhoods can spike the KKK provocations. In Atlanta this summer an integrated community stopped the Klan from rallying in a section of Atlanta. Revolutionary leaders must fight to complete the Civil War by organizing actions that will stop the KKK and Nazi threat.

Anti-Drug Crusade: Regimenting the Workers

The current bipartisan anti-drug witchhunt attempts to place the blame for the disintegration of capitalism on the working class. The danger to workers from industrial chemicals is completely ignored by the anti-drug crusaders. In South Africa 177 miners died because toxic and explosive gases were released in the mine. It is the ruthless exploitation of the workers in the attempt to squeeze out further profits that is the cause of the major increase of industrial accidents and the general increase in the danger of industrial work. The government is trying to place the blame for a rotting capitalist system on the working class. Workers are forced to undergo drug tests if they dare to raise a grievance against unsafe job conditions. Mass victimization of workers who show the least resistance to intensifying management pressure is becoming commonplace.

That's what the capitalist class wants to institute throughout this country. They want every worker to be terrorized into total submission to the war drive, to passively accept increasingly brutal exploitation. Both the Democrats and Republicans know they can't successfully conduct any war—against Nicaragua, Libya, Angola, Cuba and ultimately the Soviet Union—without the subjugation of the working class. Strike actions would detract from the imperialist war effort.

Racism, nationalism and anti-communism are the political weapons the labor traitors use in the workers' organizations to keep in step with the Reaganite political climate and the capitalist takebacks. But black and white workers united in concrete class-struggle actions against the legacy of slavery in this country would spike the capitalists' right-wing campaign.

Workers Revolution Must Disarm the World's Contras

I suspect that some of the people who walked out disagree with what I have to say. It would have been preferable if they had stayed and discussed the questions. There is a need for political dialogue, particularly against the illusions propagated by nationalism and also by the liberal left. *The American left is keeping up with the anti-Soviet*

war drive. That's very important. This is why there are sharp disagreements between us and people who follow Farrakhan or the divestment movement. They're trying to keep up with mainstream American politics. But mainstream American politics is following Reagan, so what they have to do is keep up with rapid rightward movement.

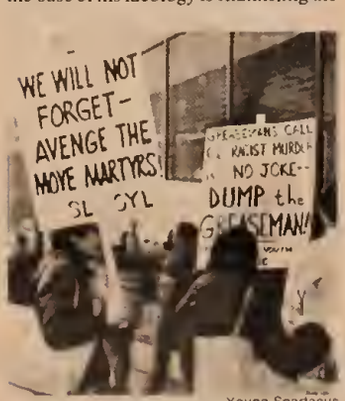
Internationally, the fight against racist capitalist repression is linked to the defense of the Soviet Union, the defense of the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution. You can't fight for new social gains unless you are capable of defending gains that have already been won. The capitalist system is attempting to pump life into a dying system by imperialist war. It wants to enforce class peace at home, through anti-drug witchhunting, through union-busting and racist terror, while the rulers seek to provoke worldwide reactionary movement. And South Africa is part of that. South Africa is an important regional component of the world anti-communist drive.

Pacifism won't stop the war drive. Internationally the contras of the world must be disarmed by the armed working class. That's the only road that exists to peace. The policy of "peaceful coexistence" advocated by the Russian Stalinists propagates a dangerous illusion that some understanding between the Americans and Soviets can achieve peace and eliminate imperialist threats. But the U.S. is an imperialist country in decline, and in decline it becomes increasingly dangerous and violent rather than less. The Reaganites and the Democrats are determined to solve the problems of capitalism by exploiting more and more of the earth. But there's a problem with that. They have to run directly up against the Soviet state that stands in the way.

The architects of nuclear apocalypse are the main danger in this country. They have to be stopped by the social power of the working class fighting to finish the Civil War, fighting for international solidarity with workers of other countries against imperialism, to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution. Fighting to establish the international organization of the economy on the basis of human needs, socialized planning as opposed to profit. That's what we are struggling for.

Discussion: Black Nationalism Opposes Struggle

Jesse Jackson has had an effect in disorienting black people and inhibiting them from finding a revolutionary road. Farrakhan talks a lot more militant and therefore has greater influence. But at the base of his ideology is channeling the

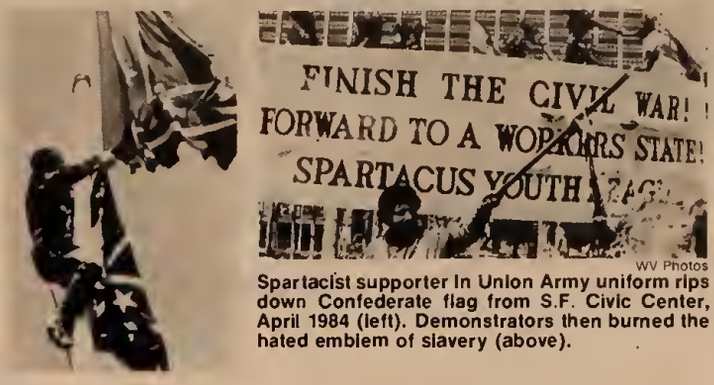


Young Spartacus

Spartacist supporters join Howard student protest against racist DJ, "the Greaseman," February 1986.

black movement into a utopian and reactionary scheme. "Black capitalism" is not only reactionary but it's utopian because the racist rulers of this country will not allow black capitalism to develop in any way, shape or form.

Farrakhan thinks we should have no argument with the people who run the bantustans in South Africa. These people are basically just lackeys for the South African regime, but they exploit black people. They are nationalists who live comfortably off selling black labor to the racist apartheid regime. Farrakhan supports segregation in the U.S. where the politics of segregation is associated with everything reactionary.



WV Photos

Spartacist supporter in Union Army uniform rips down Confederate flag from S.F. Civic Center, April 1984 (left). Demonstrators then burned the hated emblem of slavery (above).

By pushing "black capitalism" and separatism, by his anti-Semitism and racist formulations, he allies himself with people like the Ku Klux Klan.

Look what Farrakhan himself said—he said that Hitler was a great leader. Farrakhan's influence is rather a depressing aspect of the black political movement to this point: it indicates the backwardness that exists. It's also very pervasive and must be dealt with seriously. Even the claim that Hitler was a great man has to be dealt with seriously for black people. *Hitler was not a great man.* Even for the nationalist aspirations of the German people—the Third Reich was supposed to expand the national boundaries of Deutschland to all the world? That was driven back; Germany is now cut into pieces.

Farrakhan identifies with the reactionary nationalism of Hitler. Hitler was a reactionary; Hitlerism must be opposed. That means there must be mobilizations of the working class and black people to confront and destroy the KKK and Nazis. *That's not Farrakhan's program.* He is not for mobilizing the masses of black people to stop cross-burnings and the Klan! He feels that segregation is a good thing. That is why I mention his name, and why his is a dangerous ideology. Because it represents an *obstacle* to the effort to finish the Civil War and to fight those people who want to reinstitute slavery. Not slavery only of black people, but black people as the first scapegoats, because racism is the basis on which this country is built. The reactionaries want to reinstitute slave-labor conditions for the working class—black, white, people from Latin America, all races.

Mobilizing to stop the Klan and Nazis, who are anti-Semitic and racist killers, is key to revolutionary mobilization in this country. Whether someone is for or against that determines where they stand politically. The Spartacist League and unions from the Washington/Tidewater area and black residents mobilized to stop the Ku Klux Klan on November 27, 1982. Farrakhan was not in the vanguard of that movement; he was in the rearguard.

Summary: Farrakhanism vs. Communism

It's clear that the debate tonight has been between Farrakhanism and communism. Jesse Jackson is put forward as a respectable black Democratic Party politician. But he's not really taken that seriously. Farrakhan is the glue that binds black students at this campus to Reagan's administration, to its major positions. This country is moving sharply to the right; Reaganism was in this room tonight, in the form of this debate on Farrakhan. What you saw here was a debate which most clearly characterizes the political spectrum that exists with regard to the black movement.

We want to lead the black and white workers in a movement that will finish the Civil War and establish a workers government here and internationally; Farrakhan supports the right-wing movement to divide black and white, suppress the workers movement and facilitate Reagan reaction, which means attacking democratic rights and laying the basis for this country to go to war.

The Farrakhanites cannot stand to be exposed as lining up with the legacy of the Confederacy. But that is what they believe in. Black nationalism is associated with the spearhead of racism and segregation in this country.

I want to end by making a pitch for socialism. Exploitation of labor is what capitalism runs on. It's the gasoline that makes that engine run. The "magic of the marketplace"—that's what the Reaganites are pushing. And that's what Farrakhan is also pushing. He gets up at conferences and says, "Hey, buy black shampoo, check out the black-produced product we have here, you-all consumers can dig it." What is he doing? He's exploiting black labor. Who produced those goods—black labor. He wants to get in on the action: hey, the white man can exploit the hell out of the world and maybe blow it up, well how about the black man.

The magic of the marketplace? The United States is becoming more and more *de*-industrialized. It is degenerating, decaying. The future of this country is bleak because of the "magic of the marketplace"! The cause of this decline has to be laid clearly at the door of the "great capitalist architects," the "super-industrialists" that Farrakhan wants to follow. Capitalism has run the industry of this country and other countries into the ground.

This country used to be the master of the world capitalist system, as Britain was before that. Japan with its more modern industry now dominates sections of the world market that the U.S. used to dominate. The capitalists want to blame the workers for America's industrial decline. And they want to take it out of the workers' hides. They attack the unions; they destroyed the air controllers union as a prerequisite for attacking all organizations of labor.

The imperialist war provocations are attempts by the capitalist class to export the domestic economic crisis to other countries. So government terror rules in Latin America, Africa, Asia; the U.S. supports governments like South Africa and Chile in order to extract from their workers increased profits to ensure that the American banks get their interest payments. Apartheid terror is used to maintain the system of exploitation. U.S. imperialism backs the South African regime as an ally to intensify the exploitation of the working people of southern Africa. To separate apartheid terror from the system of capitalist exploitation is like trying to separate H_2O from water. To separate the struggle to smash apartheid from the need to put the working class in power is like trying to separate the ocean from the waves.

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The crisis of human civilization must be resolved. The capitalists who run the world—except for those sections of the world which have been ripped out of its money-grabbing hands—are driving this planet toward destruction. *A leadership must be forged that will put the working class in power.* Only the working class in power can institute a rational, socialist plan for society that can rebuild this country and this planet on a new foundation. Socialist property and peace instead of imperialist war. Science and culture will begin an explosive advance reminiscent of the Renaissance. Instead of racism and creationism, new generations will study evolution and cosmology. Instead of "Star Wars" and anti-homosexual bigotry—the peaceful exploration of space and a cure for AIDS. Instead of anti-drug hysteria, enforced with government repression—real job programs, full employment, free higher education. Instead of anti-abortion and anti-sex crusades—comprehensive sex education, 24-hour day care.

In order to spike racist reaction from South Africa to the U.S., a party must be built, committed to the revolutionary transformation of society. *Workers Vanguard* readers' circles can be a springboard for a political fight to roll back the right, reverse the capitalist takebacks and conduct effective confrontation to defeat Klan and Nazi terror. The American left is looking to pressure the labor misleadership instead of fighting to replace it. They ignore the KKK and Nazis or rely on the government to ban them, instead of mobilizing to stop them as the Spartacist League has.

Fortune

Chenel/Newsweek

Farrakhan, the man who wanted Malcolm X dead, pushes segregation and capitalism. The bow tie isn't the only thing he shares with Reagan.

While the "free world" butchers push closer to the brink of world war, fascist terror intensifies. The danger from the right can't be fought so long as pacifism and nationalism dominate the working class. Political education and political combat constitute the foundation on which a workers party can be built in this country. A party to combat the ideology of Farrakhan, to expose illusions that "peaceful coexistence" will result in a better world. To smash the fascists, who are the vanguard of the drive to reinstitute slavery and slave-labor conditions in this country, I would like you to think seriously about becoming politically active in this struggle. ■

Spartacist Forum

Sex Snoops, Racists and Book-Burners Run Rampant

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Speaker: Ed Clarkson
SL Central Committee

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CHICAGO

Young Spartacus

Boston University: Silber's Mullah "Journalism" Project

Down with BU Think Tank for Contra International!

The U.S. Information Agency, a well-known CIA front, recently gave Boston University several hundred thousand dollars to train Reagan's Afghan contras as "journalists" in Peshawar, Pakistan. This is a training program in CIA-style *disinformation*, part and parcel of Reagan & Co.'s global anti-Soviet war drive, with the backing of supposed "free academics." The "ideals" the Afghan feudalist barbarians are committed to are the "freedom" to sell women like chattel slaves, the veil and mass illiteracy. You can bet they won't be training too many women journalists in Peshawar! As far as that goes, the "curriculum" includes such items as identification of Soviet weaponry, combat tactics and combat information. The project has backers in the "contra Congress" and seems to be extremely well funded. One million dollars is guaranteed from Congress and the USIA and rumors abound of "private donations" (like those Israeli deposits in Swiss bank accounts which funded the contras in Nicaragua?), $700,000 or so from the National Security Council (of Iranian arms infamy), and the USIA is said to be seeking $2 or 3 million *more*.

Thiebauth/B.U. Today

Two imperialist lackeys: BU führer Silber gives honorary degree to apartheid front man Buthelezi.

The "Afghan Media Project" has been for BU what McFarlane & Co.'s "Teherangate" Iranian arms fiasco is for the Reagan government. Formerly gung-ho instructors begged off after the program was moved at the USIA's behest from Boston to Peshawar. As one prof put it, "No one wants to go down to Pakistan and get their tushes blown off." Faculty cited "the Pakistan environment teeming with secret agents, poor communications facilities, drug-smuggling and theft" (*Editor and Publisher*, 23 August). The latter are no mere extracurricular activities—the Afghan "resistance fighters," with the help of the CIA, are one of the biggest drug-smuggling operations in the world.

Bitter infighting has led to resignations, firings and a McCarthy-style redbaiting campaign against College of Communication ex-dean Bernard S. Redmont, whose worst "crime" appears to be not wanting to get his behind blasted. A group of "pro-Peshawar" faculty and an associate dean, Jasper K. Smith, circulated information alleging Redmont has ties with the Communist Party, including 35-year-old newspaper clips linking Redmont to the Alger Hiss "spy" case, a masterpiece of paranoid frame-up which starred Richard Nixon. While the whole episode smells of a falling out among thieves, one journalism professor noted that "What really bothers me about all this is that there seems to have been an effort to make one's views on communism the litmus test on every other issue" (*Daily Free Press*, 19 November). Indeed, that's exactly how BU president John Silber wants to run the university, with each department a loyal command post in the Cold War.

Redmont's resignation last summer left one Hans Joachim Maitre—an East German defector, sometime journalist of military affairs and frequent visitor to U.S. military outfits, whose hobby is nuclear aircraft carriers ("I've flown off all of them")—as acting dean of the College of Communication and head of the "Afghan Media Project." A rabid backer of the U.S.' "contra international," Maitre spent three weeks last spring fighting with the CIA-backed Nicaraguan Democratic Force, producing a 27-minute video that was used to lobby Congress for another million dollars for the bloodthirsty contra mercenaries.

Why was BU selected for this disinformation program? It's surely got a lot to do with Silber's track record of craven loyalty to the imperialist masters of this country. A few years back, Silber broke a bitter faculty strike at BU. In 1984 he was on Reagan's Kissinger Commission on Central America, where he pushed for millions of bucks for the killer contras. Recently a BU student was disciplined for hanging an anti-apartheid banner out his window. Despot Silber must be one of the most unpopular university heads in America among his own students and teachers, so the ruling class recognizes a kindred spirit.

And Silber is hard to beat when it comes to open contempt for truth. Commenting on the U.S. government's recent disinformation campaign against Libya, Silber said, "Democracy may be undermined by its own principles..." and encouraged the founding of a disinformation center at BU to see "to what extent is the manipulation of the news essential to America's national survival." Too, Silber's own social values come as close to the mullahs as anything this side of the Khyber Pass. Silber claims that in families in which "both parents are at work" there is "less likelihood of providing an environment that encourages education" for children, thereby blaming working women for the "disarray" in American family life (*Boston Globe*, 21 December 1984). What's next? Will Silber order BU coeds to adopt a mullah dress code and wear a long black veil to class? Deny women the right to an education at all? His mullah pals *shoot* women for the "crime" of learning how to read books.

Anything goes for government lackeys like Silber and Maitre as long as it furthers the anti-Soviet war crusade. And especially support to the mullahs, for it is in Afghanistan that American-supplied bullets kill not just so-called "Soviet surrogates" but actual Russian soldiers. This is why Congress gives regular, enthusiastic support to this "covert" war. We say, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the gains of the Russian October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" If the mullahs were to regain control of the country, it would mean a life of chattel slavery for women. It took the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution to liberate central Asia from feudal backwardness. In Soviet Central Asia today, the literacy rate is 98 percent, while just across the border in Afghanistan only five percent of the population can read. For women in particular, the difference is literally between life and death.

When the U.S. rulers rev up their war aims abroad, it means increased austerity and repression on the home front. BU's John Silber wants students to get in line, shut up, and march to the war drums. He won praise from Reagan's education secretary Bennett for enforcing draconian "no knock" dorm room searches for (of all things, considering the operations of his Afghan friends) drugs. And in Reagan's America, if you object, you are presumed guilty. Silber says, "If students cherish privacy to the point where they don't agree with that policy, let them go elsewhere. This is no haven from authority" (*Boston University Today*, 17 September).

But some BU students don't seem to be going for Silber's combination of intimidation of students and pimping for "free world" butchers. On November 17, 500 students led by the black student organization Umoja came out to protest Silber's awarding an honorary degree to apartheid's black front man Gatsha Buthelezi. In a symbolic ceremony, protesters presented an ANC representative with an honorary degree for jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and then marched to Buthelezi's fete chanting, "Free Mandela, Jail Silber!"

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are seeking to win students to the revolutionary program linking up opposition to the regimentation of youth with the decisive social power of the working class. This sick capitalist system revels in the mullahs' efforts to reinstitute feudal slavery for Afghan women, in the Nicaraguan contras' dirty war of sabotage and bloody terror against the workers and peasants, in the atrocities of the apartheid slave regime in South Africa. A revolutionary party based on an internationalist program must be forged to weld together the struggles of the workers, the youth and all the oppressed in successful class struggle against capitalism. ■

Planeta Publishers

Afghan women learn to read, defended by Red Army. Silber's mullahs want them back under the veil.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Saturday, December 6, 2:00 p.m.
Memorial Union (For room see "Today in the Union")

For more information (608) 257-8625

MADISON

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next class: January 13

Room to be announced
University of Chicago

For more information (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Spartacist Class Series

Revolutionary Marxism and the Fight for Black Liberation

Tuesday, December 9, 7:30 p.m.
Harvard Hall 102
Harvard University

For more information (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

Spartacist Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Saturdays, 5:00 p.m.
First class: December 6
Also offered Tuesdays, 6:00 p.m.
First class: December 9

41 Warren Street

For more information (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK

Longshore...

(continued from page 7)

destroy Soviet Russia. Earlier, in 1919, the Seattle longshoremen, influenced by the IWW, had uncovered a shipment of machine guns labeled "sewing machines" bound for the White armies in Vladivostok and refused to load them.

Despite its inglorious end, the Philadelphia IWW union had made a major breakthrough in smashing the color bar on the waterfront. When it was later taken over by the ILA, it was for many years the *only* integrated local in the ILA. In the 1920s, when Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement had great strength among the black masses, disillusioned by resurgent racist reaction and Klan activity, a concerted appeal by the Garveyites to black Philadelphia longshoremen got no results—such were the traditions of integrated class struggle on the Philly docks (Sterling Spero and Abram Harris, *The Black Worker* [1968 edition]).

During the war the government maintained extensive control over shipping. To keep out the IWW, they did business with the ILA, assigning it jurisdiction over large areas of the docks. In turn the union guaranteed "labor discipline" on the docks, enforcing bans on strikes. But when the war ended, the government's witchhunting of the reds became the spearhead for a major union-busting attack. The ILA, having encouraged reliance on the capitalist state, was easy pickings. A number of strikes were defeated in this period: in Norfolk, where the dock workers were almost entirely organized during the war, union membership fell to a third of the workforce, while in New Orleans and Mobile the ILA almost completely disappeared for a number of years.

Black and white New Orleans longshoremen wildcat to shut down all shipping during 1977 ILA container strike.

The San Francisco General Strike

The most important battle on the docks that took place in the '30s was on the West Coast, centered in San Francisco. The strike was led by Harry Bridges, who had recently come into the orbit of the Communist Party. In May 1934 thousands of members of the ILA went on an "unauthorized" strike. The workers had been organized into the ILA but they soon found themselves up against their own leadership, as well as the shipowners and the cops. ILA top Joe Ryan flew into town and immediately signed an agreement giving up the strikers' main demand—a union-controlled hiring hall. When this was repudiated by the ranks, Ryan unsuccessfully tried to split the strikers by making separate settlements in each port. Then in July the bosses tried a frontal assault: at the "Battle of Rincon Hill" the police blasted away with tear gas, pistols and shotguns at the waterfront pickets. Two strikers were killed, 109 wounded.

A general strike was declared which shut down the city solid for two days. The general strike petered out when the AFL leaders, swept along in the first spontaneous protest against the killings, ordered an end to the stoppage. After eleven weeks the longshore strike was ended with an agreement to arbitrate. Within a year, in job action after job action, dock strikers won the union hiring hall up and down the coast. The gain of the union hiring hall was soon extended to West Coast sailors; the struggle also gave impetus to maritime organization on the East Coast, leading in 1937 to the establishment of the CIO National Maritime Union. The West Coast strike also had a powerful impact on Gulf Coast dockers. A year later 7,500 ILA workers from Pensacola to Corpus Christi struck in an attempt to restore the union's power. There were a number of bloody picket line battles, and in New Orleans (where company unions were then dominant) the bosses got a federal injunction against the ILA.

Finally ILA head Ryan threatened a general shipping boycott of all struck cargo by East and West Coast longshoremen. Although Ryan never followed through on his threat, the union had a powerful lever: with the organization of West Coast dock workers there existed for a brief period of two years a single longshore union with the power to shut down shipping on all three coasts. But in 1936 Bridges split from the ILA, became West Coast CIO director and formed the ILWU. This was a real blow at industrial unionism. In 1937-38 a bitter jurisdictional battle broke out between the ILA and ILWU, when Bridges attempted unsuccessfully to raid the Gulf ports. In New Orleans two CIO supporters were shot, and the cops raided CIO headquarters and arrested its union organizers (*Louisiana Weekly*, 2 July 1938). Despite massive redbaiting, the ILWU got a fair measure of support, only narrowly losing a representation vote in Mobile.

This episode pointed to the fact that there was a real basis for fighting *within the ILA* against the Ryan machine. Black Gulf longshoremen were attracted to the ILWU because of the militancy of the San Francisco strike and, in particular, because Bridges campaigned for racial equality on the waterfront (although in actuality a number of ILWU locals had notorious Jim Crow practices for years). But Bridges no more than Ryan was capable of waging a real fight against racist capitalism. The Stalinized Communist Party had made a sharp turn to the right, embracing Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. The pro-Roosevelt labor leaders subordinated union rights and black rights to the war drive of the American imperialists (see "Harry Bridges and the Communist Party," *WV* No. 66, 11 April 1975).

Bridges and other Stalinist maritime leaders advocated that seamen surrender their union hiring hall and embrace a scheme for government-run hiring. (Some years later, New York longshoremen got a bitter taste of this through the Waterfront Commission.) In February 1940 Bridges introduced a "five-year peace plan" offering a no-strike guarantee for five years in the maritime industry in return for a compulsory arbitration setup. Later he tried to extend the no-strike pledge even after the war ended. The then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (which opposed the imperialist war) denounced the class-collaborationist Bridges Plan. The SWP called for independence of the unions from the government control represented by the joint boards pushed by the Stalinists; for a sliding scale of wages (full cost-of-living protection), a labor party based on the trade unions and a workers and farmers government.

UPI

Striking ILAers stop scab truck on Port Elizabeth, New Jersey docks, October 1986.

For Fighting Maritime Unity!

Trade-union solidarity remains a critical question on the docks today. The heart of the shipping bosses' attack on the maritime unions in the postwar period has been through automation. The unions traded thousands of jobs for royalties on containers and so-called "pay guarantee" schemes. The ILA hung a little tougher than the ILWU, and has maintained some jobs through a contract provision that guarantees the union the right to handle all containers stripped and stuffed within 50 miles of union ports. But manning scales have been slashed on all coasts, and a good chunk of containers are handled by non-union workers or Teamsters, at half the longshore wage rate. Now, under the impact of the bosses' union-busting offensive, scab operations have opened up in the South and the ILA has responded by making new concessions.

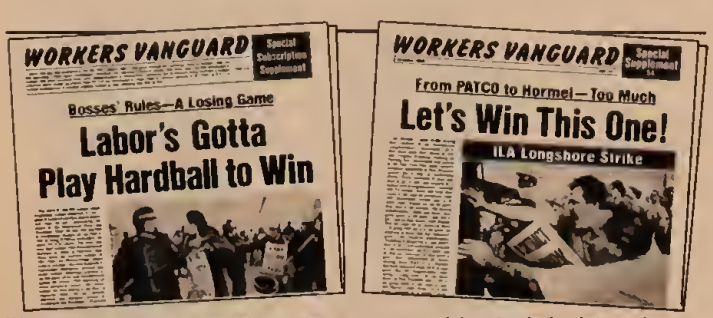
What about the ILWU? Last year it sent "observers" to the Gulf. They visited terminals, talked to the ILA, and then issued a report quoting ILA members saying that scab operations on the Gulf were facilitated because the ILA was "too expensive" and "not competitive" (*Journal of Commerce*, 15 April). So the ILWU has already negotiated record concessions agreements in the Northwest, ostensibly to keep the "scabs" out! The unions are racing each other—not to fight the bosses—but to see who can sell out more, faster.

This has got to stop—and the longshore unions have the power to stop the scab operations. One of the most notorious scabherders is Hank Milam, who's now trying to get a scab operation going in the port of Houston. Milam boasts he's going to extend his union-busting operations to New York. But as one shipping agent observed, that's not so easy: "To deal with nonunion labor you have to pull out of the best ports, you become known as a carrier that uses nonunion labor, and your cargoes are picketed in the Northeast" (*Dun's Business Month*, October 1986). So why don't the unions do it—why don't they hot cargo the ships loaded in scab ports on the Gulf? To do that you have to stand up to the government and its laws prohibiting this kind of solidarity action.

Of course, in the face of concerted longshore strike action a nervous bourgeoisie will likely invoke Taft-Hartley, as has happened a dozen times in the past—and when that happens the unions generally back down. Taft-Hartley is "nonpartisan": both the Republicans and Democrats—Eisenhower, Nixon, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, Carter—have used it against labor. But dock workers have never won any victories without standing up to the bosses' government and its political parties: workers need their own party to fight for a workers government. A second element is union solidarity. But exactly the opposite has been happening, particularly since PATCO. When Reagan declared the strike "illegal" and fired the air traffic controllers, the union bureaucrats fell into line and ordered their members—Teamsters, Machinists, pilots, etc.—to cross the picket lines. The strike was smashed, and the union too.

On or adjoining the waterfront there are three powerful unions—the ILA, ILWU and Teamsters—along with the seamen's unions. The 1934 San Francisco general strike, the New Orleans Dock and Cotton Council battles at the turn of the century—these fights were won because maritime and transport workers fought together against the bosses. Today the unions raid each other for a shrinking number of jobs. Instead, there should be a joint fight to ensure that pay and conditions are upgraded to the highest level for all longshore and container workers, *regardless* of what union they're in. Organize the unorganized, and fight for jobs through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay: that's how to pose a real alliance between longshoremen, Teamsters and seamen, pointing the way to a powerful national maritime/transport union.

And organizing the unorganized in the South means you've got to deal with the Klan, the racist terrorists who double at hiring out to smash unions. Every time you pose integrated class struggle the racists will try to smash it up. The unions must be mobilized to crush these fascists. It's not so simple in the Deep South, but there's a powerful base with the organized black longshoremen. While there's been a long and tortuous history of organizing on the docks in this country the elements of a class-struggle strategy have existed in concrete reality, here and there. They have to be utilized today in constructing a militant leadership of labor to defend the interests of the workers and all the oppressed. ■



Workers Vanguard special supplements: organizing tools for labor victory.

Scab Kinnock...

(continued from page 1)

Polish Solidarność as anti-socialist, the Labourite tops (instigated by Gerry Healy's political bandits) witchhunted him on the eve of the miners' strike. Then they strangled the urgently needed industrial solidarity which could have brought down the hated Tory bitch.

Kinnock is here to tell American rulers not to be too upset over Labour's paper "no-nuke" resolutions. British capitalism is too decrepit to afford a credible nuclear arsenal anyway, so Kinnock wants to throw more NATO "non-nuclear" forces against the Soviet bloc. The British armed forces, dispatched to Northern Ireland by a Labour government, didn't need nukes to do their dirty work there, or to sink the Argentine cruiser *Belgrano*, wantonly killing more than 300 sailors on board, in bloody Thatcher's Falklands/Malvinas adventure. Maggie's war was supported by the Labour Party maggots of rotting British imperialism.

Neil Kinnock is a certified enemy of socialism. With dozens of coal pits closed down and 100,000 miners out of work, with hundreds of trade unionists fired and some still in jail, this Labourite scabherder is a disgrace to every Welsh miner's son. And just last week he endorsed police terror against black people in Britain by laying a wreath at the grave of Blakelock the Cop, killed when London police brutally occupied the West Indian ghetto of Tottenham.

Press Association

Der Spiegel

In Falklands/Malvinas war Kinnock's Labour Party rallied behind Iron Lady Thatcher, who gratuitously murdered 368 Argentine sailors aboard the cruiser Belgrano.

Franklin/Sygma

Defeated but still defiant, British coal miners march back to work after heroic, year-long strike. Miners call scabherding Kinnock "Judas."

Kinnock truly fits Jack London's description of the scab, the lowest of creatures "with a cork-screw soul, a water-logged brain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue."

Genuine Trotskyists—as opposed to Ted Grant's wimpy "Militant" group in England—say no support to labor traitor Kinnock. Slogans to be raised by Spartacist demonstrations will include:

- Judas Kinnock and Ratfink Reagan
- Strikebreaker Kinnock mourns racist killer cops
- Kinnock stabbed British miners, salutes anti-Soviet warmongers
- Kinnock is bloody Thatcher's poodle! Remember the *Belgrano!*
- Honor Kim Philby—Hate Neil Kinnock!
- Drive CIA fifth column out of Labour Party!
- Abolish the monarchy, House of Lords, the established church and licensing hours!
- Free IRA prisoners! British troops out of Northern Ireland!
- Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!
- Workers to Power! For a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

NYC Cops...

(continued from page 16)

mushrooming corruption scandal, they actually indicted 13 on charges ranging from drug shakedowns to burglary. One cop, Brian O'Regan, facing an 82-count indictment, checked into a Long Island motel and blew his brains out. He was found wearing a T-shirt: "77th Precinct—The Alamo Under Siege."

To put a crimp in the police drug trade, Ward announced a plan to rotate cops out of the precincts every five years. Why, it takes that long to build up a lucrative "pad," cops complained PBA chief Phil Caruso screamed for the resignation of the black commissioner, giving the high sign for a racist backlash. The cops turned O'Regan's burial into a rally, eulogizing the cocaine-dealing cop as a hero. It was the Bumpurs case all over again when the PBA threatened to descend on City Hall with an army of tens of thousands of gun-toting cops. Koch put the commissioner up front to take the flak. On the eve of the cop mobilization, Ward "blinked," and the transfers were postponed until further city/PBA negotiations. The transfer plan was later dropped.

In the present climate of rampant corruption scandals in New York City, it's pretty ludicrous to see the Democratic city administration acting sanctimoniously while Koch cronies like Donald Manes and Stanley Friedman raked off millions in Parking Violations Bureau bribery, etc. Certainly working people weren't complaining as cops stopped issuing parking tickets and there was a lull in the activities of the legalized car theft and extortion ring known as the towing bureau. But the cops' threat of a massive armed mobilization was an ominous show of force against any civilian control, in effect, a plan for a coup at the municipal level. Minorities and working people understood: these racist killers are out for blood.

Sure enough, on November 19, some 27 cops surrounded the Bronx apartment building where accused drug dealer/killer Larry Davis was holed up. Davis blasted his way out with a shotgun, shooting six cops inside the apartment, and then slipping through the police cordon as the cops ran for cover, crawling into nearby apartments. Davis, by all accounts, is bad news, accused of execution-style drug murders of five people. But it's indicative of how much the cops are hated that Davis has become something of a cult hero. They're getting up to 1,000 calls a day on the COP-SHOT hotline, mostly sighting Davis at various drug dens around the city. But others claim to be Davis, boasting about the getaway, and complaining about police brutality. "He's making us look like fools," a high level police source said.

The cops are insane with rage and taking it out on black people. They have raided Davis' mother's house three times, the first time causing her to have a heart attack. *Ninety cops* in flak jackets carrying high-powered rifles surrounded her house at dawn Saturday morning, November 22, throwing occupants onto the street and carrying out a six-hour search. Now they've brought in the FBI Joint Terrorist Task Force to lead search-and-destroy missions terrorizing Bronx neighborhoods. The danger is not from a lone lumpen criminal on the lam, but from *30,000* cops running wild, armed and dangerous, acting like they've got a license to kill. The problem is, they do. The NYPD says not to worry, if the fugitive's cornered, they'll treat it like a "hostage situation" and call in the Emergency Services Unit—that is, the gang who blew away Eleanor Bumpurs!

The New York Labor Black League for Social Defense, initiated by the Spartacist League and forged in the successful struggle to defend victimized black transit worker James Grimes, is fighting for labor/black mobilizations to defend working people and minorities. At a demonstration outside the Brooklyn D.A.'s office last September 12 demanding justice in the case of Dennis Groce, an elderly black man killed by the cops last spring, the Labor Black League carried signs proclaiming, "We Will Not Forget—Dennis Groce, Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs, Willie Turks!", "Reagan/Meese's Anti-Drug Witchhunt Means More Cop Terror!", "Stop Koch's Killer Cops!" and "Jail the Killer Cops and Throw Away the Key!" The LBL calls for "Break labor and blacks from the Democrats and Republicans!" and "For a workers party to fight for a workers government!" Such independent labor/black mobilizations are urgently needed to smash racist terror in Koch's New York and Reagan's America! ■

WV Photo

Brooklyn, September 12: SL, Labor Black League join protest against cop terror.

BT...

(continued from page 3)

police terror campaign. While leading a militant protest against the presence of Marine Corps recruiters on campus Bermúdez was grabbed in a choke hold by a campus cop, had his arm broken and was then framed up on the same phony charges the UC cops have now filed against John Winters.

The SL and SYL mobilized wide support in defense of Guillermo Bermúdez, including in the labor movement, among prominent civil libertarians and from thousands of students. As a result the frame-up charges were dismissed and the brutal terror campaign of the campus cops was widely exposed. Vindictively the UC administration, defeated in the courts, suspended Bermúdez from school. And the administration's cops have been thirsting to revenge their defeat.

Enter the BT, whose extremely mild interest in the Bermúdez defense campaign was intended solely to better deflect students who supported the case away from the SL. In both the Bermúdez defense campaign and more generally on the campus the BT has failed (but not from lack of effort) to isolate the SL and poison the campus against revolutionary Trotskyism. Their recent efforts at provocation are a frenzied recognition of this failure, and a confirmation of the strength of the Marxist program of the SL.

Commenting upon the BT in 1985 in "ET: New Name, Same Game?" (*WV* No. 388, 4 October 1985) we observed:

> "Those who are guided by intense subjective malice as a political program are just asking to be someone's tool, witting or unwitting (sometimes both).... But applying the criterion *cui bono* (who benefits) to the ET/BT suggests answers ranging from the merely unsavory to the downright sinister."

We concluded: "And a word to those seeking anti-Spartacists for hire: *caveat emptor*—let the buyer beware!" Amen! ■

NY Daily News

Amsterdam News

Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs and artist Michael Stewart, killed by racist NYPD.

Haiti...

(continued from page 16)

landowners; and there has been an outpouring of calls for vengeance against the sinister Tontons Macoutes (Duvalier's private army), calling for "*déchouquage*" (rooting out) the Duvalierists, including the new government. The vague promises of the CNG then gave way to gunpowder and bullets. After barely a month in power, on March 19 the Leopards (an elite army corps trained by the U.S. in counter-insurgency warfare) fired on a demonstration in Martissant supporting a strike by public transport drivers: five dead, more than 20 injured. On April 24, police killed three workers on strike at Chancerelles. Two days later, outside the former political prison of Fort-Dimanche, the army opened fire on a demonstration commemorating the victims of Duvalier's massacre of 26 April 1963: eight dead, 50 injured.

As in the all-too-recent past, "disappearances" have begun again—such as Charlot Jacquelin, a literacy teacher in Purt-au-Prince, arrested on September 19. Another sinister fact: the Tontons Macoutes are preparing to reactivate, announcing that they are forming their own party—with the government's blessing! The CNG aided the escape of several of the more notorious Macoutes; when they arrested some, it was to protect them from the wrath of their victims. For every Luc Désyr, head of Duvalier's political police, who was condemned to death by the junta as an escape valve for the masses and a sign of democratic good will, how many Ti Boulés, "Madame Max" and other Macoutes are still running around! To crush the masses the army will need these highly experienced anti-communist terrorists.

The bonapartist junta is stepping up repression in the face of mass mobilization, but each measure against the masses reinforces their determination to

Pearson/AFP

Haitian junta chief Namphy (right). Duvalier's henchmen continue reign of terror and misery.

get rid of the CNG. The first political demonstrations following the fall of Duvalier were more or less limited by the "opposition" parties to the individual "rooting out" of members of the CNG who are too prominent Duvalierists. Now, throughout the country and extending even to the most remote rural areas, the masses are calling for the "*déchouquage*" of the *entire* CNG. The discrediting of the regime was reflected in the failed October 19 elections (less than 5 percent of the voters participated) for a caricature of a "constituent assembly."

Such an explosive situation cannot last long. The masses no longer wish to live as before, the ruling classes can no longer govern as before. Either the working class places itself at the head of the peasantry and all the oppressed to install a workers and peasants government; or the army will restore capitalist "order" and drown the revolt in blood. When the army swept through the entire country July 29, placing Port-au-Prince under a state of siege, it was not only to intimidate the population and prevent a supposed attempt at "radical de-Macoutization of the country." It was also a dress rehearsal for a coup d'état.

On the walls, as *Haïti-Progrès* (10 September) reported of government buildings in Aquin, you're beginning to see slogans like, "*Aba ameriken, KNGP, nou vle yon gouvènman revolisyonè, viv kominis!*" (Down with the Americans and the CNG, we want a revolutionary government, long live communism!) Ever since the overthrow of Duvalier we warned: "Haitian workers: *beware of coups 'made in USA'*," and added: "*People's tribunals* to dispense revolutionary justice against the Duvalier regime's professional assassins is an urgent democratic demand. So too is the call for a revolutionary *constituent assembly*, to oust the junta and root out the dictatorship that has oppressed the Haitian masses for decades. But there will be no democracy for the toilers without *workers revolution*..." (*WV* No. 397, 14 February).

These murderers are raising their heads again and beginning to strike out. Today it's a question of life and death that the working people and oppressed organize not just against the Macoutes but against the cops and the army, in self-defense militias to protect demonstrations, meetings, residential areas, strikes, land occupations, organizational offices.

But out of fear of a revolutionary mobilization and as a sign of their loyalty to Washington, the "opposition" parties have disarmed the masses' vigilance. The CLFD coalition—which brings together the extremely anti-communist Christian Democratic Party (linked to the social-democratic Second International, which in May gave its support to the "democratic" junta), the Autonomous Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH), the Committee of Democratic Unity (KID), and numerous other groups—last July was still "appealing to the democratic sentiments of patriotism and nationalism of the National Government Council" (*Haïti Libérée*, 22 July). The United Party of Haitian Communists (PUCH) claimed, even after the Fort-Dimanche massacre, that the government "responds to the pressures of the popular movements and is led to make concessions. It is correct to speak of an apprenticeship in democracy; that is also true of the CNG itself" (*Le Monde*, 15 May). The PUCH even disavowed the June 12 general strike called by the CATH against the junta.

In the name of the Menshevik-Stalinist program of "two-stage revolution," in which a mythical "democratic stage" brings together the workers with the "patriotic" bourgeoisie, the PUCH today finds itself joined with the entire "opposition" around the "Political Resolution of September 24 for National Salvation." This respectfully calls upon the CNG to "resign" and calls for a "new provisional civilian-military [!] revolutionary government comprised of three members": Gérard Gourgue, ex-colonel Detave Cayard—two old Duvalierists—and "a patriotic military man of the highest rank, to be designated" (*Haïti Observateur*, 5 October). To call for confidence in this army which supported Duvalier, which was installed and trained by the U.S., which covers for the Tontons Macoutes with whom it is inextricably linked, which fires on demonstrators and is preparing a coup d'état, is a crime against the exploited and oppressed of Haiti!

For a Trotskyist Party!

In the imperialist epoch, there is no room in the backward countries for an independent national capitalism, no possibility for even a halfway stable bourgeois democracy. Haiti is the flagrant proof. Since the end of the 19-year U.S. military occupation in 1934, Haiti has been subjugated (excepting the brief interludes in 1946 and 1956) by dictators supported by the United States. It is one of the poorest countries of the world, after having been the "pearl of the Antilles." The capitalist powers made it pay dearly for the political independence which it won in 1804 against the English, the Spanish and above all the French. Haiti was subjected to economic pillage and, in the case of France, to pure and simple extortion. Today, Haiti, an agricultural country, is reduced to importing much of its own food supply. Officially, two-thirds of its population is unemployed and all but the narrowest petty-bourgeois layer and a handful of rich live in abject poverty. Eighty to 90 percent of the population is illiterate.

A revolutionary party must be built on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat, at the head of the oppressed nation and above all its peasant masses, who are the overwhelming majority, can resolve the urgent tasks of national liberation and democracy: freedom of assembly, of organization and the press, the right to return to the country, etc. And only the proletariat can bring to the agricultural workers and the poor peasants the agrarian revolution giving the land back to those who work it, encouraging collectivization of the land and expropriation of the large American-owned sugar plantations. But this means an implacable fight against the *entire* bourgeoisie. Since February there has been a flowering of newly created organizations—unions, residential areas, women, youth, peasants, etc. What the masses need are organizations of dual power—*soviets*—to lay the basis of a workers and peasants government, expropriating the imperialist trusts and the local capitalists who are their accomplices and agents.

Cuba, the next-door neighbor to Haiti, shows that only a workers state, precisely because it has expropriated the bourgeoisie, can break with imperialist dependence and overcome unemployment, hunger, poverty and illiteracy. But the Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers state, isolated, permanently threatened with a new Bay of Pigs, also shows to what extent "socialism in one island" is a nationalist utopia. Even more so in half an island like Haiti, in this economically and militarily strategic region at the very doorstep of the imperialist citadel.

Symbolically, at the very time when the anti-CNG protests were being brutally repressed, an American C-141 plane offloaded several tons of military materiel in Haiti. Having launched an anti-Soviet war drive to "roll back Communism" throughout the world, from Nicaragua and Cuba to the USSR, Reagan cannot tolerate a revolutionary explosion in Haiti which could spread throughout the region. For this year, the American Congress has appropriated $4 million in military aid to Haiti. Even Mitterrand-Chirac's France, the second imperialist power in Haiti, has offered its counterrevolutionary aid to the junta, as it did in Duvalier's days. Immediate independence for the Antilles, Guiana and the other French colonies! Defend Nicaragua! Defend Cuba and the USSR! Imperialist hands off Haiti!

Brooklyn, January 1986: As Duvalier regime tottered, Spartacists called for workers to power.

A workers revolution in Haiti must immediately be extended to survive, beginning by uniting with the working people of the Dominican Republic, where thousands of Haitians toil in semi-slave conditions. Haitian workers abroad—more than a million spread through the Caribbean and North America's Eastern seaboard—will have a central role to play. The future cadres of a Haitian Trotskyist party are to be found today principally in Montreal, New York and Miami. Above all, any struggle for national and social emancipation in the "American lake" of the Caribbean must be waged together with a fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. itself. A revolutionary Haiti would have a tremendous impact on the American proletariat, with its powerful black component and a common enemy in U.S. imperialism. Against attacks on Haitian and other refugees from rightist dictatorships, we demand: *Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!*

Since the fall of Duvalier, we have called for an internationalist fight (*WV* No. 379, 14 February): "The Haitian Revolution of 1793-1804...sent shock waves through the Caribbean, inspiring slave revolts in Jamaica, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Grenada, Dominica and Curaçao as well as the American South. Today, the Haitian masses, beset by decades of U.S.-imposed dictatorship and IMF-dictated starvation, can spark a revolt against capitalist wage slavery, for workers revolution throughout the region. This is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, the program of the international Spartacist tendency."■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Build a Bolshevik Party!

Haitian Masses Rise Against Junta

Workers, Peasants Want Revolution

200,000 take to the streets of Port-au-Prince, November 7.

Haiti-Progrès

The following article is adapted from Le Bolchévik *No. 68, November 1986, newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.*

A desperate struggle is under way in Haiti, in the heart of the explosive region of the Caribbean and Central America. Just a year ago, the savagely oppressed Haitian masses rose up against the bloody dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier. Fearing another Cuba, Ronald Reagan with the aid of French president Mitterrand dismissed his puppet, who was offered a gilded exile in France—land of exile for toppled dictators. The imperialists installed in his place a military-civilian junta beholden to them, filled with men hand-picked by the Duvaliers, father and son, and led by army chief of staff General Namphy. Now, increasingly, the Haitian masses are rising up against this Duvalierism without Duvalier.

The Americans are worried: Namphy comes to Washington to receive Reagan's blessing, Secretary of State Shultz meets with American-trained Colonel Regala. But in Haiti the National Government Council (CNG) is deeply discredited. While New York's archbishop O'Connor visits Port-au-Prince, in the churches they are chanting "Down with the CNG." The so-called opposition which yesterday supported the army seeks a new barrier to hold back the mass mobilization. For the approximately 200,000 people who went into the streets November 7 to demonstrate against the junta, the "opposition" held out the perspective of a "popular government"—a new class-collaborationist alliance to protect the Duvalierist army and reassure their imperialist masters. The Chilean Unidad Popular is too fresh in the memory to forget that such popular-front governments only pave the way to bloody military coups.

But the workers, peasants, youth, slum dwellers are determined to put an end to the horrible terror and misery which has crushed them for decades. They want revolution. In recent demonstrations the slogan has appeared, "Live free or die," the watchword of the heroic Haitian Revolution of 1793-1804 which under the leadership of the great revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture freed the slaves and put in place the first black republic in history. Today a socialist revolution is needed to carry out the aspirations of the Haitian masses, putting an end to the Duvalierist state and imperialist oppression. But a new Haitian revolution to free this impoverished land is only possible in conjunction with revolutionary struggle in the Dominican Republic, the other half of this divided island, and aided by sharp class struggle against American imperialism at home. And a Bolshevik party is urgently needed to lead it.

Sweep Away the CNG! For Workers Power!

The junta didn't take long to drop its mask. The workers went on strike for wage increases, the removal of their Duvalierist bosses, for the right to form trade unions; peasants occupied lands stolen from them by Duvalierist large

continued on page 15

Meyers/NY Times

Police sharpshooters terrorize the Bronx ghetto following spectacular escape of Larry Davis.

Koch's Cossacks Threaten Mutiny

Racist NYC Cops Out for Blood

On November 25, the New York State Court of Appeals announced it was reopening the case of Stephen Sullivan, the SWAT cop who two years ago blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in her Bronx apartment. That Sullivan may finally stand trial, although only on a manslaughter charge, is due in large part to the determination of Mary Bumpurs, Eleanor's 41-year-old daughter. "All I want is justice," she vows. The fight to put away killer cop Sullivan will be a focus of the fight against police terror in New York City, at a time when the racist cops are on a rampage over getting caught in their drug-dealing scams.

Eleanor Bumpurs' eviction by murder (she owed $387.40 in back rent for her public housing apartment) says it all about the racist nightmare for black people that is New York City. On 29 October 1984 the "Emergency Services" police strike force kicked in her apartment door. Equipped with shotguns, mace, bulletproof vests and gas masks, the cops swarmed at her with riot shields and "restraining bars." Triggerman Sullivan's 12-gauge shotgun blew away the old woman's hand which the cops say held a knife. Then Sullivan fired the second fatal round at her chest.

Sullivan was briefly suspended following a grand jury indictment for manslaughter, but immediately reinstated with police commissioner Ward ruling the shooting-murder was "within departmental guidelines." Bronx D.A. Mario Merola snapped back that "Hitler's people were also following his guidelines." And on 7 February 1985, some *10,000* armed New York City police, resembling nothing so much as a mob of Nazi stormtroopers, surrounded the Bronx Supreme Court building demanding the indictment be overturned. Two months later compliant judge Vincent Vitale threw out the charges.

JINX

Drug busts: pretext for cop brutality against black people.

Koch & Co. have been wrangling with the cops all fall. It began in the 77th Precinct of the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn, where the drug dealers complained that the cops weren't just cutting themselves in on the action as usual, but were stealing their stuff outright and selling it. At first the police brass tried to cool it out and ran a sting operation to catch a few "dirty guys." But there were hardly any "clean guys." Facing the spectre of a

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Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs and Michael Stewart!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 418

19 December 1986

Daugherty/AP

While Democrats Wave the Flag

White House Stonewalls

Hutz/Washington Times

If the administration wants to get Iran/Contragate "behind them," why don't they just get Nixon to give Reagan a presidential pardon? "It is not going to be another Watergate," says Tricky Dick, "as long as you stay ahead of the curve." But the White House spin doctors have lost control of this one. A planned TV special 76th birthday salute called "Reagan's Way" was canceled last week because all the national advertisers had backed out. Johnny Carson jokes about how the White House Christmas gift of choice this year is a "Mr. Shredder." And America's rulers worry that this could be worse than Watergate, combining a domestic scandal with an international crisis.

It's simultaneously sinister and absurd. The president's ratings have gone through the floor, with much of the American public convinced the man's either lying through his teeth or a total incompetent (both true). The Great Communicator retreated to his bunker, lashing out at the press in vintage Nixon fashion. "I've never seen the sharks circling like they now are with blood in the water," Reagan raged to *Time* magazine (8 December), claiming it was all only a "Beltway bloodletting." The White House Goebbels, communications director Patrick Buchanan, predictably blasted "the liberal media" but also that "tribe of pygmies on Capitol Hill," and complained of the Republican Party establishment that "the whole damn pack has headed for the tall grass."

While Reagan pledged "full cooperation" with Congressional probes, the president's men were stonewalling.

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Mitterrand/Chirac's Racist Cops Murder Student

French Student Revolt

Cochin/Keystone

Cristofoli/Reuters

December 4: One million students march through Paris (above); later that night demonstrators are savagely attacked by riot police.

For a General Strike Against the Anti-Worker, Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Youth Attacks by the Mitterrand-Chirac Government!

PARIS, December 8—The government has taken a body blow. This morning, Prime Minister Chirac announced that Minister of Higher Education Devaquet's draft educational reform law would be withdrawn, as would Education Minister Monory's secondary school bill. In order to wrest this initial victory from the government, a million university and high school students went into the streets. And they paid a heavy price: two wounded and Malik Oussekine beaten to death on the night of December 5-6 by the special squads of motorcycle cops which have been terrorizing the Latin Quarter.

Why did the government back down? On December 4, confronted with a gigantic student demonstration, the government told the students to "go to hell" and sent the CRS riot squads after demonstrators who were peacefully gathered on the esplanade in front of the Invalides [Napoleon's tomb]. Since then, the government has drastically increased police provocations. (French television showed CRS officers allowing provocateurs to cross police lines and cops standing by while provocateurs heaved paving stones attempting to provoke further violence.) But this reactionary government is quite unstable. It was openly terrified by the unions' call for a strike and mass demonstration.

The government is afraid of the working class. While the cops were openly encouraging provocateurs, the cabinet of Chirac and Pasqua [minister of justice] launched a racist and anti-communist witchhunt against "foreign agitators." The campaign blew up in their face! So Devaquet is gone, but there will be other laws to reinforce social and racial segregation at all levels of the educational system, whether under governments of the right or "left." Witness the Spanish and Italian

continued on page 11

For a long time, France has been engulfed in an explosive student struggle. On December 10, hundreds of thousands marched through Paris in a demonstration of mourning for a student of Algerian parents who was beaten to death by the cops. The march was also a sharp repudiation of the right-wing regime of Premier Jacques Chirac, which governs under "Socialist" president François Mitterrand. Two days earlier, the mere threat of workers strike action supporting the demands of a nationwide student strike forced Chirac to back down, withdrawing elitist university and high school "reform" bills. As momentum continued to build, Chirac tabled the whole legislative program of his conservative cabinet, including a racist, anti-immigrant "nationalities" bill. It was the most dramatic reversal by a French government since 1968.

As 200,000 students demonstrated in front of the National Assembly, as a million youth filled the streets of the capital November 27, everyone asked: could there be a new edition of the May '68 student revolt which sparked a workers general strike, creating a pre-revolutionary situation? At first, the student movement declared itself militantly anti-political. A youth remarked: "When I hear talk of May '68, I see clashes in the street, very violent, between students and the CRS [paramilitary riot police]" (*Libération*, 4 December). That night the CRS thugs let loose in an orgy of repression... and there was no more talk of "apoliticism." As the old American Wobbly slogan goes, there's more education at the end of a cop's billy club than in four years of college.

Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the international Spartacist tendency, intervened actively in the recent struggles. The LTF called for a general strike against the government attacks. They put out several leaflets at Nanterre, birthplace of the 1968 student revolt. The following article is based on the 8 December special supplement to the LTF's *Le Bolchévik*, of which 20,000 copies have been distributed.

Apologists for Wapping Sellout

Norco, CA
November 10, 1986

Jan Norden, Editor
Workers Vanguard

Comrades,

Recent issues of the *Picket* (produced by rank and file printers on the Wapping picket line) have branded the Spartacist League as "scab of the week" for printing a picture in *Workers Hammer* from the *London Sunday Times*. Since credit was given for the photo, it is assumed that the SL must have even purchased the *Times*.

An accompanying article reportedly claimed that the striking printers at Wapping "are not picket lines," thereby making a slanderous allusion to "real" pickets, the miners. The writers of *Picket* allege that the SL has seldom been out to Wapping and has "never" been on the front lines.

Would *Workers Vanguard* care to respond to these charges against its sister publication and the SL?

Somewhat dumbfounded,
Leonard F. Tate

WV replies: We think you've been fed a snow job. *Picket* is no product of political novices. Its guru-publisher is one Arnie Mintz, who after 15 years as first a Canadian Pabloite and then a Spartacist, deserted revolutionary politics in the face of the Reagan/Thatcher years. His pathetically workerist rag, with its endlessly trivial accounts of "picket lines" that everyone crosses, its disdain for "left wing paper salesmen" and political struggle, ends up by apologizing for Labourite scabherders and their sellout consumer boycott line.

At the time of the U.S. air traffic controllers strike, sundry trade-union bureaucrats asserted that "flying is scabbing." Their line was stay away from the airports—unless you work there. While Machinists union head William Winpisinger was ostentatiously tooling around the country in a rented car, he was ordering his members to cross PATCO picket lines. Addressing this hypocrisy we wrote: "Any union president worth his salt would have taken the first plane home to pull his union out the day the strike began" ("Bureaucrats and Boycotts," *WV* No. 288, 11 September 1981).

The News International print strike in Britain was defeated because of the vile treachery of the pro-Kinnock union leaders. The centerpiece of their strategy was an impotent consumer boycott, the same losing tactic that paved the way for defeats at PATCO and Hormel in this country. (In the particular instance of the London printers, what is the sense in calling on the *Times*' mainly middle- and upper-class readers to boycott the paper?) Any decent trade unionist should understand that strikes are won or lost on the picket line: a newspaper strike that in ten months never causes the boss to miss an issue spells defeat.

The misleaders of the British printing unions (SOGAT and NGA) refused to call for shutting down Murdoch's plant at Wapping. Instead they demanded adherence to the Trades Union Congress (TUC) "guidelines" of six pickets per gate. Union officials actually distributed warnings to pickets *not* to try to stop scab trucks. SOGAT withdrew its half-hearted call on its drivers and distribution workers to "black" (hot cargo) Murdoch papers, rather than challenge Thatcher's laws. Some "picket lines"—when your union leaders invite the scabs in and then order union members to make sure the scab product is distributed!

Several times angry print workers tried to turn the weekly "rallies" at Wapping into real picket lines. For example, on March 15 militants tore down the fence, creating an opportunity to seize and shut down the plant; SOGAT stewards rushed in to form a human fence to protect the scabs. In early June the workers overwhelmingly rejected a sellout deal cooked up by Murdoch and the union tops, but the fake opposition dissipated the opportunity by calling for more of the dead-end strategy of reliance on consumer boycotts, pressuring the traitorous TUC and dragging the union through the bosses' courts.

At the SOGAT conference a week later union leader Brenda Dean whipped the "opposition" into line by railing, "We must not allow anything to come in the way"...of electing a Kinnock government. Yes, Wapping was a real "Neil Kinnock strike." Kinnock, who worked overtime to break the miners strike, praised the print union leaders for advocating "persuasion" rather than "violence." The answer of the Labourite bureaucracy is "*no* militancy, put Kinnock in office." Sensing their chance to be Her Majesty's next government, the Labour Party chieftains—backed by their cohorts in the trade-union bureaucracy—strangled the printers strike in order to demonstrate to their capitalist masters that they are "responsible" guardians of the bourgeois order.

Kinnock and his cohorts would like to simply disappear the miners strike, a mighty class battle which defied the bourgeois state, evoked industrial solidarity from rail workers, dockers and seamen, won the support of the black and Asian minorities, and threatened not only to topple the Thatcher regime but to tear apart British social democracy. Defeated after 12 months by the treachery of the Labour Party/trade-union tops, the miners strike underscored one crucial point: sheer militancy, no matter how heroic, is not enough.

Cagnoni/IFL

London print strikers were betrayed by Labour Party and union tops.

What is necessary is revolutionary leadership, a Leninist-Trotskyist party forged by splitting the working class base of the Labour Party from the pro-capitalist tops.

As even a cursory examination of *Workers Hammer* over a several month period would show, the Spartacist League/Britain intervened programmatically when it counted, exposing the bureaucracy's phony consumer boycott line, and calling for "mass militant pickets to shut down Wapping, for effective solidarity action by other unions, particularly miners and transport workers, through blacking and picketing." In particular they wrote: "And as it became only too clear that the Wapping printers struggle had been strangled in the service of strikebreaker Kinnock's electoral ambitions, we told the truth" (*Workers Hammer*, October 1986). This is what really gored the ox of the wretchedly Labourite fake left in Britain, just as our exposure of the false policies of the American trade-union bureaucrats rubs the nerves of their social-democratic apologists here.

P.S. You may have noticed that the front-page article of a recent *WV* (No. 416, 21 November), "Zionist Madmen Target Russia," cites evidence from the London *Sunday Times* documenting Israel's massive nuclear arsenal. For exposing this, Mordechai Vanunu now faces the death penalty in Israel. Should this information, of importance to working-class readers, be the monopoly of scab publisher Rupert Murdoch? ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

40 Years as a Professional Revolutionary

At the celebration of his 60th birthday and 40th anniversary as a socialist, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon measured his life against the ideals of his youth, "the age of wisdom, when our ideals seem to be, as they really are in fact, more important than anything else in the world."

When we were 40 we [Cannon and Rose Karsner, his companion and comrade] took stock of the situation at that time. That was when we had been expelled from the Communist Party for defending the program of Trotsky, and had to start all over again. We were 40—that's older than 20—a little tired. We realized that revolution is rather a young people's occupation, like athletics. But we had to recognize that the movement depended upon us more than ever then, and that we had to make an exception of ourselves. So we said: Well, we'll give 10 more years to the party; after that perhaps they won't need us so much.

Those 10 years passed so quickly, we didn't have a chance to count them. Then we were 50. That was the time of the biggest fight for the existence of the party, in 1940, the fight with the petty-bourgeois opposition.... There was nothing for us to do but agree to give 10 more years.

Those 10 years went by, busy, active years. We didn't have much time to think about getting old. We were always on the go, both of us, and before we knew what had happened, we reached 60. So here we are, and where do we go from here?...

All right, we'll give the party another 10 years. And then we'll see.

—James P. Cannon, "Sixtieth Birthday Speech" (March 1950)

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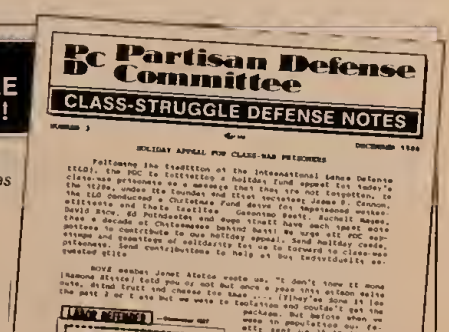
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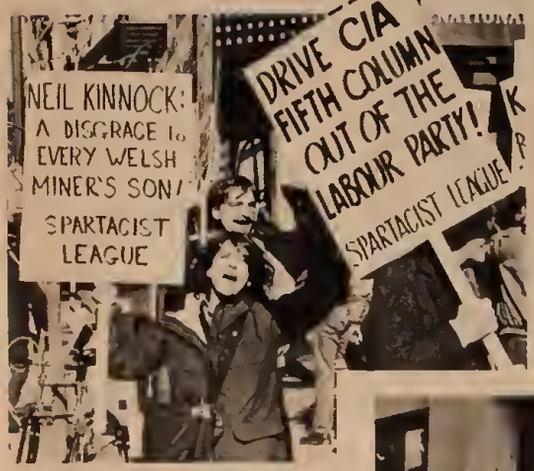

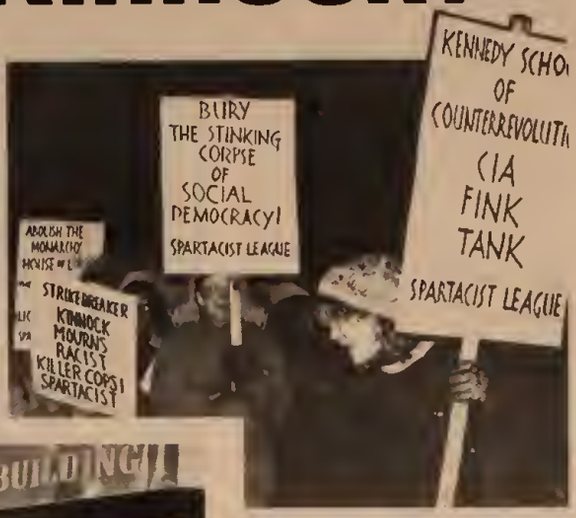

WV Photos

Spartacist League pickets in Boston (top right) and Washington, D.C. protest British Labour Party sellout leader Neil Kinnock (top center).

During the recent American tour by British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, the Spartacist League/U.S. mounted spirited pickets at Harvard's Kennedy School and at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. protesting the man called "Judas" for his role in breaking the historic British coal miners strike of 1984-85. Kinnock came here to show the U.S. ruling class that his "no nuke" schemes are no threat to NATO and American imperialism (true enough!), and was probably surprised to discover some real American communists who don't stomach class traitors. Our protests were widely covered by the British press. BBC and ITV television both showed footage of the December 2 Harvard demonstration, focusing on the Spartacist placards, "Kinnock Stabbed British Miners—Salutes Anti-Soviet Warmongers!" "Kinnock is Bloody Thatcher's Poodle—Remember the *Belgrano*!" and "Bury the Stinking Corpse of Social Democracy!"

Kinnock's trip was a flop: the American bourgeoisie wasn't buying. Democrats no less than Reagan's Republicans rejected his calls for a "nuclear-free" Britain. Senator Moynihan canceled an appointment with him, and his Atlanta host Mayor Andrew Young reportedly "nodded off" while Kinnock droned on. So when he returned to London to unveil the Labour Party "defense" policy statement, Kinnock vowed a Labour government would accept NATO strategy, according to the *Guardian* (11 December) "including...potential first use of nuclear weapons." The statement tried to outdo Margaret Thatcher in Union Jack chauvinism, deploring "a serious decline in the strength of all our armed forces. Had the invasion of the Falklands by the Argentine junta come even six months later than it did, it is doubtful that we could have regained the islands."

Kinnock's few American enthusiasts, like Mike Harrington's Democratic (Party) Socialists of America and some "liberal" CIA types, were no doubt miffed by the SL protests. Kennedy School dean Allison, dubbed by the Pentagon an "intellectual strategic reserve," referred to us as "soul brothers" of Ted Grant's groveling Labourite "Militant Tendency" in Britain. Not a chance—Grant will be out campaigning for Kinnock, not picketing him! But most of the British media were able to tell the difference between real reds and parlor pink social democrats. They were intrigued by our placard calling for abolition of the monarchy, House of Lords, established church and licensing hours: Labour as well as Tories are opposed to these elementary democratic demands. In Washington, the "Rt Hon Neil Kinnock PC MP" (as he bills himself) declared that one expenditure he wouldn't cut is the millions lavished on the queen.

Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain rushed out a special *Workers Hammer* supplement covering the protests against Kinnock's tour and the explosive student struggles in France. The international Spartacist tendency fights tooth and nail to expose social-democratic betrayal on both sides of the Atlantic. Not Harrington, Kinnock or Noske, but Lenin, Liebknecht and Trotsky!■

Liberals' worry over Labour nuclear policy

THE INDEPENDENT
4 December 1986

...lonship and Nato which would set in train some very serious tensions."

As Mr Kinnock spoke, the cries of protesters could be heard chanting slogans, some too bizarre even for Hollywood: "Honour Kim Philby — Hate Neil Kinnock"; "Strike Breaker, Castrater, Down with Judas Kinnock"; and "Self-Determination for the Celtic fringe".

Leaflets which they handed out in the rain warned Mr Kinnock they would be demonstrating against him in Washington. The Spartacist League declared: "Genuine Trotskyists — as opposed to Ted Grant's wimpy 'Militant' group in England — say no support to Labor traitor Kinnock."

The demonstrators may have made Mr Kinnock feel as if he was back home at

THE GUARDIAN
4 December 1986

...liberal audience asked sympathetic questions. But two ex-Washington insiders temporarily exiled in academe were on hand to pick holes for the cameras. "How likely is it really that a Labour government would spend more on conventional defence?" asked Richard Haas, late of the Reagan State Department. Outside, the Trotskyite Spartacist League was denouncing Mr Kinnock as a "strike breaker" and CIA stooge. It is a very narrow ledge he sits on: pro-Nato, anti-nuclear.

For Left-wingers like

THE TIMES
4 December 1986

Kinnock warns US bid to block anti-nuclear policy could backfire

The Daily Telegraph
3 December 1986

Empty seats greet Neil's eloquence

Meanwhile, a seemingly mad-cap group of Kinnock-haters, the Spartacus League, based in New York, has denounced him as "a certified enemy of socialism."

"Maggie Thatcher may be Reagan's poodle, but Neil Kinnock wants to show he's housebroken, too," they say.

Quoting from Jack London, a woman with an initially charming manner, who rang me to ask if I wanted to know more about the League, said: "Kinnock has a cork-screw soul, a water-logged brain and a backbone of glue." Then she hung up.

Daily Mail
2 December 1986

DAILY MAIL/WORLD WIDE

Kinnock's roadshow snubbed all way

THE GUARDIAN
1 December 1986

'Viewed from outside you look kinda spineless!'

Even in the U.S. Mr Neil Kinnock cannot escape the militants of the extreme left: British members of the Spartacist League were protesting against him at Harvard yesterday.

15 Months of "Preventive Detention"

Stop Frame-Up of Puerto Rican Independence Fighters!

Puerto Rican pro-independence activists, held without bail for the last 15 months, recently won a partial victory against the draconian "preventive detention" statutes in Reagan's America. On November 20, a U.S. appeals court ordered federal district court judge T. Emmet Clarie to set "reasonable conditions of release" for three *independentistas*. They are among 16 militants labeled "terrorists" and charged in connection with a 1983 Wells Fargo holdup in West Hartford, Connecticut. That action was claimed by the militant pro-independence group Los Macheteros, or Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Party. The court ruling cleared the way for setting bail for six other Puerto Rican activists also in custody. But the government is still trying to keep three of them—Filiberto Ojeda, Juan Segarra and Luis Colón Osorio—behind bars.

The appeals court decision that there were some limits beyond which continued refusal to grant bail is unconstitutional is a qualified victory for the left and all defenders of civil liberties. Over 1,100 people are now being held under

WV Photo

New York City, 27 October 1985: Spartacist League joins protest in solidarity with jailed Puerto Rican activists.

"preventive detention" provisions that were part of the 1984 Comprehensive Crime Control law, passed with overwhelming Democratic and Republican support. Such repressive measures are the hallmark of police states from Nazi Germany to South Africa, and have not been used in this country on a large scale since the racist concentration camp internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. But the vicious persecution of the *independentistas* continues. Several were given million-dollar bails; all face felony charges in the frame-up trial scheduled for March 3, the result of a giant FBI COINTELPRO-style operation.

Claridad

Thousands march in San Juan, Puerto Rico August 30 to demand freedom for Independentistas arrested one year earlier.

The government's attacks on the independence movement in U.S. imperialism's Caribbean island colony are part of its worldwide anti-communist crusade. Puerto Rico was the jumping-off point for Reagan's rape of Grenada and is key to the warmakers' plans for counterrevolutionary war in Central America. Part of the government rationale for attacking the pro-independence movement is to squelch any opposition to the use of Puerto Rico as a forward base for U.S. military adventures in the region. The Macheteros have landed effective blows at military targets on the island, including a 1981 attack on Muñiz air base which destroyed the bulk of the Puerto Rican Air National Guard fleet. And last October, the day after word leaked of Pentagon plans to train Nicaraguan contra mercenaries on the island, the Macheteros planted bombs at ten military sites.

Attorney General Edwin Meese and FBI Director William Webster hailed the terror raids which led to the arrests as part of their "anti-terrorist" campaign, and pointed to Cuba as the "source." In branding political opposition as "terrorist" and using massive federal surveillance and dragnets, they are testing techniques for use against the left on the mainland as well. The FBI task force director for the operation was Richard Held, who played a leading role in the Nixon government's war on the Black Panther Party. As head of L.A. COINTELPRO he was responsible for sending L.A. Panther leader Geronimo Pratt to jail, where he remains today, 16 years later. Thus the defense of the Puerto Rican pro-independence activists is an important task for all opponents of imperialism and defenders of democratic rights at home.

On 30 August 1985, eleven *independentistas* were arrested in a series of Gestapo-like dawn raids in San Juan, and two others were seized on the mainland. More than 200 FBI stormtroopers wielding shotguns and automatic rifles invaded more than 30 homes, breaking down doors and windows. Families were held at gunpoint while the "suspects" were chained hand and foot. Arrest warrants did not arrive until hours later; meanwhile federal agents ransacked the homes for "evidence," carting off truckloads of books, papers and other personal belongings, even toys. Using the Wells Fargo case as a pretext, the FBI dragnet went after militant *independentistas*. Six months later, three other pro-independence militants were arrested in similar style.

The August 30 raids were the culmination of a multi-million-dollar federal surveillance operation in which the FBI tested its latest equipment. The feds admit to having 1,500 hours of tapes of conversations between the defendants and other pro-independence activists. They planted microphones, spied on activists with binoculars and followed them on their daily routines. With the collaboration of the Puerto Rico Telephone Company they bugged the public telephones of entire neighborhoods, taping tens of thousands of calls. They tested their "pen register" system for tracking the phone numbers of callers (*Pensamiento Crítico*, July-August 1986). The imperialist political police trampled with abandon upon the constitutional rights of the citizens of this so-called "free associated state" to update its internal spying capacity.

The nine well-known Puerto Rican activists had been jailed for over a year at the Metropolitan Correctional Center (MCC) in New York as "high security risk" prisoners, held in "administrative segregation" from the rest of the prison population, presumably to keep them from "infecting" others with their politics. The Puerto Ricans were kept in individual locked cells for 23 hours a day, denied recreation periods or permission to step into the sun. Harassment has been continuous: from restricting religious observance to prohibiting photos of loved ones on the prison walls to a beating by prison guards when one prisoner wore a Puerto Rican flag on his uniform.

The *independentistas* are facing 16 felony counts in connection with the $7 million heist from a Wells Fargo depot in West Hartford, Connecticut. Seven were earlier given outrageous bails of up to $1 million, but Judge Clarie repeatedly denied defense motions for release of the other nine. Clarie was acting under provisions of the Bail Reform Act of 1984, approved by a nearly unanimous Senate vote, which allows for "preventive detention" based on hearsay evidence and puts the burden of proof on the accused to prove that he is not "dangerous." This law is the domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive as the state prepares the machinery to repress political dissent and secure the home front for war.

On May 2 the same federal appeals court ruled that denial of bail on grounds of "danger to the community" was unconstitutional, one judge calling it a "police state approach." This opened the way for bail for two of the Hartford defendants who were only being held as "dangerous," but Judge Clarie denied bail again after admitting "new evidence." The government did not appeal the May decision, opting instead to take the case of mob boss Anthony Salerno to the Supreme Court to uphold their preventive detention law. The November court ruling did not strike down "risk of flight" as grounds for detention, but held that at some point it "exceeds the limitations of the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment."

The defendants have protested the site of the trial, in Hartford, 1,700 miles from Puerto Rico, before a jury which neither speaks Spanish nor has experienced colonial rule. But Judge Clarie turned down the request for a change of venue because it would "delay" the trial. That was last June! Defense lawyers have also challenged government handling of the mountains of taped conversations intercepted by the FBI. Fifteen months after the arrests the defense still has not seen much of the evidence used against their clients. Other tapes have been held illegally by the feds, during which time they may have been tampered with. A suppression of evidence hearing is scheduled for January 13.

Claridad

Puerto Rican demonstrators proclaim: "FBI, the Real Terrorists."

Support for the August 30 defendants has been strong in Puerto Rico, where the 1978 Cerro Maravilla cop murders of two *independentistas* are still vividly remembered. Two days after the arrests, hundreds turned out in San Juan for the extradition hearings—held on a Sunday at 7 a.m.—to protest the government attacks. Thousands marched this year on the anniversary of the raids. The Spartacist League calls for defense of these class-war prisoners, and demands: Free the Puerto Rican independence fighters and all victims of colonial repression! FBI, CIA, U.S. bases out of Puerto Rico! Immediate, unconditional independence for Puerto Rico! ■

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KKK Terror at The Citadel

Dressed in KKK-style white hoods and sheets, five white cadets burst into the room of a first-year black cadet, Kevin Nesmith, after midnight on October 23. Acting fully in the Confederate tradition of The Citadel, located in Charleston, South Carolina, one of two remaining state-supported antebellum military institutes in the South, the nightriders awakened the terrified black cadet by shouting racist obscenities and burning a paper cross. After a scuffle with Nesmith's roommate, who is a Filipino American, the five racist scum escaped into the darkness, leaving the hated symbol of KKK terror behind.

The Citadel's Dixie-loving brass and cadets initially tried to excuse this racist attack as nothing more than "hazing" (the brutal "initiation" rights imposed on first-year cadets) gone awry. But black Charleston took to the streets in anger to protest this act of Klan-inspired terror. Black community leaders together with Nesmith's mother Amelia and brother Larry led a march of some 500 to the gates of this fortress which revels in the racist heritage of the Confederacy. The marchers were demanding the immediate expulsion of Nesmith's assailants and the resignation of Citadel president, Major General Grimsley. Although The Citadel's own rule book prescribes expulsion for this kind of conduct, Grimsley literally let the racists walk—"punishing" them with 195 hikes around the school's courtyard! When black members of the school band objected to playing "Dixie" (the vile Confederate anthem which is the school's fight song), and other black cadets planned a symbolic protest against the attack on Kevin Nesmith, they were threatened with discipline by the school administration.

UPI

Charleston demonstration against racist attacks on black cadets.

Spees/NY Times

UPI

Citadel students wave racist Confederate flag of slavery at football game. Kevin Nesmith (right), target of Klan-inspired terror.

Kevin Nesmith resigned in disgust, saying "I feel that I have been made the victim while the villains remain." His older brother, one of the first black graduates of The Citadel, described the incident as "an act of terrorism" and resigned from the school's governing board. Kevin Nesmith now plans to file a civil rights lawsuit against this racist snakepit. As the executive director of the South Carolina NAACP noted, "If a group of five black students, wearing the berets of the Black Panthers and shouting 'honky' and 'cracker' had invaded the room of a white student, they would be doing the I-26 shuffle the next day, heading home" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 November).

The Citadel is not just any military academy—its purpose is to train an elite cadre of officers to fight for the kind of society we'd have if the South had won the Civil War. Here the Confederate flag of chattel slavery is prominently flown and cadets wear the same Confederate gray uniforms worn by their predecessors. In 1861, as Citadel bigots brag to this day, cadets from the college fired the first "hostile shots" of the Civil War, aiming at a Navy vessel sent to reinforce the Northern troops at Fort Sumter. Some 200 Citadel alumni became ranking officers in the slaveholders' Confederate army. But in 1865, those "Dixie"-whistling racists were sent packing when Union troops headed by the 54th Massachusetts Colored Regiment entered Charleston singing "John Brown's Body" and shut down The Citadel! Its very existence today, reopened in 1883 following the defeat of Radical Reconstruction, is testimony to the urgent need to *finish the Civil War.*

The post-Reconstruction Citadel was exclusively for the training of white cadets in the racist traditions of the slavocracy. By the turn of the century, this legacy melded with the need to train officers for the Jim Crow forces of American imperialism. As General Grimsley put it, The Citadel gives a cadet the "inner strength to go out and take charge of his little piece of turf, wherever it is in the world" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 3 November 1985). Once the training ground of slaveholders' sons, The Citadel today gears up its cadets to be bloodthirsty defenders of capitalist slavery.

The stench of the slave masters' legacy imhues The Citadel's history—from Tulifinny Creek in 1864 to Grenada in 1983, and these contemporary "sons of the Confederacy" are proud of it. Every Friday afternoon, the American flag is lowered on the parade ground and both black and white cadets are forced to march to "Dixie." Referring to this disgusting racist pageant and the omnipresent Confederate flags, one black cadet remarked, "God, I hate them both. Hate. Despise. Loathe." (*New York Times*, 23 November).

The Citadel's method of training the future Lt. Calleys whose racist bloodlust targets blacks and all of the oppressed was captured in the movie and book, *Lords of Discipline*, by Citadel graduate Pat Conroy. Conroy describes a white fraternity at his alma mater which, like a Klan klavern, brutally tortures the first black cadet to enter the academy. Kevin Nesmith is the real life victim of The Citadel's racist terror—the likes of which has become increasingly frequent in this country, North as well as South.

At a recent school game, numerous Citadel alumni and cadets brandished brand new Confederate flags while blacks countered by raising a large American flag (*People* magazine, 15 December). However, the present-day "stars and stripes" is not the flag of a liberating Union army, but of bloody racist imperialism. It will take the red flag of proletarian revolution to smash the legacy of slavery and Klan terror which is perpetuated at The Citadel. Honor the glorious Massachusetts 54th! Shut down The Citadel for good! Finish the Civil War!■

Girl Won't Fink

Not all teenagers in Reagan's America have been brainwashed by the Moral McCarthyites. The *New York Times* (5 December) reports that a 15-year-old Connecticut girl courageously refused to rat on a boyfriend, charged with "statutory rape," because she was in love with him. But for defending 28-year-old Gregory McGee and her own personal privacy, she's being viciously persecuted. When her father pressed charges and the young woman refused to talk, Superior Court Judge Francis M. McDonald ordered her jailed to "reconsider." When she again refused, the judge held her in contempt of court, sentenced her to a suspended six-month jail term and placed her on probation for two years, during which time she is forbidden to see McGee. The charges against McGee have been dismissed for lack of evidence, but he was fired from his job as a school bus driver.

This atrocity is part of an offensive against teenage sexuality in the Reaganite crusade to enforce "traditional family values." "Statutory rape," after all, is a law to jail people when there is no rape. Its purpose is to make sex involving young people a crime. This man and this young woman clearly had a *consensual* relationship, and the cops and courts have no business interfering. They are both victims of the state's anti-sex witchhunting. We salute the young woman's heroic act in standing up to this vicious vendetta.

The anti-sex witchhunters really get off on this kind of thing. Government snoops are everywhere, you've got to have your vial of drug-free urine, while the Meese Police throw owners of video stores in jail for renting X-rated tapes. Children fink on their parents for enjoying marijuana or cocaine in the privacy of their own homes. Nancy Reagan said nasty Orange County teen Deanna Young must have really loved her parents a lot to turn them in.

The "Moral Majority" bigots want to create a Reagan Youth of moral fascists. What's next? Turning kids into peeping toms, looking through keyholes into mom and dad's bedroom for evidence of violation of the sodomy statutes recently upheld by the Reagan Supreme Court? In their crusade to restore the social climate of McCarthyism they want to teach the "moral values" that *not* squealing is positively Un-American.

While ranting about "babies having babies," the government is doing everything to make sure young people can't get birth control (Reagan's answer: "Just say no." Well, maybe that method works for Nancy—we'll stick with the pill, thank you.) First they tried to enforce a "squeal rule" on teenagers at birth control clinics. Then they declared war on sex education programs in the high schools. And all along, giving the green light to abortion clinic terror bombers.

This administration, which screams bloody murder about so-called "Soviet totalitarianism" and got elected on the program of "getting the government off our backs," is imposing wholesale social totalitarianism in its drive for the "moral rearmament" of American imperialism. The new Joe McCarthys of Cold War II are out witchhunting "deviants," and in the process they've targeted everybody. But it's not going down.

The *Times*' exposé of the Danbury "statutory rape" case was unusual for this "old gray lady" of bourgeois journalism that regularly covers up the news it considers unfit to print. Meanwhile, despite all the Reaganite hype, Reagan's orders for random drug testing of employees are being overturned in the courts, while the "magic of the marketplace" has spawned mass production of drug-free horse piss. As for the Army's "drug wars" in Bolivia, the only effect has been to drive up the price of cocaine.

Spies in the bushes, snoops in the bedrooms—the sex witchhunters have been riding high in Reagan's America. But they may be knocked off their horses. Abolish "statutory rape" and all "victimless crime" laws! Free birth control and free abortion on demand! Government out of the bedroom!■

Anti-Abortion Terror Bombers Strike at Sanger Clinic

A bomb so powerful it would have blown away the Margaret Sanger Clinic in midtown Manhattan, and the entire front of the 10-story building in which it is housed, misfired and was defused at the last moment on Sunday, December 14. The bomb at the Planned Parenthood clinic was the third terrorist attack on abortion centers in New York in the past six weeks. No one has been charged in the bombings.

Nationwide, during the first six months of 1986 alone, Planned Parenthood reports more than 100 incidents of terror at its centers. Yet the FBI and the Reagan "Justice Department" continue to say they see "no conspiracy." These murderous "Right to Life" bombers strike with a wink and a nod from the White House. This is "state-supported Terrorism, USA." Defend the abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand!

Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home

Defend Nicaragua!

Smash U.S. War Drive!

We print below an abridged version of a talk by Workers Vanguard *editor and Spartacist League Central Committee member Jan Norden, given in New York City on November 22 under the title "U.S. Workers: Smash the War on Nicaragua!" The forum included a slide show by WV correspondent Tom Janota, and the discussion following the talk was enriched by the remarks of a number of comrades who had been to Nicaragua to express solidarity. One, who was in the town of Esteli during a contra attack, recounted that "the last thing my family in Nicaragua told me, before I left, was that I should go home and struggle. That was what they wanted me to get out of what I saw down there. So I hope that everyone here will join us in that struggle."*

We tried to decorate the room here with some photos to give you an idea of what Nicaragua today is like, and also with the slide show. Up front here, I'm sure you're familiar with what's become a very famous photo, of CIA mercenary Hasenfus being led away by the 19-year-old Sandinista Army soldier who shot him down with a shoulder-held Soviet SAM missile. His name is José Canales, and that's José over there again as well, above our appeal for the "Nicabucks" collection. Just remember, every dollar helps. It may not buy a SAM, because in fact all the Nicaraguans' military hardware is supplied free of charge by the Soviet Union. But there's always spare parts. And, of course, the reason we started the campaign: namely Reagan's economic sanctions, which is an attempt to strangle the country, a standard American imperialist tactic.

Over there on the wall, you'll see a composite photograph of the celebration on July 19, 1985, where 500,000 came out to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the Revolution. On the right is what we call "Hail Red Thunder!" During this demonstration about 15 Soviet helicopters came over, which, as you can imagine, caused a tremendous cheer among the crowd. In this country, Soviet armament is decried by the government, which wants to make this a basis for war. In Nicaragua, Soviet arms are the difference between life and death. Without them, no doubt there would already have been massive U.S. attacks. So this afternoon I want to talk mainly about the situation and struggle in this country, the role of the United States, and the duties and challenges for American workers and American revolutionaries concerning Central America. But I'd like to run over a little bit about Nicaragua, to get oriented.

Nicaragua was the first popular revolution in the Americas since the Cuban Revolution in 1959. That is, it was not just some left-leaning bourgeois government, like Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile. Rather, there was a mass insurrection throughout the country that not only sent the tyrant Somoza packing, it also destroyed the backbone of the capitalist state, namely the National Guard. In fact, at the time of the insurrection, both the northern and southern columns of the Sandinista Front were pinned down or else moving very slowly. But in the streets of Managua, in León, in Esteli, Masaya, Chinandega there were tens of thousands of fighters, although many only had the paving stones they dug up or Molotov cocktails. Clearly, the Sandinistas played the leading role in the insurrection, but other leftist forces were active as well, and mass organizations: Civil Defense Committees, the women's organization, various left-led unions, and so on. It actually took a day after Somoza and the Guard fled before the first guerrilla units showed up in the capital.

Soberanía

Nicaraguan military display in Managua. Sandinista Army has CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries on the run.

So the *Triunfo*, the victory, belongs to the Nicaraguan masses, and that explains something about that demonstration of half a million on July 19 last year. It's *their* revolution, they paid for it with the blood of their compañeros, their parents, their children. Fifty thousand died fighting Somoza, out of a population of less than three million—that's the equivalent of four to five million dead in the United States. And the liberation was very real. The Guard was a mercenary gang of cutthroats. Literally, they killed pregnant women, then used their bayonets to dig the fetus out of their wombs in order to make sure the fetus was dead too. They would kill young men, cut off their genitals and stuff them in their mouths. These are psychopathic killers. This National Guard dive-bombed every single Nicaraguan city. And these are the same people who are the leaders and military command of the contras today. These are what Ronald Reagan calls "freedom fighters."

This was in principle a *political* revolution, not a social revolution at the beginning. And a sizable section of the Nicaraguan capitalist class is still there, as are the American companies—Pepsi-Cola, Exxon, Coca-Cola—which play a key role in the economy. Something over half of all industrial and commercial activity and agricultural goods that are sold are from the private sector. But the Somoza dynasty ran the country like it was their fiefdom: Anastasio, who was the first Somoza, was called "the last Marine," because he was put in there by the Marines when they ended the U.S. occupation in 1934. He used to say "*Nicaragua es mi finca*" (Nicaragua is my farm). And he and his sons milked it dry.

After the 1972 earthquake, they and his top National Guard commanders monopolized the relief aid, they just stole it. The capital of Managua was never rebuilt—even today the downtown is a huge expanse of rubble and empty fields. But, they figured, who needs a capital, when *your* capital is in Miami or in Swiss banks. They owned the national airlines, the shipping company, the brewery; they owned the factory that produced those paving stones the kids dug up to throw at the National Guard too. They owned about 20 percent of all the land. People called it *Somozalandia*, Somozaland. And when you have a political revolution in a one-family state, guess what, it has some overtones of a social revolution. Just by expropriating the Somozaists' property a state sector was created with about a quarter of the economy. This has grown slightly since then, but not qualitatively.

In other words, the previous capitalist state was destroyed, but the economy is still capitalist. And that brings us to the nature of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which has tried from the beginning to freeze the revolution at this intermediate stage. The Sandinistas have a trinity: namely nonalignment, political pluralism and the mixed economy. Which is to say, that politically they are seeking to avoid taking that fateful step to a social revolution, they want to avoid expropriating the boorgeoisie, economically. At a ceremony last year, Jaime Wheelock, who was giving out land titles to peasants, said, "What do you mean we're against private property? We are creating thousands of private property owners." Which is true.

Carlos Duran

Nicaraguan soldier who shot down CIA plane leads away mercenary Hasenfus.

Capitalist Fifth Column

Contrary to all Ronald Reagan's talk about "Sandino-Communism," the FSLN is not socialist, they wouldn't be what we would call part of the workers movement. It's a petty-bourgeois, radical-nationalist force. And many of its leaders have close family and political ties to sectors of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. The FSLN came to power by making alliances with sectors of the opposition bourgeoisie, and that's

what they are trying to maintain today. Today, the Sandinistas continue to hold that there is such a thing as a "patriotic bourgeoisie." They say they are making use of the bourgeoisie's managerial skills, because supposedly the workers are not yet ready to run industry.

A side point on this: You saw the picture of the one factory with the Lenin photo, that's the Fanatex factory, it's the largest in the country. Believe me, the workers can run that factory. That factory has been there since the mid-1950s, when it was imported lock, stock and barrel from the Alabama State Prison. Which gives you a sense also of the kind of equipment that they have to work with. In fact, today, the key thing is how to make spare parts. And the working class, as has been the historical experience in all revolutions, is showing a great deal of ingenuity in trying to deal with that difficult situation.

The Sandinista policy leaves the capitalists in key positions to strangle the economy when the crunch comes. And these people are *necessarily* enemies of social revolution, because as history teaches us, no ruling class voluntarily commits suicide. We say that as Marxists, but all you have to do is look at the evidence in Nicaragua as well: for more than half a decade now there has been *zero* investment by the Nicaraguan capitalists. What investments in plant and equipment there have been in the private sector have been paid for by dollar subsidies from the government. Any profits the capitalists get, they manage to smuggle out of the country. *This is the contras' fifth column, and they are being financed by the Sandinista government.* So when we talk about completing the revolution, we're talking about a contradiction that must be resolved. It's going to be resolved, one way or the other. This in-between stage can't last.

Meanwhile, the workers are really hurting. As of last summer, it was estimated that a family needs about 80,000 córdobas to minimally survive—that's about $125 in equivalent purchasing power—yet the minimum wage for industrial workers is only 10,000 córdobas. It's obviously impossible—you're talking about a family living on $15/month, that cannot be done. So what's happening is that most of the working class is moonlighting by selling odds and ends. This is the balance sheet on the "mixed economy": bankruptcy. You have a huge black market, which is a weapon in the hands of counterrevolution, and it includes the bulk of the working class. It's an extremely dangerous situation, and to overcome this it's necessary to break from the Sandinista trinity and undertake the road of socialist revolution. That's why we say, "Defend, *Complete*, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!"

The mass of the people are certainly tired after five years now of the contra war, which has caused somewhere between 30,000 and 40,000 additional casualties. But they're going to defend their revolution—those *beasts* are not coming back if they have anything to say about it. So what does it take? First of all, you need a communist party, a revolutionary workers party, a Trotskyist party that *defends* the gains of the

WV Photo

New York Spartacist League forum, November 22.

revolution with proletarian means, constructing workers militias to protect the factories against the contras, imposing workers control to defeat the "decapitalization" by the bosses who are milking these factories and these enterprises of their funds; a party that mobilizes the working masses to *complete* the revolution, with a workers and peasants government that expropriates the exploiters, seizing *all* the *La Prensas*!

A party that fights to *extend* the revolution, crucially to unite with the international working class, beginning with the Salvadoran workers courageously fighting the death squad "democracy" of American puppet president Joe Napoleon [Duarte]. The Trotskyists stand for military victory to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents and warn against the trap of Contadora, or as we call it, "*Contra*"dora—that is, the attempt by the regional bourgeoisies to impose a so-called "peaceful solution" that leaves the old social order intact. They basically would like to achieve through negotiations what Reagan has been unable to achieve with guns.

We want to set the entire isthmus aflame with workers revolution, extending to the Mexican proletariat—which is many millions strong, there are twice as many industrial workers in Mexico than there are people in Nicaragua, which is a predominantly peasant country—and to the imperialist heartland itself. Because you *can't* build socialism in one dirt-poor banana republic, or even this impoverished region, much less than Stalin and his successors could do it in Russia. Socialism is an *international* system, and it takes workers revolution in the most advanced capitalist countries, in this case the United States. The fight to smash the imperialist war drive will fundamentally be fought *right here*. The Nicaraguan masses are going to do what they can, but they are not alone, *if we do our job*.

Nicaragua and the Anti-Soviet War Drive

The situation inside Nicaragua is basically stalemated, but there are two things that have changed lately. One is that the contras have been very heavily beaten back and defeated militarily and are in a very desperate situation right now, waiting for their $100 million to come through. The second thing, fundamentally, is the situation in the United States, where a bipartisan "consensus" has been achieved in Congress in support of the Reagan administration's war plans in Central America and beyond. We have insisted that the differences between the Democrats and Republicans and liberals and conservatives were at most tactical, over how best to pursue the war drive, the Reaganites more gung-ho about Third World adventures, perhaps, the Democrats focusing more on the strategic arms buildup, etc.

There are *two* war parties in Congress. But they have now reached operational "unity" on what has been called the "Reagan Doctrine," namely backing counterrevolutionary armies to overthrow so-called "Soviet surrogates" around the globe. (This is not a new policy; they called it "rollback," in the 1950s, when John Foster Dulles used to play around with it.) This was symbolized by the House vote in June 1985 for $30 million in so-called "humanitarian" funds to the contras, followed by repeal of the Clark Amendment prohibiting support for South African puppet Savimbi in Angola, and then the public vote to fund the Afghan Islamic guerrillas. This year we've seen the drawn-out vote for the $100 million contra military activity, which was finally signed by Reagan last month. What that means is that Congress is now on record supporting military action to overthrow the Sandinista government. They've got the "legal" cover for their Central American war, just as the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was the Congressional authorization for the Vietnam War.

This reflects the agreement of the Democrats and Republicans that you see around the globe. So that when Reagan orders the Navy and Air Force to attack Libya, on the most transparent pretext, the Democrats all applaud, including liberals like Tip O'Neill. And it's solid enough so that when a CIA supply plane gets shot down over Nicaragua, and Hasenfus spills the beans—they continue voting the $100 million, and basically the war is on. What's changed here in the last period, then, is that the contra war has come to an end and the American war is beginning.

We've been insisting for years that the anti-Soviet war drive is key, from Central America to the Near East and wherever—it's the predominant feature of the current period. This is where we have clashed most sharply with the entire so-called anti-intervention movement. From the May 3rd march on the Pentagon in 1981 on, we carried a banner saying "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" And every reformist and rad-lib—you name it, CISPES, PAM, SWP, *Guardian*—they would scream "provocation." They set up goon squads to keep the SL with our red flags and revolutionary politics out of what they considered "their" demonstration. And when that didn't work, because we wouldn't allow ourselves to be sealed off and we took down their anti-democratic daisy chain, then they called in the capitalist cops.

So why all the heat over this slogan in particular? As we put it, if during the Vietnam antiwar movement the reformists wanted to keep it "clean for Gene" McCarthy, here they wanted to be "ready for Teddy" Kennedy. In other words, they wanted to hitch their cart to the Democratic Party donkey, so the Soviet Union was taboo. That question must not be mentioned, because if it is, then it's all off with the Democrats.

It's no secret, after all, that Reagan & Co. have put Sandinista Nicaragua tops on the hit list of the anti-Soviet war drive. This is not just a "regional conflict," it's at the heart of American imperialism's attempt to restore its hegemony. Last year Reagan appealed for contra aid with the argument that otherwise there will be "a Communist Central America" and "100 million people from Panama to our southern border could come under the control of pro-Soviet regimes." And last spring when they really pulled out all the stops for the contra aid, Reagan showed on TV this red tide spreading all over Central America all the way up to Harlingen, Texas. Then a couple months later red tide comes to Galveston. Makes you wonder if the Reaganauts actually planned that.

Obviously, Reagan's view that there would be no "hot spots" in the world if there wasn't any so-called "Soviet-sponsored subversion" is false. In fact, the Kremlin bureaucracy is deeply conservative, and as far as the Western Hemisphere is concerned they generally feel that they have their hands full

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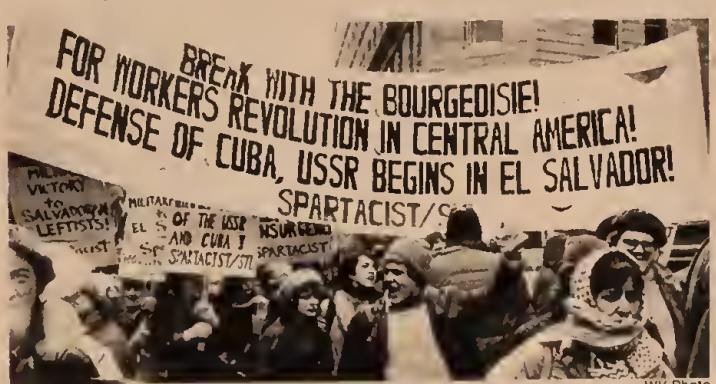


WV Photo

Boston, February 1982: Trotskyists at El Salvador demonstration.

WV Photo

Managua, 19 July 1985: Mass rally of 500,000 on sixth anniversary of Nicaraguan Revolution.

Nicaragua...

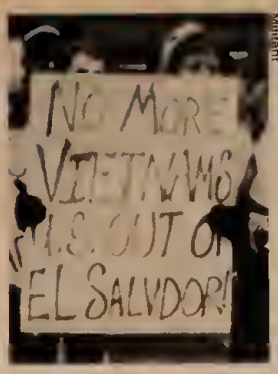
(continued from page 7)

defending Cuba. However, at the same time, the Soviet bureaucracy does sit atop the collectivized property that is a remaining gain from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. That creates certain contradictions for them. They also see that they are in fact the target of this drive. So one thing that is notable about the last several years has been the tremendous increase in Soviet military aid to Nicaragua, which we're all for.

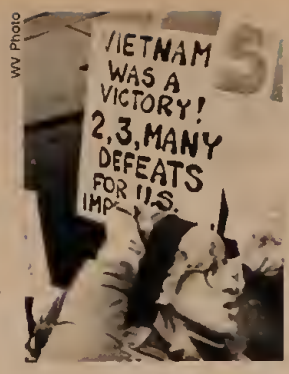
So what does the so-called left do? They scream that any mention of Russia is just a red herring. But if the U.S. government declares that Central America is part of the Cold War and that it's on the front lines of the anti-Soviet war drive, then it is. What's happening is not that the Soviets have some kind of "domino strategy," but the *Americans* have their own domino strategy, in reverse, to begin with ousting the Sandinistas and drowning the Salvadoran insurgents in a sea of blood, and end up, they hope, with "rolling back" the gains of the Russian October Revolution. They think it's going to happen by some kind of "limited nuclear exchange" in which they put the Kremlin up against the wall, and it's going to "cry uncle," and no white middle-class American is going to get hurt, right? It's crazy, but those are the people that are running the country.

Why is Central America on the front lines of the second Cold War today? Because Washington is looking for an easy win, in order to reverse the so-called "Vietnam syndrome." They figured some tiny little countries—Nicaragua is only the size of Michigan—in the U.S.' own "backyard" would be someplace where they could easily whip up a red scare at home and then when they've got the public properly motivated, they can crown it with a military walkover. And then—presto!—Vietnam would all be forgotten, and Washington could get back into the business of being the policeman of the world like in the good old days, when the U.S. were the only ones who had The Bomb and they could rule through nuclear blackmail. But the "American century" didn't last very long—not much longer than Hitler's "Thousand Year Reich" in fact.

Already by the early 1950s, the Soviets had atomic weapons. And in the '60s, the U.S. became mired down in the swamps of Indochina. By 1973 the U.S. essentially had to cut and run from Vietnam, leading a couple years later to the victory of that revolution over the corrupt Saigon regime, which was a humiliating defeat for the American government, the first time in a visible way that the American government had lost a war. That gave rise to the "Vietnam syndrome," which remains an overriding fact about U.S. foreign policy to this day. The American population does not want to get hogged down in another, *losing* Third World military adventure against a popular revolution.



Militant



WV Photo

U.S. imperialism's defeat in Vietnam: Reformists mourn it, revolutionaries hail it.

And that does not change, whatever Reagan says or does. He denounces Ortega as a terrorist, a drug pusher, a "looney tunes dictator in designer glasses"; they discover MIGs on their way to Managua; they hype up border incidents with Honduras; Reagan gets overwhelmingly re-elected over Mondale; the Democrats cave in to his policy; Congress votes $100 million in contra aid. No matter, every poll for the last five years shows at least two-thirds of the population against U.S. intervention in Central America, whatever form it takes. They basically don't want *anything* that sounds like another Vietnam.

This opinion is shared by key sectors of the bourgeoisie, including a lot of people at the highest levels of the Pentagon, which is less than enthusiastic about some of the Reaganites' nuttier schemes. Particularly, they're not crazy about going into Nicaragua. (Which doesn't mean that it isn't going to happen.) They love Reagan's "standing tall" rhetoric and all the flag-waving at the Olympics. The Grenada invasion was fine, although it took a week for 7,000 U.S. troops to take over this tiny Caribbean island against 700 middle-aged Cuban construction workers, what with the U.S. shooting down its own helicopters and all. And even Reagan's terror-bombing of Libya was okay with the Pentagon, although they missed Qaddafi. But anywhere there's serious fighting, they get squeamish because they're afraid of a backlash at home—and they're right about that.

This brings me to a curious united front. For some years now, the Central American "solidarity" groups have been pushing the slogan, "No More Vietnams." Ronald Reagan says that, of course, while he considers Vietnam a "noble cause," he, too, doesn't want another Vietnam. Richard Nixon titles a volume of his memoirs, *No More Vietnams*. These various forces all raise the same slogan because they are reflecting the *bourgeois defeatism* that grew out of the U.S. defeat. The Spartacist League has a different program. We say, "Vietnam was a victory!" And echoing the call of Che Guevara, we call for "Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" We stand for the interests of the international working class and all the oppressed. There, in a nutshell, you have the difference between the SL and all the rad-lib and reformist outfits. They want to deny the anti-Soviet war drive, they want to say "no more Vietnams," because fundamentally what they stand on is the supposed "national interest" of American imperialism.

U.S. Workers Must Smash the War on Nicaragua!

So let me take a break here for a moment to play part of a song [by the Grupo Savia], which captures the strategy of what passes for a left in this country, of the so-called "anti-intervention movement." It's in Spanish and English, and in Spanish the refrain is, "No, no, no to intervention, the people want revolution. If they don't go—meaning the U.S.—*they'll get it like in Vietnam*." But in English the song goes: "No, no, no to draft and war, U.S. out of El Salvador. This song's for you, Uncle Sam, *we don't want another Vietnam*."

WV Photos

ILWU militants call for "hot-cargoing" military cargo to Salvadoran death squad regime.

Now, obviously they have a different line in Spanish and English. But the point I want to make is that in a broader sense they have the *same* line in both versions, because what they believe is you can only appeal to the nationalist sentiment of every people. So obviously, if you're in Latin America, where half the ruling classes say that they're revolutionary—in Mexico, it's the Revolutionary Institutional Party—they can be very left-sounding and roll their "r's" when they say rrevolution. In the United States, it's "no more Vietnams" and appeal to bourgeois defeatism.

The Trotskyists are different, because we believe in proletarian internationalism. The Spartacist League is the U.S. section of the international Spartacist tendency, which is fighting to reforge a Fourth International like in Trotsky's lifetime, as a *world party of socialist revolution*. We call for a class struggle against imperialist intervention, both in Central America and here. And our policy has been dramatically vindicated by the developments of the last year or so. For the last five years these various phony solidarity types have been putting Democrats like Bella Abzug or Jesse Jackson on their platforms, lobbying the Democrats in Congress, getting the votes out for the Democrats in the '84 elections for Walter Mondale, who called for "quarantining Nicaragua." And what's the result? The Democrats join Reagan in voting for war on Nicaragua.

It's pretty dismal for the reformists' perspective, which is also why you haven't seen much of them lately. But it's quite different with the class-struggle perspective. Reagan has pursued the same strategy with labor and black people in this country as with the Soviets—namely slamming us up against the wall assuming that we'll keep taking it until we "cry uncle." PATCO, where he simply fired the entire union of 14,000 air traffic controllers—and these were white, highly skilled types, one of the few unions that endorsed Reagan. The MOVE massacre, where the Philly police, on orders from a black Democratic mayor and with consultation, supplies and approval from the Reagan administration in Washington, bombed a black commune, burning black babies to death, killing eleven people in wanton murder.

As the Nicaraguan foreign minister characterized Reagan's policy toward the Sandinistas, it's "Drop dead or I'll kill you!" And this blackmail has an effect at home. For several years, the number of strikes kept going down and down, more giveback contracts, etc. But increasingly after six years of this bullying, people are fed up and there have been a series of outbreaks of struggle. So far, they've mostly been defeated, like at Hormel, but this is not the end of the story by any means. Because this isn't the McCarthy period. Black people, workers, may be afraid, but they haven't been won ideologically to an aggressive American imperialism. A dozen years after Watergate they still don't trust "their" government. Like on the Daniloff affair, where *one-third* of the American population thought the Russians were probably right and he was a U.S. spy. And now with "Teherangate," where 14 percent think Reagan told them the truth.

It's not just polls. We see it on the picket lines, in factory sales, in black neighborhoods, where the sales of *Workers Vanguard* are as good or better than they ever have been. In strikes, including by unions with anti-communist leadership, we've had very good sales. With the ILA strike in October, we distributed more than 250,000 *WV* supplements in 72 hours around the country, both to the strikers, other dock workers and to interested workers and minority neighborhoods around the country. In the plants today you have a whole generation of shop stewards who went through the Vietnam War—they *know* what it was all about, and despite all the "new patriotism" jazz on the campuses, they don't want their kids to go through that, especially for a government made up of a bunch of right-wing draft dodgers not one of whom fought in Vietnam. The Reaganite consensus may extend to the Congress, but it certainly doesn't to the working people.

The Spartacist League has called for

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Who Sold Out Kaiser Strike

OAKLAND—Striking Kaiser hospital workers swallowed a bitter pill and voted December 13 to end their 48-day strike and return to work. Although the workers beat back attacks on seniority provisions, the strike lost on the central issue of establishing two-tier pay rates (new hires will take a 15 percent cut). A golden opportunity was missed to win a badly needed victory against concessions and stick it to Reagan when he's down. The militant SEIU Local 250 membership lost, not because they were unwilling to fight but because their cowardly pro-capitalist union misleadership refused to play the kind of hardball needed to defeat this company offensive.

This strike could have been won. This defeat is infuriating as the Reagan government is in deep trouble over the Contragate Iranian arms deal. The Kaiser workers voted the original offer down 4-1 and when they hit the bricks on October 27, impressive numbers of non-striking unionists honored their picket lines. With 650,000 of Kaiser's 2.2 million members from union families this strike was enormously popular. Yet seven weeks later 20-30 percent of the strikers had gone back to work along with most of the nurses and maintenance workers, and the local wound up voting for essentially the same contract they had rejected twice.

Since PATCO the companies have been waging a "one-sided class war" against the labor movement and the union leadership has thrown in the towel at every juncture. From day one Kaiser strike leaders pushed their "corporate campaign" strategy which was designed to move the fight from the picket lines, where strikes are won or lost, to a series of dead-end pressure tactics that left the hospitals open for business. It's this corporate campaign crap that led to a slow death of the Phelps-Dodge copper miners and knifed the militant Hormel strike.

The key to victory was the fight to shut Kaiser's facilities down. While strike leaders put out leaflets inviting

WV Photo

Oakland, December 4: Angry Kaiser workers vote down sellout deal.

patients to cross their picket lines, individual militants fought hard to keep the scabs out. On the fourth day of the strike the courts issued an injunction limiting pickets to four per delivery site. The seeds of this defeat were sown when the Local 250 leadership instructed its picket captains to respect the injunction and play by the bosses' rules.

This was the moment when the big battalions of the Bay Area labor movement should have been mobilized to back up the Kaiser picket lines. Mass picket lines, that scabs wouldn't dare cross, would have rendered the injunction worthless, shut Kaiser down tight, and quickly swept the two-tier issue off the bargaining table.

These union misleaders today don't even know how to win a strike. They are part and parcel of the post-World War II witchhunt that earned its spurs driving communists and radicals out of the labor movement and capitulating to Taft-Hartley and other anti-labor legislation designed to stifle labor traditions of secondary boycotts and picket lines that nobody crosses. Today the union bureaucracy is pushing the line that strikes are obsolete, and the strikes they do run are usually losers.

On December 4 a "new" tentative agreement was put to a membership vote and to the bureaucracy's surprise was resoundingly defeated. As one striker said, "It's the same damn contract we voted against in October" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 5 December). This "no" vote drove Kaiser berserk as they ran ads to recruit more security guards, threatened to hire scabs to replace the strikers and coordinated through the Oakland police department nearly 30 arrests for injunction violations.

The December 4 vote was also a signal for the top union leaders here to lend a hand in selling this strike down the river. When Kaiser complained to the press that scabs were "intimidated" and couldn't vote, Alameda Central Labor Council head Steve Martin took the same line asserting that a minority was keeping the strike going and that there's "this problem of democracy we've got" ([Oakland] *Tribune*, 6 December). Our hats are off to those militants who made sure that scabs never showed their faces at the polling locations.

The SEIU International promptly sent in a team to take over the strike and SF labor council secretary/treasurer Walter Johnson, long-time darling of the reformist left, brokered the final deal. So nine days after the two-tier contract offer was clearly defeated, the union bureaucracy submitted this rotten deal to another vote. After letting the Kaiser strikers turn in the wind for weeks, the union misleaders were counting on the Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays to wear down the membership's resolve. Kaiser workers must never forget who screwed them.

When the Kaiser strike broke, *Workers Vanguard* was right there on the picket lines. Our call for mass picket lines to stop the scabs and win the strike was well received, and we welcome our 20 new subscribers we met on the picket lines. For the reformist left, busy courting divestment and Democratic Party liberals, it took a while to realize that some genuine class struggle was going on. But all they could offer the strikers was a lot of hot air that *never* went beyond the boundary set by the bureaucracy's corporate campaign. While nominally criticizing this no-win strategy, a 3 December leaflet issued by the Marxist-Leninist Party contains a disgusting appeal for dialogue with scabs. This dovetailed with the frenzied violence-baiting campaign being whipped up by the company, bourgeois press and union misleaders against strikers for dealing appropriately with the despised scabs.

It was *WV* that called for mass action to defy the injunctions against picketing. We were the only ones that drew a hard class line and told the strikers that the courts, cops and mayors were on the other side, with Kaiser and the scabs. This galling defeat is another lesson that it takes militant class struggle to win strikes, and that the pro-Democratic Party labor sellouts must be ousted. ■

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hot-cargoing military goods to El Salvador and Central America. We put forward a program for working-class action against this war drive. And our supporters have gotten resolutions passed in West Coast longshore locals supporting this position. When the Salvadoran guerrillas were on a roll in early 1983 and the U.S. was desperately sending in shiploads of ammo from the West Coast, the Militant Caucus in the ILWU got the San Francisco local and almost two-fifths of the union delegates up and down the coast to endorse a 24-hour West Coast port shutdown to protest the war drive. And when the International union tops tried to stage a kangaroo court trial to suspend a political supporter of the Spartacist League from the SF executive board, it got shouted down by 400 predominantly black longshoremen.

The rad-libs occasionally talk about stopping arms to El Salvador, too. They had this Port Chicago project just up the river toward Stockton from the Bay Area. But their program was to lie down in the road—civil disobedience. We are looking not for moral witness, we are looking for power, and the power is in the hands of the working class. And it can be done. We wrote in *Workers Vanguard* recently about how in 1971, when we were calling for labor strikes against the Vietnam War, we were only *that far* away from one. And that was after several years of bloody war in Vietnam, where at first the opinion in some sectors of the working class, particularly construction trades, was *pro*-war. Today, if there is a U.S. invasion of Central America, the issue of labor strikes against the war will be posed from Day One.

Let me end by giving you one example of where it *did* happen: in Seattle in 1919. In the midst of the Russian Civil War, when there were 14 imperialist armies—one of them an American expeditionary force—that were attacking Lenin's Soviet Republic and Trotsky's Red Army. So I just want to read a paragraph from an account of what happened on the Seattle docks then, from an unpublished memoir by Arne Swabeck, a former Trotskyist who died not long ago. He wrote:

> "Seven months later [after the Seattle general strike] the Seattle longshoremen gave a magnificent demonstration of international working class solidarity. Fifty freight cars came to the Seattle docks with a shipment labeled 'sewing machines' to be loaded on a government chartered steamer 'The Delight' for Vladivostok [in the Soviet Far East]. One longshore crew, suspicious of this shipment of sewing machines for a land locked in the throes of civil war, let a crate crash on the dock and out came stacks of guns obviously intended for Kolchak's counterrevolutionary army in Siberia. The union refused to handle the cargo, and was backed up by the Central Labor Council while the bourgeois press howled in anguish and Senators fumed in Washington. The Delight pulled out of Seattle harbor—but with other cargo."

This was 1919, the time of the Russian Revolution, isn't that old history? Well, in 1978, on the Oakland docks, class-struggle militants in the ILWU, political supporters of the Spartacist League, were campaigning to stop arms to Chile and some dock workers discovered crates of bomb fins bound for Chile. They raised a stink, and the army was forced to take them back. That struggle was ultimately sabotaged by the ILWU leadership which was politically subordinate to the Democrats, in this case Teddy Kennedy. But in fact those bomb fins were stopped—an openly political work action.

This experience and the Seattle example should make one final point—namely that real solidarity is through common struggle. We coined a slogan for an Anti-Imperialist Contingent that we built at one of those El Salvador peace crawls, that "Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home." What the Seattle longshoremen's action grew out of was a week-long Seattle general strike, which produced a general strike council with daily mass meetings, out of which grew a Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Council. This was a long ways from a revolutionary soviet like they had in Russia—the conservative labor leaders jumped right into the middle of it, Swabeck noted—but it was certainly inspired by events in Petrograd.

Class struggle at home means the fight against the phony "friend of labor" Democrats and the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy that ties the working class to them. It means the fight to build a revolutionary workers party here, a party like Lenin and Trotsky built, like the early Communist International, that can bring down the imperialist monster from within by uniting and infusing the proletarian struggle in this country with that internationalist program. An American working-class leadership that acts as a tribune of the people, of all the oppressed. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1930s, "Americanized Bolshevism will smash and overcome American imperialism!" ■

Foreign Languages Publishing

1920 Soviet poster hails Communist Third International and solidarity against imperialist invasion of Russia: "Workers stand firm! The proletariat of the West is coming to your aid!"

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White House...

(continued from page 1)

His "national hero" Oliver North pleaded the Fifth Amendment 40 times in one hearing, supposedly to avoid self-incrimination. In fact, he was protecting his boss. One wary North subordinate, Lt. Col. Robert Earl, took the Sixth Amendment (right to legal counsel of own choice): sensibly enough, he didn't want a White House lawyer who might be too ready to make him a fall guy. North was fawned over in Congress like he was there to get the Congressional Medal of Honor. A conservative "investigator" announced he'd contribute to North's defense, another recited some Kipling "white man's burden" poetry. Liberal Democratic representative Barnes praised ex-National Security Adviser John Poindexter's record

Reagan's partners in crime: Poindexter, North and McFarlane.

Reuters Photos

pleading with him to put country before self and tell all.

It was quite a spectacle coming from people like Nixon and Reagan who during Senator Joe McCarthy's witch-hunting days used to rail against "Fifth Amendment Communists." Democratic representative Pat Schroeder noted, "When he [Reagan] was president of the Screen Actors Guild, anybody who pleaded the Fifth in front of a congressional committee lost his membership." But there were no kudos from the New Right, for whom Khomeini is the Great Satan and Reagan's harebrained arms-for-hostages deal with the ayatollahs is blasphemy. They got Reagan elected by vituperating against Jimmy Carter as a wimp over Iran. And now the buzzards are coming home to roost.

So the Reagan "hands-off presidency" is in total crisis. The White House is paralyzed by paranoia, with everyone from spokesman Speakes to the president's physician bailing out. Nancy Reagan has leaked it that she expects chief of staff Don Regan to be gone by early January, and CIA chief William Casey to exit as well. And every committee in Congress seems to be holding hearings on the affair. The Reaganauts' *modus operandi* in such a pickle would be to invade another Grenada or get a KAL 007 shot down, but now even a half-hearted attempt to spark a Honduras-Nicaraguan border war fizzled. And beyond the Beltway, 87 percent of the American public thinks the president's lying.

What Did They Know and When Did They Forget It?

Stonewalling has been the name of the game in Washington for the past two weeks, though some tidbits have slipped into the open. No one believes Meese's "modified limited hangout route" story that Ollie North is the sorcerer's apprentice who singlehandedly ran the operation. As Republican Senate leader Robert Dole said, "I don't think Ripley would believe that." "Following the money"—the tip "Deep Throat" gave during the Watergate affair—is a game all its own, with everybody from the contras to billionaire arms dealer Khashoggi complaining they got stiffed. One revelation was the existence of a billion-dollar Swiss bank "Reagan Doctrine Superfund," where profits from Iranian arms sales, contributions from Brunei sultans, kickbacks from Israeli merchants of death and Saudi matching funds are put together to finance the anti-Soviet wars which Congress won't buy (openly). The Afghan mullahs were the biggest recipients, to the tune of $400-$500 million a year.

It turns out that practically the whole world knew about the Iran scam, including Oregon lumbermen, Canadian oilmen, Philippine generals, Japanese premier Nakasone—everyone, that is, except supposedly the CIA. Director of Central Intelligence Casey claimed he'd just heard a lot of "gossip," and got fooled by North into shipping arms to Iran under the pretext they were really Waring blenders or something. Ex-National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, veteran of the infamous Teheran cakewalk, told Congress Reagan had approved Israeli arms shipments to Iran months before his January 17 "secret finding" that supposedly made such things legal. Secretary of State Shultz self-righteously claimed total innocence, while Vice President Bush announced he was standing by his president...and promptly went back into hiding.

Inside the Beltway there's much barely controlled gloating among Democrats sensing a new lease on life. Nonetheless, the line of thoughtful representatives of the American ruling class is that some *real* "damage control" is called for here. Reagan may be a crippled lame duck president, but the Democratic Party is worried that if they can't keep him afloat the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive begun under Jimmy Carter is in trouble. They all hailed Reagan's appointment as National Security Adviser of Frank Carlucci (the "officer in charge of Congolese political affairs" in 1960-62 when the CIA set up the murder of nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba).

What the Democrats really hate about Reagan's "cowboy" adventures in Iran and Nicaragua is that they've been *exposed*. The Congressmen drooling over North's Vietnam Vet medals while scrambling for a spot on the evening news pretend horror about the diversion of a paltry $10-$30 million to the contras. But the Democratic-controlled House just this fall voted $100 million in military aid to these same murderous butchers. Is North to be condemned for being a "premature anti-Sandinista?" Reagan and his NSC/CIA/NSA plotters have been getting away with murder for the past six years. After the *Challenger* disaster, the "free press" rushed ...to cover up the story of White House pressure to launch. They ate up the Libya disinformation campaign leading to the U.S. bombing raid. And what about the KAL 007 spy mission?

On Iran/Contragate it looks like everyhody knew something—except Ronald Reagan? He knew, and everyone knows it. In fact, the Democrats' main worry about granting immunity to North et al. is that they may talk, and then where will they find a fall guy? Or girl. But wait—that item last summer about Nancy Reagan's maid smuggling arms to Paraguay disappeared awfully fast, didn't it. Maybe once they all get their stories straight and their documents shredded, Meese will discover that, if not the butler, "the maid did it."

"Contragate" and War in Central America

The first casualty of the Iran/Contragate affair has been Reagan's Nicaraguan mercenary army of counter-revolutionary terrorists. Almost as soon as the scandal broke, these intrepid "freedom fighters" were ready to throw in the towel: "we're served up and eaten," said contra leader Arturo Cruz as the *Wall Street Journal* (5 December) reported "a growing sense among Washington's Central American allies that President Reagan's war on Nicaragua is a lost cause." The Honduran vice president complained that contra chief "Calero lives better than I do"—i.e., the CIA has been stingy with the payoffs for its front men. Honduras has demanded that the contras move into Nicaragua by April, El Salvador (embarrassed over the Hasenfus shootdown) cut off contra supply flights and Costa Rica has shut down contra operations on Nicaragua's southern flank.

Republican Senate Intelligence Committee head Durenburger predicted "it will be a cold day in Washington before Congress gives any more money" to the contra war. Why? Certainly not because they are tainted with Iranian money, but because they're *losers*. Former U.S. Southern Command chief General Paul Gorman told the National War College last month, "I do not see the Nicaraguan rebels as a likely alternative to the present Sandinista regime" (*New York Times*, 15 December). Sandinista Army leaders have declared that the contras have already been dealt a "strategic defeat" militarily; evidently Congress and the Pentagon agree. But as the contras go down the tubes, the Reaganites are starkly faced with the alternative of a U.S. invasion or seeing their crusade to "roll back Communism" in Central America come to naught.

In recent weeks there have been numerous reports of U.S. invasion plans. Just as the Irangate revelations broke it was announced that the 82nd Airborne Division had held large-scale field maneuvers, involving 14,000 paratroops, to train for invading "hostile territory" in Central America. On election day the *Miami Herald* (4 November) reported, "The Reagan administration is gearing up for a new push against Nicaragua" which could involve "surgical U.S. air strikes to destroy Soviet-supplied counterinsurgency helicopters and a naval blockade to interdict fresh military supplies...." First drawn up in 1983, according to Congressional sources, "the plans are now ready." More than one account put D-Day in March-April 1987. However, the Pentagon brass was said to be resisting direct U.S. action.

From Day One, Reagan has been obsessed with ousting the Sandinistas. Poindexter was quoted last summer saying, "The president does not want to leave the problem to his successors. He wants to get rid of the Sandinistas now." And North reportedly advocated a contra attempt to seize a slice of Nicaragua in order to force the U.S.' hand. "This would be the first cheap victory for the West since 1917," said this anti-communist fanatic (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 December). The military chiefs are not so sure how "cheap" it would be: a quarantine has been "costed" at $8.7 billion for the first year, and even with a successful invasion they calculate guerrilla warfare would continue for at least five years, with considerable casualties.

The biggest problem they foresee is the war on the home front. The Democrats may be neutralized (candidate Mondale called for quarantining Nicaragua). It's the American population itself that is the "weak link," all the more so since Iran/Contragate has destroyed the administration's "credibility." "They were, up to a couple weeks ago, spoiling for a fight in Nicaragua," commented ex-CIA official Victor Marchetti, "and I'm totally convinced they are planning to go in with the Marine divisions and the 82nd Airborne and anything else they can pull together" (*San Francisco Bay Guardian*, 10 December). But to do so today would invite disaster. As retired Lt. Colonel John Buchanan remarked, "It's difficult to see a pretext in which the administration could gain the support it needs for this war." For now.

The Main Enemy Is At Home!

Meanwhile, an ominous pattern of harassment and domestic break-ins against American citizens and organizations opposed to the U.S. war against Central America has come to light, recalling Nixon's "black bag" jobs against civil rights and anti-Vietnam War activists. According to the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, over 25 political groups who oppose Reagan on Central America have had their offices broken into over the last two years. Besides going after radicals, bourgeois politicians are on the Reaganites' "enemies list" too: in early December the offices of the International Center for Development Policy, run by former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert White, were broken into. And it now appears that some of the Iran arms spoils may have been diverted to pay for right-wing TV commercials aimed at defeating "anti-contra" American politicians in the '86 elections.

But for all their covert and overt actions, it looks like the "Reagan Years" may be self-destructing. A lot of people never did buy the media hype about America being "Reagan country." Black people always knew Reagan was poison. And while a lot of white unionists voted for Reagan, they were soon disabused by the hatchet job he did to break the PATCO air controllers strike. It is increasingly difficult for leading proponents of Reagan's foreign policy—from Jeane Kirkpatrick to Shultz to Weinberger—to set foot on a major campus without evoking a storm of protest. Shades of LBJ. Meanwhile, religious groups have collected $12 million for humanitarian projects in Sandinista Nicaragua. And when Hasenfus was shot down, the governor of his home state (Wisconsin) declared the loser mere was "no hero here," and invited Nicaraguan vice president Sergio Ramírez to speak at the state capitol!

A popular war, or a popular foreign policy, doesn't have to be run out of the White House basement. The Democrats promise nothing but Reaganism without Reagan: more austerity and "concessions contracts" for the unions, more budget slashing of programs for the ghetto poor, more anti-Soviet hysteria and war buildup. The decaying capitalist system that spawned the nest of terrorists in the White House needs to be swept away by the working class and its allies among the oppressed. We in the Spartacist League are dedicated to building the party to lead the American revolution we so desperately need. ■

NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.
Our next issue will be dated January 9.

French Students...

(continued from page 1)

students who are fighting against "socialist" governments which apply the *same* restrictive entrance requirements. To obtain high quality universities open to all with no tuition requires a struggle against capitalism and its administrators.

On November 30, the Ligue Trotskyste de France warned in a leaflet: "Reaction is biding time, but it is preparing its revenge." The reactionaries' program was openly expressed by Louis Pauwels, vicious editorialist of the *Figaro Magazine*, when he spoke of "youth suffering from mental AIDS." After Malik was assassinated (with the government covering for the killer cops), only the fear of a social explosion momentarily held back the police. Le Pen, demagogic leader of the fascist National Front, continues to denounce Chirac's "capitulation." We say: *Dissolve the CRS and other paramilitary groups of the bonapartist state! Mass working-class mobilizations to sweep away the fascist scum!*

The student demonstrators received the shock treatment previously reserved for immigrants under Chirac and, before that, under Mitterrand's "left" government. It was no accident that Malik Oussekine (a "foreigner" despite his French citizenship) was beaten to death or that Abdel Benyahia was killed by a cop in a bar on December 6. Like recent cases of criminal racist arson against immigrant families and their babies in Paris' 20th *arrondissement* which have claimed 35 victims in seven

Malik Oussekine

Sipa

fires since October 1985, these deaths testify to the wave of racist terror poisoning France. *Stop Mitterrand-Chirac's deportations! Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families! Union/immigrant self-defense squads against racist terror!*

The End of "Apoliticism"

Today, when the bourgeoisie shudders at the thought of a new May '68, the social democrats and their "far left" tails are seeking to profit from the students' anger against Chirac to create a new popular front. But it's not so easy for Mitterrand to be "reborn." As minister of "justice" in the government of Guy Mollet which launched the Algerian War in 1956, he will be forever stained with the blood of the militants tortured and guillotined in that dirty colonial war. He also has on his hands the blood of Eloi Machoro, assassinated leader of the independence movement in New Caledonia, and of the Greenpeace pacifist in New Zealand. The last five years of "left" government are too recent to forget their anti-working-class, anti-immigrant and anti-Soviet policies.

As Mitterrand's former prime minister Fabius remarked during the election campaign last spring, "It was up to us to do the 'dirty work'." The "Socialist" government denounced North African strikers as "Islamic fanatics," and ordered mass deportations of "illegal" immigrants. It was the spearhead of

LE BOLCHEVIK 4

Une victoire arrachée par la menace de grève ouvrière

Pour une grève générale contre les attaques antiouvrières anti-immigrés et antijeunes du gouvernement Mitterrand-Chirac!

Forgeons un parti bolchévique! Pour un gouvernement ouvrier!

Cochin/Keystone

Paris, December 10: Mass demonstration in memory of Malik Oussekine, victim of racist killer cops. Special Le Bolchévik supplement produced by Ligue Trotskyste de France.

Reagan's war drive in Europe, backing the installation of first-strike Pershing 2 missiles and unleashing an anti-Soviet hysteria in France over Poland. In alliance with the CIA, Mitterrand reasserted the traditional role of French imperialism as gendarme of Africa, sending the army into war against Qaddafi in Chad. And it is Mitterrand's virulent anti-Sovietism which has made possible "cohabitation" with Chirac.

The government's current retreat opens new perspectives for the working class and the oppressed. This reactionary government can and must be beaten! The old slogan of May '68 is more current than ever: it's only a start, the fight goes on! But rather than lead a fight, the "far left"—from Mandel/Krivine's LCR to Lambert's PCI, social democrats of the second mobilization, to the workerists of Lutte Ouvrière—not just content to tail along, have actively supported (or constituted) the "apolitical" strike leadership. As several LO members told the Ligue Trotskyste: Yes, the strike is political, but we won't say that because it would break the unity of the movement.

While student strike leaders hid behind "anti-political" rhetoric to disguise their social-democratic (and anti-communist) program, the LTF fought to mobilize students on a class program, calling for defense of the Latin Quarter and for driving the fascists off campus. Comrade Didier, a student at Nanterre, noted in an interview:

> "One morning when there was an attack by the [fascist] GUD at the Sorbonne, we proposed at the general assembly to mobilize Nanterre students to protect the Sorbonne. Well, the social democrats just wanted to send a delegation of a dozen students at the most.... They absolutely wanted to avoid the students mobilizing against the fascists."

The LTF also fought, mostly with success, to keep the fascistic UNI off the podium.

Notorious anti-communist Cohn-Bendit showed up at Nanterre where he not only called on the fascists to debate, but scandalously amalgamated the far right and the far left. "Danny the Yellow" (scab) also referred to the Western "democracies," whereupon LTF comrades rose to point out that Reagan's "democracy" meant contra attacks on Nicaragua and noted the unholy anti-Soviet alliance, from the social democrats to UNI. When Cohn-Bendit attacked us for defending Soviet troops (fighting CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries) in Afghanistan, the LTF comrades, before a very hostile audience, chanted "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

There was, however, a substantial increase in political awareness during the strike: a comrade reported that "students who had booed us at the beginning later came to see us, saying: 'Well, you were right, the strike committee is rotten, a bunch of wheeler-dealers, all they want is something very limited, and we're not interested in that'."

For a May '68 That Goes All the Way!

In the face of the government's plans for "rolling back" social gains, its racist terror and police attempts to beat the population into line, what's needed is a real general strike to shut down the factories, ports, airports and transportation throughout France! Such a strike must be protected against strikebreakers by workers self-defense squads. It would inevitably raise the question of state power and the need to put an end to capitalism's economic chaos with a genuine workers government.

The working class cannot stand by while broad sections of it are reduced to misery. There is only one solution to this crisis: divide the available work among all workers and determine the length of the workweek on this basis, with no reduction in wages. That is the sliding scale of wages and hours. In opposition to capitalist criteria of profitability, we defend the very physical existence of our class. If capitalism in decay is unable to grant these demands, let it perish!

When you fight for power, you need instruments of struggle: a party, unions, ultimately soviets—workers councils. The key is revolutionary leadership—a Leninist, Trotskyist vanguard party. Today that leadership does not yet exist, but that doesn't mean that a general strike should be put off. The broader the general strike, the more completely it will reject treacherous and opportunist leaders and the more difficult for bourgeois reaction to launch a counterattack to break the workers movement. Revolutionary leadership will be forged in the course of this fight.

Organs of dual power—strike committees, factory committees, mass pickets which become workers self-defense squads and ultimately workers militias—will be the basis for a real workers government. The socialist reconstruction of France (and all Europe!) is the only realistic alternative to a new cycle of popular fronts, class-collaborationist governments which only open the door to reaction.

Is this possible? The example of May '68 shows it is. It wasn't the barricades in the Latin Quarter that were key, although they served as the spark, but ten million workers who went on strike to get rid of the Gaullist regime, creating a prerevolutionary situation. The vague anti-capitalist sentiment wasn't translated into organs of dual power, largely because of the treacherous leadership of the French Communist Party which did everything it could to sabotage the movement. There was no Bolshevik party to take the lead in this uprising; the traditional reformist leaderships were able to channel the working class toward the creation of a new popular front: the Union of the Left.

An internationalist proletarian perspective is a burning necessity as capitalism in crisis viciously attacks the working class and its most vulnerable section—immigrant workers—seeking to line up the population as part of its preparation for war against the USSR. We need a new revolutionary leadership in opposition to the reformists of the Socialist Party and French Communist Party, who are responsible for the dirty work of the 1981-86 popular front, as for other popular fronts in the past. The Ligue Trotskyste de France seeks to forge an authentically Bolshevik party, as part of the international party of world socialist revolution, because this time we want a May '68 that goes all the way. ■

Helena Hermes

May 1968: Student struggles triggered massive general strike. Renault workers (above).

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1986 SUBJECT INDEX

3 January to 19 December 1986 (Issues Nos. 394-418)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1986, from issue No. 394 (3 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 418 (19 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with one exception: corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Defend Hormel Strikers!, #403, 9 May (12, 9)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 403, 9 May 1986, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 9
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus.

  STUDENTS—See **Central America: U.S. Antiwar Protests; Civil Liberties: General, Bermúdez; Fascism.**

  means that additional articles on students can be found by going to the subject head **CENTRAL AMERICA** and looking under the subcategory **U.S. Antiwar Protests**; by going to the subject head **CIVIL LIBERTIES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **Bermúdez**, and by going to the subject head **FASCISM**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names
- This year, with the suspension of publication of *Young Spartacus*, the monthly newspaper of the Spartacist League's youth section, *WV* has published two to four pages a month under the *YSp* masthead. These articles are listed in the index by subject with the notation "(YSp)" after the headline of the entry
- This year also, *WV* has published "Class-Struggle Defense Notes," a regular column written by the Partisan Defense Committee, including biographies and updated information on class-war prisoners. This column is listed in the index under **PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

C:	Correction	R:	Review
L:	Letter	Sup:	Supplement

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